

● P.S. F. Subject File

Democratic Natl. ~~Committee~~ Convention

Box 143

TWO-THIRDS RULE

Memorandum dated June 17th, 1928 by
Wm. C. Sullivan, of Electoral Commission.

PART I

Every four years, with unflinching regularity, the question of abolishing the Two-Thirds Rule is discussed, but in the end nothing comes of it. The reasons for the failure to act are:

(a) It is easier to go along with the custom than to change it.

(b) It might make trouble to attempt to change it.

(c) It would be charged that it was an act of bad faith to change the rules while the contest is going forward.

(d) As long as the Unit Rule is in existence, it is conceivable that a majority vote might permit a real minority of the delegates to make the nomination. This is the only reason which, on principle, seems to have any rational support. However, it is not as important as it seems.

The President of the United States is elected by majority vote in the electoral college, based practically upon a system under which the respective states cast their electoral votes as a unit. It very rarely happens that the electoral vote of a state is split. It is therefore possible that the President of the United States may actually be elected by a minority vote of the people. Indeed, it has happened on several occasions. Moreover, there are a number of instances where the President has been elected by less than a majority of the electoral college itself. It is also

manifest that, under this system, the wishes of a large minority in every state of the Union are disregarded. Only by choosing a President by a nation-wide popular vote could this result be avoided.

The objection based upon the Unit Rule in the National Convention has even less merit than the objections to the electoral system of electing a President. For instance, the Unit Rule is not universally applied. In states having state-wide primaries, there seems to be no objection to having the entire vote follow the wishes of the majority. Taken all in all, the objection based on the Unit Rule, while possessing some merit, should be disregarded in the face of the still greater objection to the Two-Thirds Rule, which is a standing invitation to political disaster. Indeed, the Two-Thirds Rule is a misnomer. It is, in fact, a one-third rule, because it permits a determined minority to block action and paralyze the normal functions of the Convention. This danger is accentuated by the possibility of a combination of delegates from boss-ridden states.

(c) A movement to set aside the Two-Thirds Rule might be unsuccessful, and the outcome would therefore be injurious to the leading candidate whose support would be necessary for an abolition of the rule. This is a reason based upon practical politics and is the chief obstacle in the path of those who would like to do away with the Two-Thirds Rule. The leading candidate is reluctant to participate in a movement apparently in his own interest and which, if unsuccessful, would be hurtful to his cause. So strong is this feeling that it is the one reason, above all others,

which has made reform impossible.

Attention, however, is drawn to the fact that this year Governor Roosevelt is so clearly the overwhelming choice of the delegates, and is so manifestly the second choice of practically all of the states which will not vote for him on the first ballot, that his friends could afford to participate in a movement to do away with the Two-Thirds Rule because such action is not necessary to his nomination, and because there exists, at the present time, a more favorable opportunity to revoke the rule than is apt to occur again. There would therefore seem to be abundant reason for making a determined effort to do away with the Two-Thirds Rule.

PART II

If it should be decided to reform the Two-Thirds Rule, several considerations arise.

1. Should the Two-Thirds Rule be abolished altogether?

This is, of course, the most logical method to pursue. It may not, however, be the most feasible. For instance, a good many of the Favorite Son states might be reluctant to join in a movement to abolish the Two-Thirds Rule, which would snuff out their respective candidates on the very first ballot, and yet these same delegates, in whole or in part, might be willing to take effective steps to avoid a deadlocked Convention.

2. Should the Two-Thirds Rule be readopted, with the proviso, however, that it automatically goes out of

existence after a certain number of ballots have been taken, say three or five. It might be possible that a substantial number of delegates from Favorite Son states would support such a proposition. Such a rule, if adopted, would ensure the nomination of Governor Roosevelt on a very early ballot, because the knowledge that the Two-Thirds Rule would disappear after a few ballots would tend to bring delegates to his support before that event took place, and a two-thirds vote might therefore be obtained before the Two-Thirds Rule ceased to apply. Moreover, if Governor Roosevelt had a majority on the first ballot, this arrangement would tend to hold his delegates together. For a Roosevelt delegate to break his pledge when his candidate had a majority of the Convention, and when it was certain that the Two-Thirds Rule would automatically disappear in a very few ballots, would be too gross a breach of faith to be tolerated.

5. Should the Committee on Rules report the usual Two-Thirds Rule, but with an explicit proviso permitting its abolition at any time by a majority vote of the Convention?

It has been ruled, in previous National Conventions, that the Two-Thirds Rule, once adopted, cannot be abolished except by a two-thirds vote. If we are to do anything at all to avoid the dangers of a deadlock, it would seem that the minimum we should ask is that the majority of the Convention should have power to take control of its own destiny whenever it saw fit to do so. Such a provision would have to be carefully considered, and presumably should be a part of the report of the Committee on Rules.

The objection to this method is that manifestly no attempt would be made on the Convention floor to abolish the

Two-Thirds Rule by resolution of the Convention unless we were already in a deadlock. If such a situation is actually reached, and if there are any delegations or delegates who might desire to abandon Governor Roosevelt, they might seize this as an excuse to do so. The longer the deadlock continues, the more difficult it would be to secure a majority vote to break it.

4. Should the Committee on Rules purport the usual Two-Thirds Rule, with the proviso, however, that it is explicitly abolished at the end of the Convention, and future Conventions are requested not to re-enact it?

Such a plan, of course, does not mean anything at all, so far as the present Convention is concerned. Attention is called to the fact that the California delegates have gone on record as favoring a proposition that the National Committee, in issuing the call for the 1936 Convention, include a proposal to change to majority rule.

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JUNE 27 1932

HONORABLE JAMES A. FARLEY
CONGRESS HOTEL
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

THIS IS NO TIME FOR PETTY STRIFE AND MOMENTARY ADVANTAGE STOP THAT
TRUTH BECOMES THE MORE APPARENT WHEN AN HONEST DIFFERENCE OF JUDGMENT IS
MAGNIFIED BY THE OPPOSITION PRESS INTO GRAVE INTERNAL DISSENSION STOP
IT IS TO AVOID SUCH AN IMPRESSION THAT I SEND YOU THIS MESSAGE
PARAGRAPH THE NEED OF THE NATION THE NEED OF THE WORLD IN THESE
DISTRESSING DAYS REQUIRES AVOIDANCE OF PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES AND
DISCUSSIONS OF PROCEDURE AND CALLS FOR CONCENTRATION OF ATTENTION ON
PRINCIPLES AND LEADERSHIP PARAGRAPH WITH THIS IN MIND I HAVE BEEN
GIVING MUCH THOUGHT TO THE SUBJECT OF ADOPTING A MAJORITY NOMINATION RULE
INSTEAD OF THE TWO THIRDS RULE USED BY PREVIOUS CONVENTIONS STOP THE
ASSURANCE OF MY FRIENDS THAT THEY HAVE A DEFINITE MAJORITY OF VOTES TO ADOPT

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J. C. WILLEYER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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-2-

A MAJORITY RULE SEEMS TO GIVE ME A PERSONAL AND DEFINITE RESPONSIBILITY

PARAGRAPH I BELIEVE AND ALWAYS HAVE BELIEVED THAT THE TWO-THIRDS RULE SHOULD NO LONGER BE ADOPTED STOP IT IS UNDEMOCRATIC STOP PARAGRAPH NEVERTHELESS IT IS TRUE THAT THE ISSUE WAS NOT RAISED UNTIL AFTER THE DELEGATES TO THIS CONVENTION HAD BEEN SELECTED AND I DECLINE TO ~~PERMIT EITHER~~ MYSELF OR MY FRIENDS TO BE OPEN TO THE ACCUSATION OF POOR SPORTSMANSHIP OR TO THE USE OF METHODS WHICH COULD BE CALLED

EVEN FALSELY THOSE OF A STEAM-ROLLER PARAGRAPH I AM ACCORDINGLY ASKING MY FRIENDS IN CHICAGO TO ~~cease~~ THEIR ~~efforts to secure the adoption of~~ THE MAJORITY NOMINATING RULE AT THE OPENING OF THE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION STOP I ASK THIS OF THOSE DELEGATES WHO ARE HONORING ME WITH THEIR SUPPORT AND WHO NUMBER MANY MORE THAN A MAJORITY STOP I TRUST HOWEVER THAT THE COMMITTEE ON RULES MAY RECOMMEND SOME RULE TO INSURE AGAINST THE CATASTROPHE OF A DEADLOCK OR PROLONGED BALLOTING PARAGRAPH IF HEREBY A GREATER

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

-5-

EMPHASIS ON HARMONY AND THE MORE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES OF THE CONVENTION IS ATTAINED WE WILL HAVE BEST SERVED OUR PARTY AND OUR NATION ~~THIS~~ PARAGRAPH AT THE SAME TIME I ASK ALL DELEGATES TO ACCEPT THIS IN THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THIS IS WRITTEN AND TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO AVOID A PROTRACTED CONVENTION AND REGRIMINATIONS ON ANY SUBJECT STOP WILL YOU BE GOOD ENOUGH TO COMMUNICATE THIS TO THE COMMITTEE ON RULES WHICH I UNDERSTAND MEETS TONIGHT.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WESTERN UNION MESSENGERS ARE AVAILABLE FOR THE DELIVERY OF NOTES AND PACKAGES.

I trust however that the Committee
in Rules
may recommend some ^{way} ~~method~~ to
A. insure against the catastrophe of
a poor Draftbook
or ~~an expensive~~ prolonged balloting.

Will you be good enough to
B. communicate this to the Committee
in Rules which I understand
meets tonight.

Franklin Roosevelt

Wm James M. Farley. Congress Hotel - Chicago -

This is no time for petty strife and momentary advantage. That truth becomes the more apparent when an honest difference of judgment is exaggerated by the opposition press into grave internal dissension. It is to avoid such an impression that I send you this message.

The need of the Nation, - the need of the world - in these distressing days, requires avoidance of ~~undisciplined~~ personal animosities and discussions of procedure; and calls for concentration of attention on principles and leadership.

With this in mind I have been giving much thought to the subject of adopting a majority nomination rule instead of the two-thirds rule used by previous conventions. The assurance of my friends that they have a definite majority of votes to adopt a majority rule seems to give me personally ^{and} a definite responsibility.

I believe and always have believed that the two-thirds rule should no longer be adopted. It is undemocratic.

Nevertheless, it is true that the issue was not raised until after the delegates to this convention had been selected, and I decline to ~~be~~ ^{called} poor sportsmanship or to the use of methods which could be called even falsely those of a steam-roller.

^{closed}
I am accordingly asking my friends in Chicago to ~~abandon~~ ^{secure the adoption of} their plan to adopt the majority nominating rule at the opening of the permanent organization ~~and at the same time to seek a resolution recommending a majority rule to the convention of 1930.~~ I ask this of those delegates who are honoring me with their support and who number many more than a majority. A A

If ^{heavily} ~~thereby~~ a greater emphasis on harmony and the more important objectives of the Convention is attained, ^{we} ~~they~~ will have best served ^{my} ~~their~~ party and ^{my} ~~their~~ nation.

At the same time I ask all delegates to accept this in the spirit in which this is written and to do all possible to avoid a protracted Convention and re-creations on any subject.

Q 13

PSF
DN Conventions

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ISSUED TODAY AT ALBANY
BY GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

As a loyal Democrat and as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, I ask all those Delegates to the National Convention, about to convene in Chicago, to support the Honorable Jouett Shouse for the position of Permanent Chairman.

After mature consideration I am moved to this request by the thought that regardless of the attitude of Mr. Shouse toward the various candidacies, and regardless of whether he is for me or against me, his sound work for the last four years as Chairman of the Party's Executive Committee entitles him to the approval of the Convention. Since such approval can be most easily expressed by his election to the Permanent Chairmanship, I want to be listed among those who favor it. Senator Thomas Walsh, that staunch gentleman whose name has been urged for the post, joins me in this view and will ask his friends to act accordingly.

This is no time for petty strife and momentary advantage. That truth becomes the more apparent when an honest difference of judgment is exaggerated by the opposition press into grave internal dissension. It is to avoid such an impression that I write this.

The need of the Nation - the need of the world - requires a united Party, solidified by its desire for and a certainty of victory and freed from discussions and personal animosity.

In that spirit I ask all those Delegates who are honoring me with their support, who number more than a majority, and whose votes, therefore, can elect me if placed, to make this generous contribution to harmony. If harmony is attained they will have best served their Country, their Party and themselves.

I am sending this message to the Chairman of the National Committee asking him to communicate it to his Committee and to the Convention when it meets. At the same time I am releasing it through the Press so that my suggestions may be widely known for whatever weight my words may carry with my fellow Democrats.

The real issue before the Convention is not who the Presiding Officer shall be. It is whether the Party shall have as its candidate a person who is the genuine choice of the rank and file of Democrats, both those who are in Chicago and those at home who sent them there. This fundamental choice has already been made. To subject this choice to the Two-thirds Rule, to the dubious business of bargaining for Delegates at this time, is not only an injustice to those who have frankly and openly made their choice, it is placing a wholly unjustified premium upon the votes of those who prefer to keep their choice a secret until the confused atmosphere of a Convention permits through the reality or the semblance of trading quid pro quo.

I am not willing to subject those Delegates who are either pledged or who have expressed a preference for me to any such humiliating business. I refuse to pay for Delegates with any promises or concessions whatsoever. The candidate of this Convention must go before the Country with a clear conscience and a free hand. There must not be created even the semblance of compromise as to principle or candidate. I serve notice that there will be no compromise so far as I am concerned. I have gone before the voters of the Party Conventions of this Country frankly ^{and} openly as an exponent of progressive principles. A good majority of the Delegates of this Convention have decided to support me. I would betray this trust if I permitted any ambiguity to cloud their choice. I am not willing to gain the nomination by the methods of a poker game. My hands are clean, and before God, I intend to keep them so.

I, therefore, ask the Delegates of this Convention for their own sake and for mine to abrogate the Two-thirds Rule.

I have been giving much thought to the question of ~~me~~ permitting the passing of the historic two-thirds rule at the opening of this Convention. The assurance of my friends that they have the necessary votes to bring this about seems to put the responsibility squarely up to me. I believe , and always have believed that this rule should be discarded. Were it not that this action at this time would apparently result in my immediate selection without affording any of the other candidates the opportunity they have been counting on to develop additional strength as the balloting proceeded, I would unhesitatingly ask all true democrats to take this action immediately.

As it is I have reached the conclusion that this course would be regarded as poor sportsmanship on my part, and the use of that political steam-roller to which I have objected and fought against during my entire career. I am accordingly asking my friends to abandon their plan to omit the customary passing of the two-thirds rule at the opening of the Convention. This I hope will convince you of my desire to have a fair and open contest and may the best man win. In return, may I ask your aid and assistance in securing the abrogation of this rule by a two-thirds vote immediately after a choice has been reached on our presidential candidate and before the balloting for the vice-presidential candidate takes place. In this way we will cast off the yoke of the undemocratic intolerable and unamerican rule, and establish the precedent which I am sure the convention will follow

It is time for the public and press and the delegates to "get the record straight."

1. The Democratic Party was originally founded to save majority rule in government and in Party organization. That was its fundamental principle.
2. This Convention on opening has no rules of any kind. Each Convention makes its own rules and is a law unto itself. It is bound only by the rules it adopts. It can bind no future Conventions and can, therefore, impose no rule on a future Convention.
3. In previous Conventions the decision to adopt the Two-thirds Rule has repeatedly destroyed the Party's best chances.
4. For twenty years the vast majority of Democratic voters have sighed for a Convention with enough "guts" to adopt a majority rule.
5. Under a Two-thirds Rule a minority can hold out and block a candidate ~~whom the Party~~ wanted by a clear and definite majority.
6. The Democratic Party is supposed to represent the voters who make it up and to be controlled by a popular majority.
7. The Democratic Party is not supposed to be controlled by an ~~obscure~~ ^{obscuring} minority.
8. In this year of 1932 who is it that is trying to impose the Two-thirds Rule? Look and see who and what they represent.
9. Note that those who want the majority rule adopted are clearly those who are trying to support and represent ~~the~~ popular choice by a majority.
10. Old arguments based on the war between the States do not apply. Today we have a united country and it is time to return to first principles of majority rule.

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE BEST
AVAILABLE. EVERY TECHNICAL
EFFORT HAS BEEN TAKEN TO
INSURE LEGIBILITY.

First Ballot

The official count on the first ballot was:

ROOSEVELT, 68%; SMITH, 20%; CARNER, 10%; WHITE, 2%; TRAYLOR, 1%; BYRD, 2%; REED, 2%; MURRAY, 2%; FITCH, 1%; BAKER, 1%.

The first roll call follows:

	Total Votes	Vote	Roll	Smith	Reed	White	Traylor	Byrd	Baker
Alabama	24	24							
Arizona	6	6							
Arkansas	18	18							
California	44	44							
Colorado	12	12							
Connecticut	18	18							
Delaware	6	6							
Florida	14	14							
Georgia	28	28							
Idaho	8	8							
Indiana	20	14	2						
Illinois	34	18 1/2	2 1/2						
Iowa	26	20							
Kansas	30	20							
Kentucky	26	26							
Louisiana	20	20							
Maine	18								
Maryland	18								
Massachusetts	26								
Michigan	28	28							
Minnesota	24	24							
Mississippi	20	20							
Missouri	18	12							
Montana	8	8							
Nebraska	14	14							
Nevada	8	8							
New Hampshire	8								
New Jersey	32	32							
New Mexico	6	6							
New York	94	28 1/2	65 1/2						
North Carolina	26	26							
North Dakota	10	9							
Ohio	42								
Oklahoma	22								
Oregon	10	10							
Pennsylvania	78	42 1/2	35 1/2						
Rhode Island	10	10							
South Carolina	18	18							
South Dakota	10	10							
Tennessee	24	24							
Texas	46	46							
Utah	8	8							
Vermont	8	8							
Virginia	24								
Washington	16	16							
West Virginia	16	16							
Wisconsin	26	24	2						
Wyoming	6	6							
Alaska	6	6							
District of Columbia	6	6							
Hawaii	6	6							
Philippines	6	6							
Porto Rico	6	6							
Canal Zone	6	6							
Virgin Islands	2	2							

Second Ballot

The official result of the second ballot was:

ROOSEVELT, 677%; SMITH, 194%; RITCHIE, 23%; BYRD, 24; GARNER, 80%; WHITE, 80%; ROGERS, 22; BAKER, 8; TRAYLOR, 60%; REED, 18.

State	Total Boats		Rt.				Trans.		Wbl.
	vols	vols	Smith	Garnier	Chas	Watts	Murray	Wood	
Alabama	34	34							
Arizona	0	0							
Arkansas	10	12							
California	46			44					
Colorado	13	12							
Connecticut	10	10							
Delaware	0	0							
Florida	10	14							
Georgia	28	28							
Idaho	0	0							
Illinois	80	10 1/2		3 1/2					40 1/2
Indiana	30	10	2		4				8
Iowa	20								
Kansas	30	20							
Kentucky	30	30							
Louisiana	30	30							
Maine	12	12							
Maryland	10				15				
Massachusetts	30		20						
Michigan	30	30							
Minnesota	24	24							
Mississippi	30	30							
Missouri	30	10						10	
Montana	0	0							
Nebraska	10	10							
Nevada	0	0							
New Hampshire	0	0							
New Jersey	32		32						
New Mexico	0	0							
New York	94	30 1/2	64 1/2						
North Carolina	30	34							
North Dakota	10	10							
Ohio	60	3 1/2				80 1/2			
Oklahoma	32								32
Oregon	10	10							
Pennsylvania	70	44 1/2	33 1/2		3 1/2				
Rhode Island	10		10						
South Carolina	10	10							
South Dakota	10	10							
Tennessee	24	24							
Texas	40			40					
Utah	0	0							
Vermont	0	0							
Virginia	24							24	
Washington	10	10							
West Virginia	10	10							
Wisconsin	20	24	2						
Wyoming	0	0							
Alaska	0	0							
Dist. of Columbia	0	0							
Hawaii	0	0							
Philippines	0	0							
Puerto Rico	0	0							
Canal Zone	0	0							
Virgin Islands	2	2							

*One absent.

Four subjects

THE THIRD BALLOT

1876 Conventions

State	Democrat	Republican	Prohibition	Greenback	Union	Other	Total
Alabama	84						84
Arizona	6						6
Arkansas	18						18
California		44					44
Colorado	18						18
Connecticut		16					16
Delaware	0						0
Florida	14						14
Georgia	28						28
Idaho	8						8
Illinois	15 1/2	2 1/2					18
Indiana	16	2					18
Iowa	26						26
Kansas	20						20
Kentucky	26						26
Louisiana	20						20
Maine	12						12
Maryland							
Massachusetts		36					36
Michigan	38						38
Minnesota	24						24
Mississippi	20						20
Missouri	20 1/2						20 1/2
Montana	8						8
Nebraska	16						16
Nevada	8						8
New Hampshire	8						8
New Jersey		32					32
New Mexico	6						6
New York	31	63					94
North Carolina	25 1/2	100					125 1/2
North Dakota	8						8
Ohio	2 1/2						2 1/2
Oklahoma		11					11
Oregon	10						10
Rhode Island	12 1/2	1 1/2					14
South Carolina	16						16
South Dakota	10						10
Tennessee	24						24
Texas		48					48
Utah	8						8
Vermont	8						8
Virginia							
Washington	10						10
West Virginia	16						16
Wisconsin	24	8					32
Wyoming	8						8
Alaska	8						8
Dist. of Columbia	6						6
Porto Rico	6						6
Canal Zone	6						6
Virgin Islands	2						2
Philippines		6					6

*Ohio casts 48 1/2 votes for White.

Totals 687 1/2 100 1/2 101 1/2 22 1/2 27 1/2 68 1/2 807 1/2

Senator Bingham's Repeal Plank

ASF ON CONSTITUTION

CHICAGO, June 15—Anti-prohibition delegates at the Republican national convention who rejected the submission plank reported by the resolutions committee, united tonight behind a plank drawn by Senator Bingham of Connecticut, leader of the repeal group. His proposal reads as follows:

We recommend that the Congress of the United States immediately propose an amendment to the federal constitution repealing the 18th amendment thereto; to be submitted to conventions of the people of the several states called for that sole purpose in accordance with the provisions of article five of the constitution of the United States.

Should the 18th amendment be repealed we pledge our best efforts toward enactment of such measures in the several states as will actually promote temperance, effectually abolish the saloon, whether open or concealed, and bring the liquor traffic itself under complete public supervision and control with revenues properly drawn from legalized sources for the relief of burdened taxpayers.

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At the Executive Session
The vote on Permanent Chairman
June 32

P.F. Pen. Hall
Constitution

STATE		FOR PERMANENT CHAIRMAN	WALSH	SHOUSE
		NO. DELEGATES		
ALABAMA	4 1/2	24	24	Gain
ARIZONA		6	✓ 6	Gain 1 1/2
ARKANSAS		18	✓ 18	
CALIFORNIA		44		44
COLORADO		12	✓ 12	
CONNECTICUT		16	6	+ 1/2 10
DELAWARE	Lost 1	6	6	+ 1
FLORIDA		14	✓ 14	
GEORGIA		28	✓ 28	
IDAHO		8	✓ 8	
ILLINOIS	Bring up to 26	58	10	+ 6 48
INDIANA	Indiana	30		30
IOWA	Iowa - 10	26	16	10
KANSAS	Kansas 6 1/2	20		13 1/2 20
KENTUCKY		26		+ 26 26
LOUISIANA		20	20	
MAINE	Get all	12	4	+ 1 8
MARYLAND		16		16
MASSACHUSETTS		36		36
MICHIGAN		38	38	
MINNESOTA	Lost 3	24	24	+ 3
MISSISSIPPI		20	20	
MISSOURI	Missouri	36	36	+ 16 1/2
MONTANA		8	8	
NEBRASKA	Lost 1	16	16	+ 1
NEVADA		6	6	
NEW HAMPSHIRE		8	8	
NEW JERSEY		32		32
NEW MEXICO	Lost 3	6	6	+ 3
NEW YORK	N.Y. ?	94	26	+ 1 68
NORTH CAROLINA		26	26	+ 4
NORTH DAKOTA	Lost 1	10	9	1
OHIO	?	52	10	42 + 7 1/2
OKLAHOMA		22		22
OREGON		10	10	+ 1
PENNSYLVANIA	Work on	76	50	26 + 1 1/2

1 1/2

Put people to work on the 27 or 28 who run out on 115 -

Minimize Dill & Long - also Purkey - keep off platform -

Frank meet with Jim & Louis - Purcell to approach McAdoo? or someone else
McAdoo to hear something -

RHODE ISLAND	10		10
SOUTH CAROLINA	18	18	
SOUTH DAKOTA	10	10	
TENNESSEE	24	24	
TEXAS	46		46
UTAH	8	8	
VERMONT	8	8	
VIRGINIA	24		24
WASHINGTON	16	16	
WEST VIRGINIA	16	16	
WISCONSIN	26	24	2
WYOMING	6	6	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	6	6	
PHILIPPINES	6		6
HAWAII	6	6	
PORTO RICO	6	6	
ALASKA	6		6
CANAL ZONE	6	6	6
VIRGIN ISLANDS	2	2	
Total	1,154	615	539

626 - 528

(Statements)

^{PST}
D.H. Conventions

MEMORANDUM

Law practice issues on which
counsel for Piro. should demand
a show cause.

^{PSE}
D.N. Conventions

Professor Moley
University 4-3200

Statement
Folder

July 1, 1932. 9.20 P.M.

Necessary to a Choice.....766.....

W. E. Brown CLERK

DEMOCR

T

[illegible]

California	44	44	92						
Colorado	12	12	104						
Connecticut	16			16	16				
Delaware	6	6	110						
Florida	14	14	124						
Georgia	28	28	152						
Idaho	8	8	160						
Illinois	58	58	218						
Indiana	30	30	248						
Iowa	26	26	274						
Kansas	20	20	294						
Kentucky	26	26	320						
Louisiana	20	20	340						
Maine	12	12	352						
Maryland	16	16	368						
Massachusetts	36			36	52				
Michigan	38	38	406						
Minnesota	24	24	430						
Mississippi	20	20	450						
Missouri	36	36	486						
Montana	8	8	494						
Nebraska	16	16	570						
Nevada	6	6	576						
New Hampshire	8	8	524						
New Jersey	32			32	84				
New Mexico	6	6	530						
New York	94	31	561	63	147				
North Carolina	26	26	587						
North Dakota	10	10	597						
Ohio	52	29	597	17	190				
Oklahoma	22	22	619						
Oregon	10	10	629						
Pennsylvania	76	49	678	14	161				
Rhode Island	10			10	171				
South Carolina	18	18	696						
South Dakota	10	10	706						
Tennessee	24	24	730						
Texas	46	46	776						
Utah	8	8	784						
Vermont	8	8	792						
Virginia	24	24	816						
Washington	16	16	832						
West Virginia	16	16	848						
Wisconsin	26	24	872	2	173				
Wyoming	6	6	878						
Alaska	6	6	884						
District of Columbia	6	6	890						
Hawaii	6	6	896						
Philippines	6	6	902						
Porto Rico	6	6	908						
Panama Canal Zone	6	6	914						
Virgin Islands	2	2	916						
Totals	1154		945						

PSF
Bo + 143

TALLY SHEET

KENNETH ROMNEY,
Chief Tally Clerk.

[illegible]

25 3 1/2

15 1

1 1/2, 1 1/2, 5 1/2, 5 1/2

Kenneth Romney, chief
Montana
A. Friedman, New York
Cl. J. A. Fife, mass
Lamar Hill, Texas
S. J. Lewis, N.C.
Rally Club

2 1/2

5 1/2

1

States Passed on First Call

Ohio

file

*PSF
SN Conventions*

TS: The 1932 Convention is only a few months off. The horrible mess of the Republican Administration is liable to lull us into a false sense of security. We must not rely on victory through a negative or pretest vote, which their countless blunders and lack of leadership might bring us. During this Hoover Administration millions of upright and self-respecting Americans have suffered physically and mentally. Yes, even the bare necessities of life have been denied them or supplied through conscripted charity. The platitudes of ordinary political platforms won't do. These suffering millions have been doing their own thinking and are looking to us - the Party of the People - to show the way out. What are we going to offer them? They have a right to expect from our Party the security of life, contentment and self-respect which have been denied them during this Hoover Administration. The Democratic Party must accept the challenge which the present situation presents. Is this the answer to their challenge? Should the Democratic Party advocate:

1. The cancellation of war debts.
2. Increased taxation on large income.

(over)

3. Shortening the hours of labor (possible to 36) as means of supplying employment to all
4. Lifting the burden of taxation that falls so heavily on farm lands.
5. A security Program for industrial workers through.
 - a. Unemployment insurance
 - b. Old age pensions
 - c. Sickness insurance
 - d. Minimum wage
 - e. Elimination of child labor
6. Federal regulation of the stock market situation
 - a. regulation of issues
 - b. regulation of harmful operations.
7. Modernizing our banking system.
 - a. Improving our credit system
 - b. More protection to depositors and stockholders
 - c. Bring our Federal Reserve system up to date.
8. Legislation to encourage industrial co-operation for the elimination of ruinous competition-ruinous alike to owners, workers and distributors.
9. The conservation and utilization of oil, coal and power for the public welfare through Federal regulation.
10. The complete outlawry of war, scrapping our navies, and reducing our armies to a bare minimum.

(over)

11. A national referendum on the Prohibition issue-
authorized by Congress and held in a non-presidential
year
12. We denounce the Smoot-Hawley Tariff and advocate
taking the tariff out of politics in accordance with
our platform of 1928.



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NEW YORK CITY

PSF
Dem National
Conventions

SITUATION IN GREATER NEW YORK

For whatever it's worth, I have just been told by one who really knows that there is in fact no organization work being done in Manhattan for the national Democratic ticket.

This, it is said, is not due to lack of funds but is due to the fact that neither the national, state nor local organization has urged anyone to do anything.

I am told that the situation in The Bronx and Brooklyn is no better, and that in those two places the only people working for the Democratic national ticket are the Jewish labor unions.

Let me assure you again that this information comes from a very reliable source.

5 clean hands
no phyls
no false game

no record
hands

may vote
no major
issues

H. H. Smith
FREDERIC FRANCIS & CO. 172 Madison Ave,
60 WEST 43RD STREET N.Y.
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Gov. Ev

Mr. Howe

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Suggested Planks
for
The National
Democratic Platform
on
Certain Important Questions

Submitted by
The Women's Democratic Union, Inc.
40 East 42nd Street
New York City

The Women's Democratic Union, Inc.

The purposes of this organization are to interest women in the aims and ideals of the Democratic Party and to educate them in practical methods of putting these into effect.

Chairman

MRS. ANNE O'HAGAN SHINN

Vice-Chairmen

MRS. JOHN W. DAVIS
MRS. ABRAM I. ELKUS
MRS. WILLIAM T. EMMET
MRS. DAVID F. HOUSTON
MISS IDA M. TARBELL

Secretary

MISS MINA M. BRUÈRE
40 East 42nd Street

Treasurer

MRS. ALFRED F. HESS
16 West 86th Street

Directors

MRS. JOHN H. AMEN	MRS. MONTGOMERY HARE
MRS. NORMAN H. DAVIS	MRS. PIERRE JAY
MISS MARTHA DRAPER	MRS. MARY ISABEL LOCKWOOD
MISS PAULINE GOLDMARK	MISS A. J. G. PERKINS

PLATFORM COMMITTEE

MRS. ANNE O'HAGAN SHINN, *Chairman*
MISS MARTHA DRAPER
MISS PAULINE GOLDMARK
MISS JANET ROBB
MISS IDA M. TARBELL

The Women's Democratic Union, Incorporated, an intelligent and progressive body of women with practical experience in many lines of public endeavor, presents the following recommendations to the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention:

A condition of profound economic depression exists through the United States, with widespread unemployment, lowered or totally destroyed values in property of every kind, tragic insecurity among the industrial population and uncertainty in every class. We hold that the first obligation upon the Democratic party at its accession to power is to institute legislation not only to help in the alleviation of present suffering but also to provide reasonable guarantees for a stable future prosperity.

We hold that a stable prosperity in the United States requires world markets and fluent conditions of trade with other countries; that it requires also the maintenance of high standards of living, health and education at home; and that it requires also the preservation of orderly, honest, economical and efficient government; and the wise administration of natural resources for the benefit of all citizens.

1. *Tariff:* We hold that the present tariff is a tax imposed upon all the people for the protection against outside competition of only certain sections of the community, that its benefits are confined almost entirely to one producing class, the manufacturing, and that its profits can never be equitably passed on to the agricultural and professional classes, or to the great body of laborers engaged in the non-protected industries. We believe also that this tariff has stimulated production in the favored industries beyond the possibilities of domestic consumption, while at the same time it has shut these industries unduly from the foreign markets necessary to their success, thus increasing unemployment and business stagnation. We hold furthermore, that these tariff policies have influenced nations which by preference and tradition are in favor of unrestricted trade to erect retaliatory tariff walls against us, thus further retarding the return of business and industry to normal.

We therefore believe that there should be an immediate downward revision of tariff duties prepared by the Tariff Board; and that negotiations should be set on foot with other nations to remove causes of unnecessary trade friction and to restore the normal interchange of commodities.

2. *Economy in Government:* We urge that government, Federal, State and Local, be conducted with strict economy, through the full use of their present machinery of government, through the consolidation of overlapping bureaus and departments, and through steadfast resistance to the creation of new machinery.

3. *Public Works:* We advocate the formation of reserve funds to be used for public works in periods

of depression, and for a well-thought out program of public works ready to be entered upon in such periods. We approve bond issues for public works in the present emergency. We urge better-planned and more closely interrelated use of the existing relief agencies, federal, state and local, in meeting present conditions.

4. *Prohibition:* We believe that all efforts to keep the prohibition question out of politics have failed and will continue to fail. We believe that the 18th amendment, constitutionally unsound and conflicting with the basic principles of democratic government, has shown itself during twelve years of existence to be unenforceable and has thus been the root of great social disorder and vast governmental corruption. We therefore urge that the Democratic party pledge itself upon its accession to power to set in motion the proper political machinery for bringing about the immediate revision of the Volstead Act, as an emergency relief measure, and that it simultaneously set in motion the proper political machinery for the repeal of the 18th amendment and the restoration to the several states of liquor traffic control within their own borders.

5. *Education:* We believe that public education is a governmental function of fundamental importance to the well-being of the nation. We believe that in this period of deep-seated economic and industrial change, it is more than ever necessary to give the coming generation the training and education that will best fit it to take its place in the state with a full understanding of its duties and privileges. Believing also that the administration and control of public education is a state function and that no encroachment on this state historic prerogative should be contemplated, we maintain that the Bureau of Education of the Federal Government should be more amply equipped to make

investigation and research covering the whole field of our educational resources and needs, to disseminate information which will make for increased efficiency in all school systems, to give aid toward the decrease of illiteracy, the Americanization of the foreign born, the training of well-qualified teachers, the establishment of effective programs of physical education, and more comprehensive programs of adult education for men and women in all parts of the country.

6. Public Health: We believe that good citizenship and the safety of the nation depends in great degree upon the physical health of the people of this country, that physical health is an immeasurable asset and ill-health a national economic liability. We therefore urge that there be no diminution in federal or state health education and administration. As a health measure we also recommend the continuance and extension of the plan of the Federal cooperation with the states in promoting the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy recommended by the Democratic party in 1920 and adopted by Congress in 1921, this to be continuously carried on by the Children's Bureau.

7. Women in Industry: On economic as well as humane grounds we deplore any exploitation of women in industry; we urge such conditions of work as will release their best energies and eliminate as far as is possible any social and economic wastes due to their employment. We therefore recommend that the Democratic party pledge itself to the following principles and to the fostering of such legislation in the various states as will promote them: (1) A maximum work week of 48 hours; (2) A wage that will enable laborers to maintain themselves in health and efficiency; (3) A comprehensive system of public employment bureaus to stabilize employment; (4) Healthful and safe

working conditions; (5) Same opportunity for vocational training for girls as for boys.

To make possible intelligent action on these principles we recommend that the Democratic party place itself on record as favoring adequate appropriations for the women's bureau, the children's bureau and the bureau of labor statistics.

8. Legal Disabilities of Women: We urge that the Democratic party pledge itself to remove any inequalities in the laws which discriminate against women: we urge that such removal be accomplished by means of specific rather than general legislation, so drawn as not to prejudice labor laws affecting women, social welfare legislation, and the laws and statutes providing for the protection of women in the family relationship.

9. International Relations: Believing that a stable prosperity requires friendly, peaceful relations with all nations, we urge that the Democratic party upon accession to power move toward the immediate entrance of the United States into the World Court and the League of Nations.

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P R O G R A M.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(Note: This program, of course, is only tentative. It may be necessary to change it as a result of developments upon the floor of the convention. It presents, however, a careful and studied forecast of events and their probable time of occurrence.)

FIRST SESSION.

Tuesday, June 23, 1936.

12 Noon. Honorable James A. Farley, Chairman, Democratic National Committee, Calls Convention to order.

Prayer of Cardinal O'Connell

12:30 P. M. Singing Star Spangled Banner, led by Jerry Lind.

12:45 P. M. Address of welcome by the Honorable S. D. Wilson, Mayor of Philadelphia.

1:30 P. M. Official photographs of the Convention

2:00 P. M. Address by the Honorable James A. Farley, Chairman, Democratic National Committee.

Adjournment.

SECOND SESSION.

Tuesday, June 23, 1936.

8:00 P. M. Chairman, Democratic National Committee, Honorable James A. Farley calls convention to order.

Prayer of _____.

8:45 P. M. Singing of America led by _____.

9:00 P. M. Address of Welcome by the Honorable George H. Earle, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

9:45 P. M. Call for the Convention, read by the Honorable W. Forbes Morgan, Secretary, Democratic National Committee.

Election of Temporary Officers of the Convention.
Committee to escort Temporary Chairman to the Chair.

10:00 P.M. Address of Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, Temporary Chairman.

11:00 P.M. Announcements
Adjournment.

THIRD SESSION.

Wednesday, June 24, 1936.

12 Noon Convention called to order by Temporary Chairman, Honorable Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky.

Prayer of _____.

Song, "Dixie", led by _____.

12:30 P.M. Resolutions offered.
Meetings of Standing Committee announced.
Introduction of Celebrities of Opera, State, Screen and Radio world by Eddie Dowling.

Adjournment.

FOURTH SESSION.

Wednesday, June 24, 1936.

8:00 P.M. Convention called to order by Temporary Chairman, Senator Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky.

Prayer of _____.

Song, "Happy Days are Here Again".

8:45 P.M. Report of Committee on Credentials.
Report of Committee on Permanent Organization.
Committee Appointed to Escort Permanent Chairman to the Chair.

10:00 P.M. Address of Senator Joe T. Robinson, of Arkansas, Permanent Chairman of the Convention.

Announcements.

Adjournment.

FIFTH SESSION.

Thursday, June 25, 1936.

12 Noon Convention called to order by Senator Joe T. Robinson of Arkansas, Permanent Chairman.

Prayer of _____.

Song.

1:00 P.M. Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

(The Convention will undoubtedly be concerned with changing the Two-Thirds Rule for the nomination of candidates for the office of President and Vice-President, in accordance with the recommendation of the National Convention of 1932.)

Adjournment.

SIXTH SESSION.

Thursday, June 25, 1936.

8:00 P. M. Convention called to order by Senator Joe T. Robinson, Permanent Chairman.

Prayer of _____.

Song and Music

Resolutions and announcements.

8:30 P. M. Report of Platform and Resolutions Committee.

9:00 P. M. Adoption of Platform.

Adjournment.

SEVENTH SESSION.

Friday, June 25, 1936.

12 Noon Convention called to Order by Senator Joe T. Robinson, Permanent Chairman.

Prayer of _____.

Song and Music.

Call of the Roll for Nominations of President of the United States.

12:30 P. M. Franklin D. Roosevelt placed in Nomination by the Honorable John E. Mack of New York.

Seconding Speeches.

Resolutions and Announcements.

Adjournment.

EIGHTH SESSION.

Saturday, June 26, 1936.

10:00 A.M. Convention called to order by Senator Joe T. Robinson, Permanent Chairman.

Prayer of _____.

Song and Music

10:45 A.M. Announcement by the Secretary regarding Honorary Officers of the Convention.

Announcements and Resolutions.

Call of Roll for Nominations of Vice-President of the United States.

John N. Garner placed in Nomination for Vice-President of the United States, by _____.

Resolutions and Announcements.

Adjournment Sine Die.

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DN Conventions

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1936

CONVENTION MANUAL

Compiled by
CLARENCE CANNON
at the instance of
JAMES A. FARLEY
Chairman
Democratic National Committee

Convention Manual

by

Clarence Cannon

For The

Democratic National Committee

At the Instance of

James A. Farley
Chairman

(Mr. Cannon is Parliamentarian of the Democratic National Convention of 1936, and has served in that capacity since 1920. He was formerly Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, is the author of a number of works on parliamentary procedure and is a Representative in the Congress of the Ninth Missouri District.)

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By
CLARENCE CANNON

FOREWORD

The national conventions, because of their unwieldy membership and their special requirements and purposes, have developed in the last hundred years a system of procedure peculiar to themselves and differing in many respects from general parliamentary law and the rules of the House of Representatives. The purpose of this Manual is to provide a compact and authoritative digest of the procedure and practice, as expressed in the rules, the decisions of chairmen, and the customs and usage of the Convention.

One of the notable results derived from the use of the Manual has been a material decrease in the questions of order raised on the floor, and in the time consumed in debate on procedure. Questions which otherwise would have been submitted to the Chair for decision with attendant discussion giving rise to rancor and delay are answered by the turn of a page, and obstructive tactics are nullified by a compendium which indicates at a glance the fallacy of mistaken points of order before they are presented. In this way the Manual has contributed to Party harmony, unity of action and the prompt and orderly dispatch of the business of the Convention.

Effort has been made to exclude controversial material or reference to isolated precedents which fail to conform to the recognized practice of the Convention. While authority is cited wherever available, many conclusions are necessarily matters of opinion for which the author must accept responsibility and neither the National Committee nor its officers are chargeable with errors which may have crept in.

References, as (1884-68), are to year and page of the proceedings of the several national conventions. The citation "in conference" refers to opinions of chairmen of conventions rendered after formal hearings in private at which all parties in interest were represented and acquiesced in the decision. Such hearings are frequently held by chairmen in order to avoid delay and controversy on the floor and, while publicity noted at the time, do not appear in the printed proceedings of the Convention.

CLARENCE CANNON.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Democratic National Committee is the permanent agency authorized to act in behalf of the Party during the interval between conventions. It is the creature of the National Convention and therefore subordinate to its control and direction. Between conventions the Committee exercises such powers and authority as have been delegated specifically to it and is subject to the directions and instructions imposed by the convention which created it.

(The National Committee was organized in 1848 as the outgrowth of a "central committee" of similar character appointed in 1844 to "promote the election of Polk and Dallas." Prior to the organization of the National Committee, conventions were called by the Democratic members of the New Hampshire Legislature.)

Membership

The Committee is composed of one man and one woman from each State, Territory and District. At present it consists of 54 men and 54 women (1932-335) representing respectively the 48 States, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands.

Methods of Nomination

Candidates for membership on the National Committee are nominated in the manner prescribed by the laws of their respective States and Territories, and are certified to the Convention for ratification and confirmation. In States and Territories in which no statutory provision is made for their nomination, that method of selection is followed which conforms to established Party customs and precedents, or to regularly adopted Party rules and regulations.

Methods of selection observed in the different States are as follows:

1. *By State Primary:* Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Nebraska, Oregon, and the District of Columbia.

2. *By State Convention:* Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Alaska, Canal Zone, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands.

3. *By Delegates to National Convention:* California, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

4. *By State Committee:* Arizona, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Committeemen and committeewomen must be residents of the State, Territory, District or colonial possession from which elected (1932-363). No further qualifications are prescribed for membership on the National Committee and the recommendations of the States are invariably ratified by the Convention.

Election

Nominations submitted by States and Territories are reported to the next succeeding National Convention for ratification (1932-335, 371). Although selected by their respective States, National Committeemen and National Committeewomen are in effect officials of the Convention and therefore do not assume office until duly confirmed by the Convention itself.

Contests as to membership on the National Committee are referred by the National Convention to the incoming Committee for adjudication and final disposition.

Term of Office

The National Committee is chosen for four years and serves from convention to convention. Members-elect do not take office at the Convention at which confirmed, but assume their seats at

the first meeting following the close of that Convention and serve until the adjournment of the next succeeding Convention, or until their successors are elected (1932-335).

The ratification of the new National Committee is one of the later items of business on the Convention program and as a rule shortly precedes final adjournment. Having adopted a platform and nominated candidates for President and Vice-President, the Convention commits its program to the new Committee, which takes charge of the national campaign and remains in office through the following National Convention.

Filling Vacancies

Vacancies on the National Committee occurring during the interim between conventions are filled by the State or central committee of the State, Territory or District involved (1920-424; 1932-336).

Officers of the Committee

The officers of the National Committee consist of a Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen (the first to be a woman), a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant-at-Arms and such other officers as are necessary for the conduct of the business and affairs of the Committee. These officers are elected by the Committee without suggestion from the Convention, and may or may not be chosen from the membership of the National Committee.

The Committee is authorized to appoint sub-committees and usually maintains several standing committees, ordinarily including an executive committee, a finance committee and others as occasion may require (1932-363).

Sessions of the Committee

The National Committee has no stated time or place of meeting but convenes on the call of the Chairman who designates the time and place of each session as called.

The new Committee meets the first time for organization immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, usually on the following day and in the city in which the Convention is held. Subsequent meetings are subject to the call of the Chairman.

Duties and Powers of the Committee

The duties and powers of the National Committee are derived from the Convention creating it, and while subject to variation as the Convention may provide, ordinarily include:

1. Maintenance of national headquarters at Washington and in the convention city during the sessions of the Convention, supplying information, enlisting Party cooperation, carrying out Party mandates and contributing to fulfillment of Party pledges.
2. Control and direction of the national campaign.
3. Creation of committees deemed necessary to the proper prosecution of its work.
4. Election or appointment of additional officers or committeemen (1932-363) who may or may not be members of the National Committee;
(Conversely, the Committee would have power to remove at will any officer appointed under authority granted by the Convention.)
5. Adjudication of contests for membership on the National Committee (1932-371, 612).
6. Maintenance of press and radio service, speakers' bureaus, club and organization supervision, supplying literature, speakers, organizers and Party representatives.
7. Financing of convention and campaign expenses and supervision of related expenditures.
8. Provision for the National Convention, involving:
 - a. Selection of time and place (1932-372);
 - b. Authorization of call and determination within authority

granted by last National Convention of representation from States, Territories and Districts;

(The number of delegates and alternates for Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands is fixed by the National Committee (1932-372).)

c. Preparation of temporary roll of delegates accepted as prima facie correct pending action on contests reported by the Committee on Credentials for disposition by the Convention;

d. Physical arrangements for Convention, including hotel reservations, granting of concessions, adjustment of auditorium to requirements, installation of telephone and telegraph wires and radio, press and motion picture facilities.

e. Arrangements for seating of delegations, press, radio and visitors;

(Tickets for visitors and spectators are usually distributed through three channels. Each State receives a quota based on number of delegates, Party vote at last election and proximity to the convention city. A quota is allotted to the representatives of the city entertaining the Convention, which is distributed to those financing the enterprise. The remaining tickets are placed on sale and the proceeds covered into the Party treasury. Requests for tickets from State quotas is made to the respective committeemen and committeewomen. Applications for purchase of tickets are directed to the Secretary of the National Committee.)

f. Designation of temporary officers, subject to the approval of the Convention, including the Temporary Chairman, who sounds the keynote of the campaign.

9. Filling of vacancies on the national ticket occurring by reason of death, declination or resignation of any nominee of the Convention.

10. While the National Committee submits recommendations for the consideration of the Convention, as that of August 11, 1924, suggesting increase of the Committee on Resolutions, or that of January 9, 1936, recommending abolition of the two-thirds rule, such proposals are merely suggestive and carry no official mandate. The duties and powers of the National Committee are derived from the Convention creating it and no convention has authorized the formulation of proposals which might be construed to be in the nature of platform declarations.

(The Democratic National Committee has no authority, express or implied, to prescribe issues for the Democratic rank and file. Chairman Cleveland Hall, Congressional Record, third session Seventy-first Congress, p. 5515.)

(The Chair holds that while this committee has no power to write platforms, it has full power, and its duty and responsibility is, to discuss those things which in its judgment it believes for the best interests of the Party, and its power enables it, as a result of such discussions and deliberations to make such recommendations to the National Convention for its consideration as it may see fit. Chairman John J. Raskob (1932-448).)

11. The National Committee is empowered to expel members for cause and has exercised this prerogative, as in 1896 when it expunged from its rolls the names of members actively opposing the election of the presidential nominee.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

The Democratic National Congressional Committee is composed of members of the House of Representatives and has no organic connection with either the Democratic National Convention or the Democratic National Committee. It was organized in 1880 for the purpose of aiding in the election of Democratic members of the House of Representatives, is supported by voluntary contributions, employs a permanent secretary and maintains offices in Washington.

The Congressional Committee consists of one member from each State and Territory having Democratic representation in the House, and is charged especially with the direction of the Congressional campaign for the mid-term elections. Its members are selected by the respective Democratic delegations from the several States and Territories and thereupon become members of the Congressional Committee without further action or ratification by Party caucus or the Committee itself.

Women who are not members of Congress are frequently appointed by the Committee Chairman to membership on the Committee on recommendation of Congressional Committeemen, but such appointments are limited to one woman from each State.

States without Democratic representation in the House are not represented on the Committee.

At the opening of each Congress the Congressional Committee meets and organizes by the election of a Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, Secretary, Treasurer, Director of Publicity and Sergeant-at-Arms, who may or may not be members of the Committee. It ordinarily maintains four standing committees, the Executive Committee, the Women's Executive Committee, the Finance Committee and the Speaker's Committee, and directs its activities without reference to other Party organizations.

The Committee does not participate in primary campaigns for the Party nomination but supports the officially chosen Democratic candidate for election to the House by supplying reports on issues and candidates, campaign literature, Party speakers and routine campaign facilities for all contested districts.

While it co-operates with the National Committee and with the Senatorial Committee it has no official connection or fiscal relation with either.

THE DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is composed of a varying number of Democratic Senators and corresponds to the Congressional Committee on the House side. Like the latter it has no organic connection with other Democratic national organizations. The Chairman is appointed by the Democratic Leader of the Senate and in turn appoints the remainder of the Committee, usually consisting of five to seven members.

The Committee acts in advisory capacity and provides Democratic candidates for election or reelection to the Senate with practically the same service afforded by the Congressional Committee in Congressional campaigns.

CALL FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1936

Washington, D. C., January 10, 1936.

To Whom It May Concern:

By authority of the Democratic National Committee, a National Convention of the Democratic Party is hereby called to meet in the City of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania on the twenty-third day of June, 1936, at twelve o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President and a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, to promulgate a platform and to take such other action as may be deemed advisable.

The basis of representation at such National Convention shall be two delegates with one vote for each Senator and Representative in Congress from the respective States; and the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Alaska and Canal Zone shall be entitled to six delegates each, and the Virgin Islands shall be entitled to two delegates.

One alternate is to be elected for each delegate.

No State or Territory shall elect any number of delegates with their alternates in excess of the quota to which such State or Territory may be entitled under the basis of representation herein indicated; provided, however, that in order that opportunity may be afforded the various States to give adequate representation to women as delegates-at-large without disturbing prevailing party custom, there may be elected four delegates-at-large for each Senator in Congress with one-half vote each in the National Convention; and further it is recommended to the States that one-half of the delegates-at-large shall be women.

JAMES A. FARLEY,

Chairman,
Democratic National Committee.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Democratic National Convention is composed of accredited delegates and alternates chosen every four years and selected on a basis of four delegates-at-large from each State, two delegates from each Congressional district, and a varying number of delegates from the territories, districts and insular possessions. The ratio of representation from the States is twice the number of senators and representatives in Congress, and the number from other civil divisions is arbitrarily fixed by the National Committee under authorization of the Convention.

The apportionment of representation in the Democratic National Convention of 1936 is as follows:

Alabama	22	Nebraska	14
Arizona	6	Nevada	6
Arkansas	18	New Hampshire	8
California	44	New Jersey	32
Colorado	12	New Mexico	6
Connecticut	16	New York	94
Delaware	6	North Carolina	26
Florida	14	North Dakota	8
Georgia	24	Ohio	52
Idaho	8	Oklahoma	22
Illinois	58	Oregon	10
Indiana	28	Pennsylvania	72
Iowa	22	Rhode Island	8
Kansas	18	South Carolina	16
Kentucky	22	South Dakota	8
Louisiana	20	Tennessee	22
Maine	10	Texas	46
Maryland	16	Utah	8
Massachusetts	34	Vermont	6
Michigan	38	Virginia	22
Minnesota	22	Washington	16
Mississippi	18	West Virginia	16
Missouri	30	Wisconsin	24
Montana	8	Wyoming	6

Alaska	6	Canal Zone	6
District of Columbia	6	Virgin Islands	2
Hawaii	6		
Porto Rico	6	Total	1,100

(The system fixing the number of votes in the Convention at twice the number of senators and representatives was adopted in 1852, and delegations from territories and possessions were admitted in 1894.)

As a matter of practice, the number of votes in the Convention does not correspond with the number of delegates ordinarily in attendance as the States usually send eight delegates-at-large with half a vote each, and through the seating of contesting delegations and other contingencies, district delegates also are sometimes accredited with fractional votes. However, a strict observance of the order under which the Convention is called, excludes fractional representation from districts and limits delegations-at-large to a minimum of half a vote. By the same rule, one alternate is provided for each delegate.

Selection of Delegates

The method of selecting delegates to the National Convention varies. In some jurisdictions the method is prescribed by statute; in others by custom, as follows:

1. *By Primary:* California (Stat. 1915 p. 279; 1916 Ex. p. 36; 1923 p. 38), Florida (Laws 1927 §389, option of state committee), Illinois (R. S. 1933 c. 46 §365, 374; 1935 p. 809 § 10, delegates-at-large by convention), Massachusetts (Laws 1932, p. 3), Nebraska (Compiled Stat. 1929, §32-1118), New Hampshire (Pub. Laws 1926 c. 30), New Jersey (R. S. 1934 Title 19, p. 61; 1935 Art. 5 §47 Sec. 4), New York (Consolidated Laws 1930 c. 16 §21, delegates-at-large by state committee), Ohio (Code 1930 §4785-75), Oregon (Laws 1935 c. 261 §9), Pennsylvania (Laws 1917 p. 244), South Dakota (Compiled Laws 1929 §7096-c), West Virginia (Code 1931 c. 3 Art. 4 §3), Wisconsin (Stat. 1929 §422; Laws 1933 c. 139), District of Columbia.

2. *By State Convention:* Colorado (Compiled Laws 1921 §7632), Connecticut, Delaware (Code 1915 §1714), Georgia, Idaho (Session

Laws 1933 c. 185), Indiana (Session Laws 1929 p. 226), Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland (Code 1924 Art. 33 §190), Michigan (Public Acts 1931 Act 113), Minnesota, Mississippi (Code 1930 §5866), Missouri (R. S. 1929 §10288), Montana (Laws 1927 c. 126), Nevada (Laws 1929 §2428; 1935 c. 108), New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota (Laws 1935 c. 135 §9), Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas (Complete Statutes 1928 §3167), Utah, Vermont (Public Acts 1921 No. 9), Virginia, Washington (Laws 1927 p. 287 §1; R. S. Sec. 5198), Wyoming (R. S. 1931 §36,635), Alaska, Canal Zone, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands.

(Where district delegations are elected by State conventions, the representatives from the respective districts usually caucus, either by custom or statutory provision, and submit recommendations which are approved by the Convention.)

3. *By State Committee:* Alabama (Code 1928 §646, option of committee), Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana.

State Delegations

Prior to the opening of the Convention each State delegation caucuses, usually at their hotel, and selects a delegation chairman who represents them on the floor of the Convention, a vice-chairman who presides in the absence of the chairman, and a delegation secretary who records the caucus proceedings.

The chairman is assigned the seat beside the State standard where the officers of the Convention can readily distinguish him when recognition is desired and where he may be found by those seeking the State spokesman. In leaving his station, even temporarily, the chairman delegates his duties to the vice-chairman or some other member of the delegation who occupies the seat in his absence, and others should be seated elsewhere to avoid confusion and inconvenience. The chairman speaks for the delegation and his statements where unchallenged are accepted as final (1924-346; 1932-191.) The names of the delegation officers are reported to the platform with the name of the delegate to be recognized

when the State is reached in the call of the roll for nominations for President and Vice-President (1932-193).

At the State caucus a member of the delegation is selected for each of the following major committees: the Committee on Credentials, the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, the Committee to Notify the Presidential Nominee and the Committee to Notify the Vice-Presidential Nominee. These selections are announced and confirmed on roll call of the States following the keynote speech of the Temporary Chairman, and members of such committees should note attentively announcements from the platform of time and place of meeting, and attend promptly.

The caucus also nominates members to represent the State as Honorary Vice-President of the Convention, Honorary Assistant Vice-President, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Assistant Secretary, who are announced and voted on at the time of the confirmation of the members of the National Committee.

A State delegation in disagreement on the nature of its instructions or its vote, or unable to announce its decision for other cause, is passed when reached in the call of States and is called at the end of the list (1912-220), and no member of the delegation may be recognized to debate such delegation proceedings not before the Convention (1852-41; 1876-148).

TENTATIVE CONVENTION PROGRAM

(Each national convention is a law unto itself, and adopts its own agenda and order of business. Even after adoption, such orders of business may be amended or discontinued at any time at the will of the convention and necessarily vary from day to day with the progress made. But long-established custom has prescribed forms and orders of procedure best adapted to the needs and purposes of the convention as indicated in the following tentative program.)

FIRST DAY

1. The Chairman of the Democratic National Committee calls the Convention to order at 12 o'clock noon.
2. Invocation.
3. By direction of the Presiding Officer the Secretary of the Democratic National Committee reads the Convention call.
4. The Presiding Officer submits the list of temporary officers of the Convention recommended by the Democratic National Committee which is read by the Secretary.
5. Address of welcome by the Mayor of the entertaining city.
6. Remarks by the Presiding Officer.
7. Election of Temporary Officers.

(Any delegate may nominate other candidates than those proposed by the National Committee. The motion to close nominations or the motion to elect by acclamation are in order at any time. If no further nominations are offered, the Presiding Officer may declare nominations closed and put the question.)

8. The Presiding Officer appoints a committee of three (including one woman) to escort the Temporary Chairman to the platform.
9. Keynote address by the Temporary Chairman.

10. Adoption of resolution providing temporary rules and order of business.

(Usually includes adoption of the rules of the National House of Representatives as the temporary rules of the Convention, and provision for reference of all petitions and resolutions except those relating to the rules and order of business to the Committee on Resolutions without reading or debate. The two proposals are sometimes incorporated in one resolution or may be presented as separate resolutions.)

11. Adoption of resolution authorizing roll call by States for nomination of one member from each State delegation for each of the following:

Committee on Credentials.
Committee on Permanent Organization.
Committee on Rules and Order of Business.
Committee on Resolutions and Platform.
Committee to Notify Candidate for President.
Committee to Notify Candidate for Vice-President.
Honorary Vice-President of the Convention.
Honorary Secretary of the Convention.

(The roll call is sometimes omitted and delegations are asked to send the list of their nominations to the platform.)

12. Adoption of resolution or motion confirming committees as reported.
(No business then in order until committees report.)
13. Announcements, including announcement by the Secretary of time and place of meeting of committees.
14. Memorial resolutions and optional speeches.
15. Adjournment of session.

SECOND DAY

16. The Temporary Chairman calls the Convention to order at the hour fixed on the previous day.
17. Invocation.

18. Report of Committee on Credentials.

(No report from the Committee on Permanent Organization or the Committee on Resolutions and Platform is in order until the report of the Committee on Credentials has been received and acted upon. Until a permanent roll has been adopted recognizing the personnel of the Convention, no permanent organization or declaration of party principles is possible (1894-135.)

19. Report of Committee on Permanent Organization.

(The Temporary Chairman recognizes the chairman of the committee who reads the report. Motions to amend or adopt the report are then in order. In the absence of such motions the Temporary Chairman puts the question on agreeing to the report or announces that without objection the report is adopted.)

20. Appointment by the Temporary Chairman of a committee of four to escort the Permanent Chairman to the rostrum.

21. Address of the Permanent Chairman.

22. Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

(The Chairman of the committee having concluded the reading of the report, moves its adoption. The order of business provided in the report having been agreed to, may be dispensed with only by unanimous consent, on resolution from the Committee on Rules or on motion to suspend the rules.)

23. Report by States of nominations for National Committeemen and National Committeewomen, and consideration of resolution of confirmation.

24. Resolution authorizing the Democratic National Committee to fix the time and place of the next Democratic National Convention.

25. General announcements and optional speeches.

26. Adjournment of session.

THIRD DAY

27. The Permanent Chairman calls the Convention to order at the hour fixed by the adjournment motion of the previous day.

28. Invocation.

29. Report of Committee on Resolutions and Platform.

(If report of the committee is delayed, the Convention may provide for presentation of candidates for President while awaiting report, balloting to be deferred until after adoption of platform. The report of the committee when presented is subject to debate and amendment. Amendments, if any, are usually offered in the form of a minority report, and debate is ordinarily limited by a unanimous consent agreement fixing control of time and ordering the previous question.)

30. Roll call by States for speeches placing in nomination candidates for President of the United States.

(States are called in alphabetical order and representatives may nominate a candidate for President, or second a nomination, or may yield for a State not yet called. Nominating and seconding speeches are limited to 20 minutes and 5 minutes respectively.)

31. Adjournment of session.

FOURTH DAY

32. Convention is called to order by the Chairman at the hour previously designated.

33. Invocation.

34. Continuation of nominating speeches for candidates for President on roll call by States if not concluded on previous day.

35. Chairman directs roll call for ballot on candidates for President.

36. Chairman directs call of States for nomination of candidates for Vice-President.

37. Balloting for candidate for Vice-President.

38. Resolutions of thanks.

39. Adjournment sine die.

CONVENTION PROCEDURE

(Each National Convention, like each National Congress, proceeds *de novo*, and a convention is not bound by rules or resolutions of previous conventions and may not so bind succeeding conventions (1884-194). As a matter of practice, however, the national conventions have for many years adopted with little variation the rules and procedure of their predecessors (1884-9). Accordingly there has grown up a system of convention procedure based on decisions rendered by chairmen and presiding officers in interpreting the rules of the House of Representatives as applied to convention proceedings; in construing the stated exceptions to those rules; and in enforcing rules peculiar to the convention, as the two-thirds rule and the unit rule, which is recognized as authoritative. While lack of space prevents a detailed review, the accompanying summary touches briefly those questions which experience has shown arise most frequently on the floor of the convention. The first figure of the citation refers to the year of the convention in which the decision was made and the last figure to the page of the proceedings on which it is recorded.)

Adjournment

Motion to adjourn may be made at any time recognition is secured for that purpose (1920-411), but such recognition is not in order during roll call (1884-117; 1924-328, 726; 1932-300, 314, 319). While motion to adjourn to meet at designated time is not admitted in House of Representatives it is in order in the Convention (1912-40, 278; 1924-645). Simple motion to adjourn is not debatable (1912-278), and may not be laid on table (1912-198; 1924-220), but motion to adjourn to certain time is debatable and subject to amendment (1924-156). Motion to adjourn to day certain to meet at another place is in order (1860-83; 1924-751), and is decided by a majority vote (1924-753).

Alternates

The States are represented in the Convention by an alternate for each delegate and the number of alternates equals the number

of delegates (1936-71). Resolutions of state conventions or state central committees sometimes authorize delegates to appoint alternates (1912-238; 1924-321, 840, 846) but unless so authorized, delegates have no power to name alternates (1912-339), and where not so authorized, a resolution by the delegation designating alternates will not be recognized (1932-310, 311). But in the absence of written deputation certifying to appointment of alternate under authorization to designate one, the statement of chairman of the delegation is accepted as accurate and vote of alternate so appointed will be recorded (1924-847). In the absence of his delegate an alternate has all the privileges of voting and debate to which his principal is entitled, but unless specifically authorized by instructions an alternate for one principal may not vote in the absence of another principal (1912-217; 1920-390; 1924-324, 635, 894). Unless otherwise authorized the first alternate on the list is alternate for the first delegate on the list and for no other (1932-292, 294) but in the absence of the opposite alternate another on the list may be substituted where the credentials so provide (1932-293). However, where twelve delegates and only six alternates are certified, the alternate first on the list serves in the first vacancy and so on down the list (1924 in conference; 1932-312) but an alternate may not vote the second time on the same ballot after all alternates have voted and a further vacancy develops (1932-313). Where an alternate votes in the absence of his principal, the vote is automatically cancelled on the appearance of the delegate prior to announcement of result and the vote of the delegate is registered instead (1932-296). Where under a state statute delegates and alternates are elected by districts, the alternate receiving the highest number of votes is presumed to fill the first vacancy and the alternate polling the next highest number of votes, the next vacancy (1932-311, 322). In the absence of both delegate and alternate the vote cannot be counted unless the unit rule is invoked (1912-408; 1924-706), but a delegate or alternate absent when their names are called may vote on arrival if prior to announcement of result of the ballot (1932-297, 306).

Amendments

Amendments are required to be submitted in writing (1924-223), and must be germane to the proposition to which offered (1880-12). Agreement to motion to lay amendment on the table carries with it proposition to which amendment is offered (1880-12). Majority and minority reports from committees are subject to amendment from the floor unless the previous question is operating (1876-42; 1904-85; 1932-200).

Challenging Vote

Demand for poll of delegation or challenge of accuracy of count must be made when vote is reported, and comes too late after the next State is called (1924-337, 939; 1932-300). Such demand may not be made by any one not a member of the delegation, and no delegate may request poll of any other delegation than his own (1924-326, 327). Only method by which poll of delegation may be had is by challenging accuracy of count or report (1924-315, 337), but such challenge is in order on any vote regardless of character of instructions by which delegation is bound (1924-453). Demand for poll of vote may not apply to single delegate only but must include entire delegation (1912-202). Demand for poll may be withdrawn at any time before poll starts (1924-598, 636, 658). Chairman of Convention may defer poll until conclusion of roll call (1924-158, 314, 315).

Chairman of Convention

Chairman may not appoint to preside temporarily in his stead any one not a member of the Convention (June 24, 1924; July 4, 1924). No appeal from decision of chair is in order on recognition; or when dilatory; in response to parliamentary inquiry or during roll call (1924-327, 329). Chair does not decide hypothetical questions or inquiries not directly raised by the proceed-

ings (1876-25, 107; 1920-209; 1924-336; 1932-246). Chairman may direct Sergeant-at-Arms to remove disorderly spectators (1876-135).

Committees

A rule of the Convention customarily provides for the reference of all resolutions and communications, except those relating to rules and order of business, to the committee having jurisdiction, without reading or debate (1884-68, 86), and such reference is in order before committees are appointed (1884-17) but the point of order that a resolution should be referred to a committee under the rule will not lie when the subject matter is being considered under the adopted order of business (1920-90). Reports on special orders of business are admissible at any time and may not be recommitted (1920-87). When committee reports are submitted the question on agreeing to the report is considered as pending (1928-201). Minority reports from committees are presented and read immediately following majority report and both are open to debate (1916-132) and amendment (1876-42; 1904-85) unless previous question is ordered. Where more than one minority report is submitted all are presented before consideration begins (1924-247), and are taken up in the order presented (1924-249). Question comes first on minority reports and then on majority report or majority report as amended (1912-76).

Contests

By direction of the Convention (1932-372), the names of all delegates and alternates are certified to the National Committee not less than fifteen days prior to the opening of the Convention. Within this fifteen days the National Committee meets, hears and decides all contests, and compiles the temporary roll. Delegates on the temporary roll are seated, assigned to committees, recognized for debate, and vote on all questions, pending adjudication of contests by the Convention (1896-112; 1906-119). In the Conven-

tion, all contests for seats are referred without debate to the Committee on Credentials (1892-33), which meets and hears contestants, individually or by counsel, and reports its conclusions to the Convention in the form of a majority report designating the permanent roll (1920-41; 1924-46; 1928-35; 1932-52).

(The Committee on Credentials, however, may not report proposals to seat delegates from civil divisions not included in the official call (1904-06).)

Following the reading of the majority report, dissenting members of the Committee on Credentials are recognized to submit minority reports proposing the seating of delegations other than those included in the majority report, and debate is in order until closed by the previous question (1916-132; 1920-200).

(Amendments from the floor are admissible (1876-42; 1904-05) and the point of order that, under the rules, motions and resolutions shall be referred to the committee having jurisdiction, is not pertinent when raised against amendments to propositions authorized by the adopted order of business (1820-90).)

Debate having been concluded, either by agreement or operation of the previous question, the vote is taken on the minority reports in the order in which presented and then recurs on the adoption of the majority report establishing the permanent roll (1912-76; 1920-54).

(In lieu of submitting a minority report, a motion is in order to recommit the majority report to the Committee on Credentials with instructions to report it back forthwith with an amendment substituting a contesting delegation for one named in the report (1900-48). If the motion to recommit is agreed to, the chairman of the committee immediately submits the report as amended without consulting his committee or retiring from the hall and the permanent roll is adopted as amended.)

Debate

Recognition for debate is within discretion of the Chair but members of committees reporting the proposition under discussion or entitled to floor under prevailing orders of business, take precedence. Although recognition in the House of Representatives is for one hour, an exception customarily provided in the

adoption of the rules of the Convention limits general recognition to 30 minutes and speeches seconding a nomination to 5 minutes (1912-57; 1916-92). However, the Convention, as in the House, may limit the number of speeches or the time for speaking on motion at any time (1904-255). A delegate desiring to interrupt the speaker shall address the chair and secure consent of the speaker (1920-118). Ordinarily time consumed in applause is not taken into account but the Chairman may within his discretion allow for interruptions by hecklers (1932-76, 160, 245, 255). Debate is not in order during roll call, either by states, or in poll of delegation (1920-265), and no delegate may be recognized to speak or to explain a vote while call is pending (1924-316, 320, 892). Debate by members of a delegation on interpretation of its instructions or on the application of the unit rule or other questions involving a demand for poll of the delegation is not in order unless invited by the Chair (1852-41; 1876-148), although on such occasion the Chairman has allotted each side five minutes in which to state its contention (1924-425). When reports of committees or other warmly contested issues are before the Convention it is customary to enter into a unanimous consent agreement or secure an order through suspension of the rules limiting debate and fixing control of time without reference to usual rules of debate. (1920-208; 1924-249; 1932-58.)

Decorum

Delegates and guests are expected to be seated and to refrain from loud conversation during session of the Convention. Aisles and platform must be kept clear and smoking is forbidden on the floor or in the galleries (1884-226; 1920-170). Disorder in the galleries gives rise to a question of privilege but such question may not interrupt roll call. (1912-263). The Sergeant-at-Arms maintains decorum under direction from the Chairman of the Convention (1920-118).

Delegates

Delegates if properly accredited are entitled to sit in the Convention although not residents of the state or district represented (1924-160). While the number of votes apportioned to the states is fixed, the number of delegates at large is within discretion of the state convention and a larger number may be accredited with fractional votes (1912-17). The Convention accepts the temporary roll of delegates prepared by the National Committee as prima facie correct, and contested delegations are accepted, seated, assigned to committees and permitted to vote without restriction until action on contest by the Convention (1896-112; 1908-119). A delegate listed on the printed roll on unofficial credentials and reported to Convention by Committee on Credentials is not entitled to sit or vote if it appears that his name is not on the roll officially certified to the Convention by state authority cited in report of Credentials Committee (1924-903). A delegate absent when his name was reached in roll call may vote on return before the result is declared regardless of whether his alternate has voted in his absence (1932-296, 297, 306). Those delegates present and voting constitute the delegation although a majority of the delegation may be absent (1912-249). Delegations may be authorized by state convention to fill vacancies (1912-16). A delegate announcing he would not abide by the decision of the Convention was held not entitled to participate in its deliberations (1864-33), and delegates failing to observe the rules and orders of the Convention are subject to expulsion by a two-thirds vote (1912-130).

Division

A division of the question, and a separate vote on each substantive proposition contained in a committee report or any pending question, may be requested by any delegate (1904-87; 1912-96; 1932-203), and is in order even after the previous question is demanded (1860-44).

Instructions

Where a state convention has instructed its delegation, the Convention will enforce that instruction (1892-91). But the Convention takes no cognizance of private agreements among members of a delegation and will not consider propositions to enforce such personal agreements (Walsh in conference, July 4, 1924). The burden of proof of instruction rests on proponents and it is incumbent upon delegates alleging instructions to produce documentary evidence thereof (1912-274).

Likewise the Convention declines to assume responsibility for instructions imposed in a primary, holding that such instructions may be disregarded at will as a matter between the delegate and his constituency (1922-222, 320; 1924-427). Delegations are also permitted to disregard instructions when a majority of the delegation votes to disregard them (Walsh, July 4, 1924). Where instructions from states and Congressional districts conflict, the state instructions govern. Representation in the Convention is from the state and not from subdivisions thereof, and instructions from the latter are not recognized unless authorized by mandatory statute providing for election of delegates from districts without subjecting them to state authority. Under such statutes, instructions imposed by state authority do not apply (1904-248; 1912-222; 1920-85; 1924-458, 708). But where instructions are imposed by vote invoked by voluntary agreement and not by statute, delegation is bound by the instruction and unit rule so imposed may not be abrogated (1932-70, 297, 323).

A state committee has no authority to cancel, amend or modify instructions imposed by a state convention, and telegrams to the Convention and the delegation from a state committee purporting to release the delegation from instruction relating to support of candidates and the operation of the unit rule imposed by convention were disregarded (1932-246, 252).

Under instructions "to vote as a unit on questions as a majority may determine" delegates by refusing to vote may not subtract such votes from the total and the entire vote of the delegation will be recorded as directed by the majority (1924-345).

Instructions to vote for a candidate "until two-thirds determine that he cannot be nominated" construed literally and a two-thirds vote required to absolve from instructions (1912-209), but construed as meaning two-thirds of those present and voting and not two-thirds of the entire delegation (1912-297).

Resolutions by state convention "requesting" delegation to vote as a unit interpreted as if reading "instructed" to vote as a unit (1860-460; Barkley in conference, June 28, 1932), and resolutions "recommending" that the delegation be bound by unit rule construed as if reading "instructing" that delegation be bound by unit rule (1860-51).

Instructions to vote for candidate "as long as there is reasonable hope of his nomination" construed as giving majority of delegation right to decide when "reasonable hope" could no longer be entertained (1912-245).

Instructions to vote for a candidate "until released by him or his authority" held not to invoke unit rule and each member of delegation entitled to determine for himself his responsibility to his constituency in casting his vote (1912-322).

Instructions to vote for a candidate "as long as there is a reasonable chance of his nomination" held to confer on majority of delegation right to determine when "reasonable chance" no longer obtained. However, when half of delegation voted for and half against continuing support, held that unit rule though it might be inferred from the text of the instructions was not specifically imposed and was not in effect and delegates might vote individually (1924-378, 383, 486, 799).

Instructions to vote for a designated candidate are to be distinguished from instructions to vote under the unit rule. Both may be imposed in same instructions but one does not imply the other (1924-784) and Convention will not enforce instructions to vote for certain candidate unless such instructions also invoke the unit rule, although where unit rule is also imposed the vote of the entire delegation will be recorded in accordance with the vote of the majority (1924-949). Where delegations under the unit rule but uninstructed as to candidates voted half and half, held that delegation must break deadlock for itself, and in event of failure to do so that rule did not apply and votes were cast

half for one candidate and half for the other (Walsh in conference, July 3, 1924).

Instructions to "vote as a unit on all matters pertaining to the business before the convention" held to apply to balloting for nomination of President as well as to other votes (1912-258), but where instructions invoked the unit rule "on all questions affecting his nomination" held not to apply to questions other than those affecting his nomination (1912-15), and where delegation was instructed to vote under the unit rule in "nominating a candidate for President," it was held that the unit rule was not invoked on other propositions (1924-311).

Instructions to vote as a unit for a candidate for a specified time was held not to continue the unit rule in support of another candidate subsequent to expiration of such time (1912-246, 273), and where instructions were imposed in behalf of one candidate held that when ineffective with reference to that candidate they could not be transferred to another candidate (Walsh in conference, July 4, 1924).

Instructions to vote for a candidate "until released by him" once released, although merely for purpose of casting complimentary vote, are thereby vitiated and may not again be invoked. (Oklahoma delegation instructed for Murray temporarily released to vote for Will Rogers, Walsh in conference, June 30, 1932).

The Convention may by suspension of the rules release all delegates "from all pledges or instructions of any kind whatsoever relating to any candidate for the nomination for President" (1924-816) but such action held not to abrogate the unit rule where in operation in any delegation (1924-818, 824).

Motions and Resolutions

Delegates must secure recognition from the Chair in order to offer a motion, and Chair may inquire for what purpose the delegate rises and after hearing the motion may decline recognition. After an order of business is adopted no motions are admissible unless in order under the pending item of business or at that particular stage of the proceedings. Under the rules of the House

of Representatives adopted by the Convention a second is not required (1884-35; 1932-223), and motions decided adversely may not be renewed before other business has intervened (1884-132). Motions or resolutions may be withdrawn at any time before action by the Convention (1924-793), even after order for yeas and nays, providing roll call has not begun (1932-315).

A rule of the Convention provides for reference of all resolutions, petitions and communications introduced, except those pertaining to the rules and order of business to appropriate committees without reading or debate (1920-27), and such reference is in order even before committees have been appointed (1884-17). In fact any paper of any character on which the Convention is not required to vote may be read by unanimous consent only (1860-40). However, the rule requiring reference of resolutions to committees is not applicable when such resolutions relate to business then in order (1920-87, 90), and a committee to which a resolution is referred under the rule may be discharged from its consideration on motion by majority vote (1920-92).

Nominations

A delegation when reached in the call of states for nomination of President or Vice President, has choice of four options: 1. To pass; 2. To nominate a candidate; 3. To second the nomination of a candidate; or 4. To yield to another state.

States may not yield to individuals. The roll call is by states and only states are recognized. Delegates may not nominate or second the nomination of one candidate when instructed for another. The Convention enforces instructions and instructions which precluded voting for another candidate preclude nominating another candidate. But where a delegation is uninstructed, any member of the delegation may nominate or second a nomination when his state is reached in the call (1880-85). When one state yields to another neither State is again called.

(The *Bedford Times* telegraphed Chairman Walsh, June 20, 1932: "If Connecticut yields to Massachusetts for Ely to nominate Smith, can Connecticut make seconding speech for Smith?" Chairman Walsh replied "No.")

A motion to limit the length and number of nominating speeches is privileged before the call of the roll for nominations begins (1904-255). By custom, nominating speeches are limited to twenty minutes for President and ten minutes for Vice President, and all seconding speeches are limited to five minutes (1916-92; 1920-84; 1924-92; 1928-93; 1932-140), no part of which may be yielded to another. In nominating or seconding the nomination of a candidate, delegates may address the Convention from the floor or from the platform as preferred (1932-256). It is not in order in nominating a candidate to attack another candidate (1876-118; 1884-124).

A state failing to respond when called in its turn, may subsequently be recognized if asking recognition before balloting begins (1932-254, 287). The call of the states for nominations when reached in the order of business is the only business in order and may not be interrupted by motions to recess, adjourn, fix the time at which to adjourn or other motions, until the call has been completed (1884-117; 1892-140), but a motion to suspend the rules and recess or adjourn is admissible (1884-129; 1920-149), and if carried, the call of states comes up as the unfinished business at the next session of the Convention (1884-152).

Order of Business

As soon as permanent organization is completed the Convention adopts an order of business, (1924-91), which once agreed to, fixes permanently the parliamentary program of the Convention and may be amended or dispensed with only (a) by unanimous consent, (b) by adoption of a report from the Committee on Rules, or (c) by agreeing to a motion to suspend the rules. Under such order of business a resolution offered between ballots for President that Convention remain in session until nomination be made was held not to be in order (1924-614).

Points of Order

Points of order against a proceeding come too late after debate has begun or other business has intervened (1876-25; 1912-96).

Debate on questions of order is within discretion of the Chair (1912-295). Points of order arising during a roll call are decided peremptorily and are not subject to appeal (1924-327).

Previous Question

Previous question when ordered precludes both debate and amendment (1916-131). Committeeman presenting report may move previous question, but if ordered before any debate is had on the question at any time, 40 minutes debate is allowed, 20 minutes on each side. If motion is offered and agreed to after even one or two sentences of debate no further debate is in order. An order for the previous question usually accompanies a unanimous consent request for control and limitation of time in debate (1932-58).

Proxies

Neither delegates nor alternates may vote by proxy, unless deputation of proxy is specifically authorized by state convention or other authority selecting delegates (1912-217, 286; 1920-408; 1924-312, 313; 1932-310, 311), and even where duly authorized persons holding proxies though entitled to vote are not entitled to recognition for debate. (1920-390.)

Recess

The motion to recess while not admitted in the House of Representatives is held by long custom in order in the Convention (1924-226), but is not debatable (1904-273).

Reconsider

When a motion is carried or lost any member of the majority may move reconsideration on the same or following day. The majority is construed to mean the prevailing side in a tie or a

two-thirds vote. The motion is highly privileged and takes precedence of all motions except motion to adjourn.

Suspension of the Rules

Motion to suspend the rules interrupts the regular order of business and is in order at any time except during roll call (1884-129), but recognition to move suspension is within discretion of the Chair (1876-104), and requires a two-thirds majority (1920-168; 1924-680, 747). Motion to suspend the rules may not be amended (1924-678, 687, 747), may not be reconsidered (1924-700), and may not be laid on the table (1912-131; 1924-679, 759, 923). Motion to go into executive session in balloting on nomination of President not admitted, but motion to suspend the rules and go into executive session held to be in order (1924-677). Motion to suspend rules and drop candidate receiving lowest vote admitted between roll calls on nomination of President (1924-741, 745, 756).

Table

The motion to lay on the table is used for final summary disposition without debate, and a matter once laid on the table cannot be taken up again except by unanimous consent or suspension of the rules. The motion is not debatable and may not be amended, but the motion to adjourn (1912-198; 1924-220) and motion to suspend the rules may not be laid on the table (1912-131; 1924-679, 759, 923). An amendment laid on the table carries with it the proposition to which the amendment was offered (1880-12).

Two-Thirds Rule

Beginning with the convention of 1832 (1876-24), the Democratic National Convention has always required a two-thirds vote for the nomination of President and Vice President (1860-72;

1868-63; 1876-24; 1892-29; 1896-322; 1920-384; 1924-1038; 1936-71). Even on the one occasion on which the two-thirds rule was not specifically mentioned in the resolution adopting the rules of the Convention it was held to be a requirement authorized through immemorial usage (1920-381). The two-thirds vote required is not two-thirds of the number of votes in the Convention but two-thirds of the votes cast, a quorum being present (1852-8; 1892-29; 1896-322). Affirmative action on a motion to suspend the rules and drop the low candidate while balloting on the nomination of President was held not to suspend the rule requiring a two-thirds vote for nomination (1920-382) but a motion to suspend the rules and abrogate the two-thirds rule, if agreed to was held to permit nomination of President by a majority vote (1924-785). The motion to suspend the rules and abrogate the two-thirds rule has been entertained but never agreed to (1884-192; 1924-907, 923). During balloting for nomination of candidate for President the motion to drop the low candidate was not admitted (1920-377), but motion to suspend the rules and drop lowest candidate was entertained (1920-384). On July 4, 1924, Chairman Walsh in conference held that adoption of motion to drop lowest candidate could not circumscribe right of delegate to vote for such candidate but Convention might decline to record such vote.

(The two-thirds rule was adopted by the first Democratic National Convention at the instance of President Jackson to insure the nomination of his protégé Martin Van Buren for Vice President. By a coincidence it was the means of defeating Van Buren's re-nomination for the presidency in 1844. It has proved effective on only two occasions since that time, when it deadlocked the Convention of 1860 compelling adjournment from Charleston to Baltimore before Stephen A. Douglass could muster two-thirds of the remnant of the delegates who attended, and again when it brought about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson over Speaker Champ Clark at the Baltimore Convention of 1912.)

Unanimous Consent

Any action may be taken and any proceeding had by unanimous consent regardless of the rules or pending order of business. But recognition to move unanimous consent is within discretion of the Chair and may not be granted except for routine matters or under exceptional circumstances.

Unit Rule

The Democratic National Convention recognizes the unit rule under which a majority of the delegates from a state may cast the entire vote of that state regardless of the preference of the minority. And where a state convention has instructed its delegation to observe the unit rule, the Convention will enforce it (1892-91; 1904-118; 1920-319, 336). The application of the rule and its interpretation are governed by the terms of the resolution of the state convention imposing it (1912-14), but such terms are strictly construed and although the rule may be inferred from the instructions, unless it is specifically invoked in terms it will not be held to apply (1924-799).

However, since 1912 it has been held that the unit rule may not apply to those states in which delegates are selected by primary (1912-222, 320; 1920-319; 1924-427, 458), delegates so elected being responsible to their constituents only. Provision is made by law for selection of delegates and alternates by primary in California, Florida, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia. As Illinois and New York elect district delegates by primary and delegates-at-large by state convention or state committee, only the delegations-at-large may be bound by the unit rule. Delegates from the remainder of the states and territories are elected by conventions, by state committees or at primaries not held in pursuance of statutes and are therefore subject to the unit rule where imposed.

(The following states hold presidential primaries: Alabama, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, West Virginia and Wisconsin.)

Under the unit rule a majority of the delegates from a state cast the entire vote for the state regardless of the number of delegates absent (1924-792, 906) or the number refusing to vote (1884-223; 1924-346).

The Convention may, by agreeing to a motion to suspend the

rules, abrogate the unit rule by a two-thirds vote (1924-759, 760), and where a state delegation has by unanimous consent imposed the unit rule upon itself (1924-955), or where given the prerogative of so dispensing with the unit rule by resolution of the state convention imposing it (1912-258) a majority of the delegates present, even though constituting a minority, may abrogate the rule with reference to that delegation (1924-314).

Voting

On a call of the states the vote of the state is announced by the chairman of the delegation (1868-74), or in his absence, by the vice-chairman (1924-162). Delegations not prepared to announce their vote may be passed and called at the end of the roll (1912-220). Delegations have been permitted to withdraw from the hall for consultation even when such withdrawal delayed the vote by states (1876-145), but have been denied that privilege when the Chairman submitted the question to the Convention (1868-102) and when they retired without leave, the call of states was deferred until their return (1868-133).

Where the majority of the members of a delegation present concur the entire vote of the delegation is cast although members may be absent (1924-163), but personal agreements among delegates as to the fraction of vote to be cast will not be recognized by the Convention when not in accordance with the fractional vote accredited such delegates in the official certificate from the state convention (1924-726). In order to vote, a delegate must sit with his delegation, and may not vote from another part of the hall, and may not deputize another to cast his vote for him (1912-217). A delegate may decline to vote (1896-302) and may change his vote at any time prior to final announcement of the result of the ballot (1924-161, 329, 333; 1932-300). But a delegate proposing to change his vote must rise in his place and personally request the change. It is not sufficient for the Chairman of the delegation to submit the request (1924-319, 321, 337). A delegate may also change his vote on recapitulation providing the final

result of the vote has not previously been announced (1924-329, 332).

Recapitulation is ordered at the option of the Chair and may not be demanded or moved (1924-326), but is usually ordered where the vote is close (1884-229; 1912-263).

A delegate may secure a poll of his own delegation (1924-337) but of no other delegation (1924-326) by challenging the accuracy of count or report (1924-315) but request comes too late after next state has been called (1932-300).

Any delegate may demand a division of a question containing more than one substantive proposition and a separate vote on any or all of the propositions included (1860-44; 1904-87; 1912-96; 1932-203).

A roll call for the yeas and nays is ordered on demand of one-fifth of the delegates present (1884-131; 1920-257; 1924-333), construed as one-fifth of the delegates on the floor regardless of fractional votes (1932-187). Roll call may not be interrupted by debate (1896-301; 1912-232; 1920-265) or to permit a delegate to explain his vote (1912-239); by a parliamentary inquiry (1912-263); by motion for recess (1884-117); by motion to adjourn (1892-140; 1932-300, 314, 319); or motion to make vote unanimous (1912-235), and a motion on which the vote is being taken may not be withdrawn after roll call begins (1924-939; 1932-315). But motions to go into executive session have been admitted between ballots for nomination of President (1924-883), and motions to suspend the rules are always in order except during roll call (1924-686).

Year	Temporary Chairman	Permanent Chairman	Chairman National Committee	Secretary National Committee
1832	Robert Lucas, Ohio	Robert Lucas, Ohio	Not organized	Not organized
1838	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Not organized	Not organized
1840	Isaac Hill, N. H.	William Carroll, Tenn.	Not organized	Not organized
1844	Hendrick B. Wright, Pa.	Hendrick B. Wright, Pa.	Not organized	Not organized
1848	J. S. Bryce, La.	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	B. F. Hallett, Mass.	W. F. Ritchie
1852	Gen. Romulus M. Saunders, N. C.	John W. Davis, Ind.	Robert McLane, Md.	R. H. Stanton
1856	Samuel Medary, Ohio	John E. Ward, Ga.	David A. Smalley, Vt.	No data
1860	Francis B. Flournoy, Ark.	Caleb Cushing, Mass.	August Belmont, N. Y.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1864	William Sigler, Pa.	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	August Belmont, N. Y.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1868	Henry L. Palmer, Wis.	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	August Belmont, N. Y.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1872	Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Va.	James R. Doolittle, Wis.	Augustus Schell, N. Y.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1876	Henry M. Watterson, Ky.	John A. McClelland, Ill.	William H. Barnum, Conn.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1880	George Hoadly, Ohio	John W. Stevenson, Ky.	William H. Barnum, Conn.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1884	Richard D. Hubbard, Tex.	William F. Vilas, Wis.	William H. Barnum, Conn.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.
1888	Stephen M. White, Calif.	Patrick A. Collins, Mass.	William H. Barnum, Conn.	Simon F. Sheerin, Ind.
1892	William C. Owens, Ky.	William L. Wilson, W. Va.	William F. Harris, Pa.	Simon F. Sheerin, Ind.
1896	John W. Daniel, Va.	Stephen M. White, Calif.	James K. Jones, Ark.	C. A. Walsh, Iowa
1900	Charles S. Thomas, Colo.	James D. Richardson, Tenn.	James K. Jones, Ark.	C. A. Walsh, Iowa
1904	John Sharp Williams, Miss.	Champ Clark, Mo.	Thomas Taggart, Ind.	Urey Woodson, Ky.
1908	Theodore A. Bell, Calif.	Henry D. Clayton, Ala.	Norman E. Mack, N. Y.	Urey Woodson, Ky.
1912	Alton B. Parker, N. Y.	Odie M. James, Ky.	William F. McCombs, N. Y.	Joseph E. Davies, Wis.
1916	Martin H. Glynn, N. Y.	Odie M. James, Ky.	Vance C. McCormick, Pa.	Carter Glass, Va.
1920	Homer Cummings, Conn.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.	Cordell Hull, Tenn.	E. G. Hoffman, Ind.
1924	Pat Harrison, Miss.	Thomas J. Walsh, Mont.	Clam Shaver, W. Va.	Charles A. Gresham, Ind.
1928	Claude G. Bowers, Ind.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.	John J. Raskob, Md.	Charles A. Gresham, Ind.
1932	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.	Thomas J. Walsh, Mont.	James A. Farley, N. Y.	Robert Jackson, N. H.
1936	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.	James A. Farley, N. Y.	W. Forbes Morgan, N. H.

Year	Place	Days	For President	Ballots	For Vice President	Ballots
1832	Baltimore	3	Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	1	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	1
1836	Baltimore	3	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	1	Richard M. Johnson, Ky.	1
1840	Baltimore	3	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	1	By states	1
1844	Baltimore	3	James K. Polk, Tenn.	9	George M. Dallas, Pa.	2
1848	Baltimore	5	Lewis Cass, Mich.	4	William O. Butler, Ky.	2
1852	Baltimore	5	Franklin Pierce, N. H.	49	William R. King, Ala.	2
1856	Cincinnati	5	James Buchanan, Pa.	17	John C. Breckinridge, Ky.	2
1860	Charleston	10	Stephen A. Douglas, Ill.	57	Herschel V. Johnson, Ga.	5
1864	Baltimore	6		2		
1868	Chicago	3	George B. McClellan, N. J.	1	George H. Pendleton, Ohio	1
1868	New York	5	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	22	Francis P. Blair, Mo.	1
1872	Baltimore	2	Horace Greeley, N. Y.	1	B. Gratz Brown, Mo.	1
1876	Saint Louis	3	Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.	2	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.	1
1880	Cincinnati	3	Winfield S. Hancock, Pa.	2	William H. English, Ind.	1
1884	Chicago	4	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	2	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.	1
1888	Saint Louis	3	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	1	Allen G. Thurman, Ohio	1
1892	Chicago	3	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	1	Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.	1
1896	Chicago	5	William J. Bryan, Nebr.	5	Arthur Sewell, Me.	5
1900	Kansas City	3	William J. Bryan, Nebr.	1	Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.	1
1904	Saint Louis	4	Alton B. Parker, N. Y.	1	Henry G. Davis, W. Va.	1
1908	Denver	4	William J. Bryan, Nebr.	1	John W. Kern, Ind.	1
1912	Baltimore	9	Woodrow Wilson, N. J.	46	Thomas R. Marshall, Ind.	2
1916	Saint Louis	3	Woodrow Wilson, N. J.	1	Thomas R. Marshall, Ind.	1
1920	San Francisco	8	James M. Cox, Ohio	44	Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.	1
1924	New York	14	John W. Davis, W. Va.	103	Charles W. Bryan, Nebr.	1
1928	Houston	4	Alfred E. Smith, N. Y.	1	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.	1
1932	Chicago	6	Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.	4	John N. Garner, Tex.	1
1936	Philadelphia	11		11		11

C PSF
PLATFORM

Adopted by

**The Democratic
National Convention
1936**



"The brave and clear platform adopted by this convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that Government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

"But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

"For more than three years we have fought for them. This convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Franklin Field, Philadelphia, Pa., June 27, 1936.



A GALLANT LEADER

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a representative government is its ability to promote the safety and happiness of the people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that twelve years of Republican leadership left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that twelve years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and restored the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that this three-year recovery in all the basic values of life and the reestablishment of the American way of living has been brought about by humanizing the policies of the Federal Government as they affect the personal, financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are:

- (1) Protection of the family and the home.
- (2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity for all the people.
- (3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through twelve years of the old leadership, have once more been recognized by American Government. Under the new leadership they will never be neglected.

FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

- (1) We have begun and shall continue the successful drive to rid our land of kidnappers and bandits. We shall continue to use the powers of government to end the activities of the malefactors of great wealth who defraud and exploit the people.

Savings and Investment

- (2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other people's savings, by requiring truth in the sale of securities; by putting the brakes upon the use of credit for speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of prices in stock and commodity markets; by curbing the overweening power and unholy practices of utility holding companies; by insuring fifty million bank accounts.

Old Age and Social Security

- (3) We have built foundations for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment

and old age; for the orphaned, the crippled and the blind. On the foundation of the Social Security Act we are determined to erect a structure of economic security for all our people, making sure that this benefit shall keep step with the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

Consumer

- (4) We will act to secure to the consumer fair value, honest sales and a decreased spread between the price he pays and the price the producer receives.

Rural Electrification

- (5) This administration has fostered power rate yardsticks in the Tennessee Valley and in several other parts of the nation. As a result electricity has been made available to the people at a lower rate. We will continue to promote plans for rural electrification and for cheap power by means of the yardstick method.

Housing

- (6) We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford. In the last three years the Federal Government, having saved more than two million homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meagre incomes. We believe every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise; and that the Government should steadily extend its housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessities to live in unhealthy and slum conditions.

Veterans

- (7) We shall continue just treatment of our war veterans and their dependents.

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRACY OF OPPORTUNITY

Agriculture

We have taken the farmers off the road to ruin.

We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The farmer is no longer suffering from 15-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 2½-cent beef at the farm, 5-cent wool, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton and 3-cent sugar.

By Federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness and doubled his net income. In cooperation with the States and through the farmers' own committees, we are restoring the fertility of his land

and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity and good roads to his home.

We will continue to improve the soil conservation and domestic allotment program with payments to farmers.

We will continue a fair-minded administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We recognize the gravity of the evils of farm tenancy, and we pledge the full cooperation of the Government in the refinancing of farm indebtedness at the lowest possible rates of interest and over a long term of years.

We favor the production of all the market will absorb, both at home and abroad, plus a reserve supply sufficient to insure fair prices to consumers; we favor judicious commodity loans on seasonal surpluses; and we favor assistance within Federal authority to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit to the farmers.

We favor encouragement of sound, practical farm cooperatives.

By the purchase and retirement of ten million acres of sub-marginal land, and assistance to those attempting to eke out an existence upon it, we have made a good beginning toward proper land use and rural rehabilitation.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Labor

We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' dinner pail full of promises. We have increased the worker's pay and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers; we have provided Federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of all commodities, including coal and water power and other natural-resource products.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Business

We have taken the American business man out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition.

The American business man has been returned to the

road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Youth

We have aided youth to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened the door to opportunity which twelve years of Republican neglect had closed.

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them on that road.

Monopoly and Concentration of Economic Power

Monopolies and the concentration of economic power, the creation of Republican rule and privilege, continue to be the master of the producer, the exploiter of the consumer, and the enemy of the independent operator. This is a problem challenging the unceasing effort of untrammelled public officials in every branch of the Government. We pledge vigorously and fearlessly to enforce the criminal and civil provisions of the existing anti-trust laws, and to the extent that their effectiveness has been weakened by new corporate devices or judicial construction, we propose by law to restore their efficacy in stamping out monopolistic practices and the concentration of economic power.

AID TO THOSE OVERTAKEN BY DISASTER

We have aided and will continue to aid those who have been visited by widespread drought and floods and have adopted a nation-wide flood-control policy.

Unemployment

We believe that unemployment is a national problem, and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way. Due to our stimulation of private business, more than five million people have been reemployed; and we shall continue to maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment in private industry at adequate wages. Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided in cooperation with State and local governments on useful public projects, to the end that the national wealth may be increased, the skill and energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained, and the unemployed assured the opportunity to earn the necessities of life.

The Constitution

The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate States. We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclusively by 48 separate State legislatures, 48 separate State administrations and 48 separate State courts.

Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow State boundaries call for both State and Federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within the Constitution.

If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the State and Federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The Merit System in Government

For the protection of government itself and promotion of its efficiency, we pledge the immediate extension of the merit system through the classified civil service—which was first established and fostered under Democratic auspices—to all non-policy-making positions in the Federal service.

We shall subject to the civil service law all continuing positions which, because of the emergency, have been exempt from its operation.

Civil Liberties

We shall continue to guard the freedom of speech, press, radio, religion and assembly which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Government Finance

The Administration has stopped deflation, restored values and enabled business to go ahead with confidence.

When national income shrinks, government income is imperilled. In reviving national income, we have fortified government finance. We have raised the public credit to a position of unsurpassed security. The interest rate on Government bonds has been reduced to the lowest point in twenty-eight years. The same Government bonds which in 1932 sold under eighty-three are now selling over 104.

We approve the objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value which injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand, and wage-earners and creditors on the other, a currency which will permit full utilization of the country's resources. We assert that today we have the soundest currency in the world.

We are determined to reduce the expenses of gov-

ernment. We are being aided therein by the recession in unemployment. As the requirements of relief decline and national income advances, an increasing percentage of Federal expenditures can and will be met from current revenues, secured from taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay. Our retrenchment, tax and recovery programs thus reflect our firm determination to achieve a balanced budget and the reduction of the national debt at the earliest possible moment.

Foreign Policy

In our relationship with other nations, this Government will continue to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. We reaffirm our opposition to war as an instrument of national policy, and declare that disputes between nations should be settled by peaceful means. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but continue as in the past to give adequate protection to our farmers and manufacturers against unfair competition or the dumping on our shores of commodities and goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

THE ISSUE

The issue in this election is plain. The American people are called upon to choose between a Republican administration that has and would again regiment them in the service of privileged groups and a Democratic administration dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people.

We have faith in the destiny of our nation. We are sufficiently endowed with natural resources and with productive capacity to provide for all a quality of life that meets the standards of real Americanism.

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose equally, the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism.

We hold this final truth to be self-evident—that the interests, the security and the happiness of the people of the United States of America can be perpetuated only under democratic government as conceived by the founders of our nation.

PSF

D.N. Convention folder -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2-36

PRESIDENT'S TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
WITH JOHN E. MACK ON JUNE 26, 1936,
IMMEDIATELY AFTER HE FINISHED THE
NOMINATION SPEECH.

"John, you were grand. You
had the jury right in the hollow of
your hand - perfectly grand. I hope
they will find for your client. It's
all right. You were in grand voice.
It came over the air marvelously.
It's great stuff. Don't you want to
go back on the train with us tomorrow
night? You have got to get home. Why
don't you do that?"

BF
D. N. Conventions

Preamble - 203 words }
Platform - 624 " } 827

In this time of unprecedented economic and social distress, the Democratic Party declares its conviction that the mistaken policy of political and economic isolation pursued since the World War has fostered an unhealthy and selfish spirit of materialism, a policy which by rejecting the greatest opportunity in history to bring peace, prosperity and happiness to our people and to the world, has ruined our foreign trade, destroyed the values of our commodities and products, robbed millions of our people of their life savings and thrown millions more out of work, produced widespread poverty and brought the government to a state of virtual insolvency. The only hope for improving business conditions, restoring employment, affording permanent relief to the people and bringing the nation back to its former proud position of domestic happiness and of financial, industrial, commercial and political leadership in the world lies in a drastic change in economic and fiscal policies.

Believing that a party platform is a covenant with the people to be faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of the contract to which they are asked to subscribe, we hereby declare this to be the

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Democratic Party undertakes, if entrusted with power, by appropriate action to put into effect the principles, policies and reforms herein advocated, and to eradicate the policies, methods and practices herein condemned.

We advocate:

A competitive tariff for revenue purposes based on a consideration of all factors influencing trade between nations, with a fast finding tariff commission free from executive interference; reciprocal tariff agreements with other nations; enforcement of the anti-dumping law, and a permanent international economic conference designed to encourage international trade and facilitate exchange.

A system of taxation broad enough to require all to share in the cost of government, with graduated income and estate taxes levied on the principle of ability to pay.

Economy in government, - Federal, State and local, -
by abolishing useless commissions and offices, omitting un-
necessary services, consolidating departments and bureaus and
eliminating extravagance.

Unemployment and old age insurance under State laws.

A substantial reduction in the hours of labor in order to distribute more equitably the profits of productive industry, increase the buying power of the people and thus help consume existing surpluses of unused commodities and unemployed labor.

Refinancing of agriculture at as low rates of interest and on as favorable terms as are made to industry.

Such legislation as may be necessary or helpful to bring the farm products and other commodities to prices equal to the cost of production plus a reasonable profit, (and thereby restore the purchasing power of the people of this country.)

Enforcement of anti-trust laws and the removal of government from all fields proper for private enterprise, except where necessary to develop public natural resources in the common interest.

Protection of investors by requiring to be filed with the government and carried in advertisements in all sales of foreign and domestic stocks and bonds true information as to bonuses, commissions, principal invested and interests of sellers.

Holding companies

Federal aid to the depositors of suspended banks.

Rigid supervision of national banks for the protection of depositors and the segregation of profits of the Federal Reserve System as a guaranty fund for national bank deposits.

Independence for the Philippines.

An international monetary conference called on the
invitation of our government.

The fullest measure of relief to those veterans who have suffered disability or disease caused by actual service in time of war.

A navy sufficient for defense only and the framework
of an adequate army.

Simplification of legal procedure to make justice
prompt as well as certain.

Continuous publicity of political contributions
and expenditures.

A firm foreign policy including: the outlawry of war, peace with all the world and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; protection of American lives and rights everywhere; no entangling alliances and no interference in the internal affairs of other nations; the sanctity of treaties; international agreements for reduction of armaments; cancellation of the foreign debt only to the extent of debtor nations joining the United States in the reduction of armaments; and, cooperation with other nations of the Western Hemisphere to maintain the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.

the maintenance of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine; and participation with us by our sister nations of the Americas in the encouraging ~~strengthening~~ ^{policy} and election of government.

Return to the States of the power and responsibility to prohibit or regulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor by such measures as will promote temperance, prevent a return of the saloon and sales to minors, subject the liquor traffic to State control in States where it is not prohibited, protect dry States in the enforcement of their laws and permit the taxation of liquor by Federal and State governments; and the immediate submission to State conventions of an amendment to the Eighteenth Amendment in such terms as to insure to the people a choice between the present system and the system here proposed.

We condemn -

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Law and the making of tariff rates by the Executive.

The improper and excessive use of money in political activities at any time.

Paid lobbies of special interests to influence members of Congress by personal contact.

Action and utterances of public officials designed to influence stock exchange prices.

PSF
D. N. Conventions

DCR

Immediate submission to State conventions of an amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment submitted to the people in such manner as to insure a choice between the present system and the return to the States of the power and responsibility to prohibit or regulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors by such measures as will promote temperance, prevent the return of the saloon and the sale to minors, subject the liquor traffic in States where not prohibited to State control, and protect the dry States in the enforcement of their laws and permit the taxing of liquor by Federal or State government.

PSF

Dem Natl
Convent
2

Re: Memo from Jim Rowe to the President -- March 23, 1940
with attached memo of March 13, 1940

Subject--Henry Wallace and the Wisconsin Primary

See: Rowe-Administrative Assts folder-Drawer 1-1940

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

BF
file
personal
April 16, 1940

4-16-40

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Governor Stark phoned, enlarging on President Roosevelt's and his victory in Missouri. He says the uninstructed delegation is surely 20 out of the 30 for Roosevelt, and he, Stark, believes it is 25 out of 30. He also reiterated that the No Unit Rule had been adopted.

Emm
E.M.W.

PSF
Sen. Natl. Comm.
(9)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

For the President to telephone
Ed Flynn to get Sen. Wagner on a national
hook-up Saturday night to reply briefly
to John Lewis.

- - - - -

NOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT:

River Ward in Chicago.

Republican National Committee has
a full page ad in The Daily Worker of
yesterday morning and one in the German
paper. Speaks of Willkie's German ancestry
and asks them to vote for him on that
account.

*File
personal*

*PSF
Rem. Natl. Com.
2*

10/16/40

- ✓ 3/1 ROOSEVELT will be elected
- ✓ 6/5 ROOSEVELT will carry ILLINOIS
- ✓ 2/1 WILLKIE will carry CONN.
- ✓ 6/5 ROOSEVELT will carry KANSAS
- ✓ 6/5 WILLKIE will carry NEW YORK
- ✓ 6/5 ROOSEVELT will carry MISSOURI
- ✓ IOWA EVEN
- ✓ 7/5 WILLKIE will carry MASSACHUSETTS
- ✓ PENNSYLVANIA 3/2 either way
- ✓ 7/5 ROOSEVELT will carry OHIO

PSF
Wm Hallen
✓

For ticker tape announcement that FDR carried his own home
voting District Nov 5, 1940. The vote 376 to 302 for Willkie

See: Hyde Park folder - Drawer 3-1940

7 - 11 Fire Alarm

Pacific Coast

On Friday, Senator Hirman Johnson will make a nation wide broadcast savagely attacking the Administration and supporting Wendell Willkie. This will seal the fate of Izac, Havenner, and possibly Tolan, and it makes California fighting ground.

Oregon:

The repercussions in Oregon will probably wipe out any chance of carrying the State and will put Nan Wood Honeyman out of the running. Pierce will have a savage battle.

Washington:

Popularity of Johnson in Washington not sufficient to swing State, but it will probably result in defeat of Hill and put Smith in danger.

Mountain States

Current report in this area that Roosevelt will veto the Sugar Bill. If confirmed it will defeat Cummings, and will prevent the pick up of any seats in this area, with the possible exception of First Montana.

North Central

Asinine negro attack on Willkie's German ancestors and calling Minnesota a German State will probably result in defeat in Iowa and Minnesota, and may wipe out all Democratic representation in those two states.

It will also have serious repercussions in Missouri and may result in defeat of Anderson, Duncan, and Wood.

*file
personal*

PSF

*Ch. 1000
Am. 1000*

Ohio Valley Area

There is still a good chance in 4th Wisconsin (Wasielowski), but forget the others.

Michigan:

No change in general situation, but Democratic campaign is losing the edge.

Detroit Democratic Congressman voted against Selective Service in the hopes of securing that kind of support. It has aroused violent opposition, and is not bringing the kind of support they expected.

Illinois:

Something is definitely wrong in Chicago. It may be treason - it may be a trend. Fries is definitely gone. Parsons is in serious danger. Unless situation changes, we will pick up no seats.

Indiana:

No particular change.

Ohio:

Definite evidence of Davey-Willkie tie-up. Old bitterness between Davey and Sawyer breaking out and it may result in defeat of all Democrats except Crosser and Sweeney, although Harter and Kirwan may pull through.

West Virginia:

Money being used very freely and large blocs of votes there are definitely purchaseable. Look out for fire works.

Southern Area

No particular change, although trouble is developing in Kentucky, 5th, (Louisville) and in May's district, the 7th.

New England Area

We have only seven seats. Thank the Lord. Professional Irish are in revolt. See comments on New York.

New York:

New York State Democratic organization is not lifting a finger for the Presidential ticket, and is not working very effectively for anything. Probably both up-State seats now held will be saved and Beiter still has a chance.

New York City:

Hell is loose in Brooklyn. Democratic delegation to National Convention from Kings County left before Convention was over, and it was not for business reasons. Natural Roosevelt strength will prevent loss of County and may prevent loss of any Congressional seat in Brooklyn, but it will so materially reduce state majority that there may be trouble state wide.

Pennsylvania:

Believe it or not, Pennsylvania is in the best shape of any Middle Atlantic State. Only bad spots are those now heavily Republican.

New Jersey:

No change.

Delaware:

Two Democratic tickets in the field. Forget Delaware.

Maryland:

Ward has a hard fight in the First District (Eastern Shore). Meyer's trouble in the 4th is entirely due to betrayal of ticket by Kennedy. Only a double miracle will save Byron.

SUMMARY

Democratic campaign over the whole country has been developing into a mutual admiration society, whose main stock in trade was the Gallup Poll.

Unless a vigorous, intensive counter bombardment, led by the President, is set up at once, we may find the same situation as that which developed at the Republican Convention in Philadelphia,

*file
personal*

DELEGATES

151

ALTERNATES

AT LARGE

MILLARD E. TYDINGS

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

HERBERT R. O'CONNOR *R*

HOWARD W. JACKSON *Heel*

EMERSON C. HARRINGTON *Jackson*

HOWARD BRUCE *R*

SUMNER WELLES *R*

PHILIP B. PERMAN *R*

CECIL SQUIRE

JAMES BRUCE

TOM JOHNSON

RICHARD O'CONNELL

EMERSON C. HARRINGTON, JR.

J. HOWARD MURRAY

MRS. FRANCES McFADDEN

E. T. FOREMAN

BALTIMORE CITY

GEORGE M. SMITH *Jackson*

SAM H. HOFFBERGER *"*

JAMES H. POLLACK *"*

S. LAWRENCE HAMMERMAN *"*

O. L. BONIFAY *"*

J. B. CARMICK *T.*

WM. B. PADGETT *Jackson*

EDWARD J. COLGAN, JR. *T.*

JOS. S. BOPP *Jackson*

J. MARSHALL STEWART *"*

JOS. P. KENNEDY

MAX SINDLER

PAUL E. BURKE

MRS. ANNIE E. ELLIOT

JEHOMIE ROBINSON

FRANK PONDO

PATRICK F. O'MALLEY

JOHN L. CAMPBELL

MRS. AUGUST KLECKA *"*

E. MILTON ALTFELDT

Came to file May 27-1940

DELEGATESALTERNATESCOUNTIES

J. MILLARD TAWES *Jackson*
WILLIAM C. WALSH "
FLETCHER SISK *T.*
SENATOR W. DODSON *T. + G.*
DAVID COHEN *f.*
S. SCOTT BECK JR. *T.*
SENATOR ARTHUR H. BRICE *Quince*
H. STREET BALDWIN *T. (liberal)*
WM. H. LABROT *T.*
JAMES WILLS *Quince + T.*
DR. PAGE C. JETT *T*
ALOYSIUS KING *T*
W. PRESTON LANE *R.*
E. BROOKE LEE *R.*

HARRY I. WARREN
ROBERT W. McCULLOUGH
DR. C. J. HAYDEN
CLARENCE SMALL
M. F. PRENDERGAST
CALVIN PRUITT
ELBERT QUINN
MRS. M. ALICE CANOLIS
JOS. FAX
VINCENT PALMISANO
HENRIETTA STONESTREET
ALFRED PAUL
MRS. GARDNER UMBARGER
JOHN BURKLEY

BF
New Matt Com

For material on Platform for 1940

See: Platform folder-Drawer 2-1940

PSF: Democratic Nat. Convention

LAW OFFICES
JOSEPH B. KEENAN
WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLIC 2740

Saturday, Mar 30 - 1940

Dear Grace:

Enclosed find

- (1) Letter to me from Fulton Redwood - gubernatorial candidate for Maine
- (2) Copy of resolution adopted by the convention.
- (3) Copy of Portland Press Herald for Mar. 28-1940

These are self explanatory - and I believe show that the Maine
body handled the situation very well.

Sills - President of Bowdoin College is highly regarded -
rare for the Senate I believe some years ago. It is extremely doubtful
if he could get the permission of the board of trustees of his
College to let him run this year. The fight between Gov.
Barnes & Brewster for the republican nomination ^{for several} is the
bitterest by far in Maine history. Barnes received a ques-
tion from the convention. He said he had Monday & Tuesday
would like to go over the situation with the President if
circumstances reasonably permit. Thanks for all of your courtesy
that went with it on President.
Kindest regards

Joe Keenan

To Miss Grace Tully.

FULTON J. REDMAN

119 Exchange Street
Portland, Maine
March 29, 1940

Hon. Joseph B. Keenan
Woodward Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Herewith I am enclosing a copy of the resolution of instructions adopted at the Democratic State Convention in Bangor, on Wednesday. I spent a great deal of time in drafting this with the help of our friends Louie, John and others. You may regard it as innocuous, but its effect was highly satisfactory. You of course realize that a delicate situation confronted us.

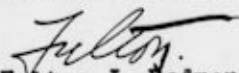
Will you be good enough to explain to the President, if you feel it necessary to do so, that the resolution in this form seemed advisable under the circumstances. My original draft was much stronger in favor of the third term, but as you know we have to give and take in this world.

At the outset there were some who felt that under all the circumstances it would be better not to have any instructions whatsoever. This I positively refused to agree to, especially since the Garner forces had announced that they intended to work for an uninstructed delegation. I happened to be presiding at the convention when the resolution was carried and a comparatively small number of delegates voted against it. These were in the Garner group I assume.

What the President may like to know is that there was overwhelming sentiment among the delegates in his favor.

I shall be in Washington again before long, and looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you, I remain

Faithfully yours,


Fulton J. Redman

COPY.

Resolution adopted at Democratic State Convention held
in Bangor, Maine, March 27, 1940.

Whereas our founders in the constitutional convention of 1787 manifested their intentions that a President of the United States should be elected for a third term, if the electorate so desires; and,

Whereas a great crisis exists throughout the world in which approximately two-thirds of its peoples are at war, and the people of the United States are unanimous in their desire to remain at peace; and,

Whereas it is important and of vital concern to the peace and security of our own people, in this great world crisis, that the United States of America should have during the next four years a President who is able to cope and deal with trying and grave problems; and a leader whose efforts are dedicated to world peace and to keep the youth of America out of war:

NOW THEREFORE be it resolved that it is the sense of this convention that its delegates chosen to attend the Democratic National Convention in the city of Chicago on and after the fifteenth day of July, 1940 shall vote at that convention for Franklin D. Roosevelt as the Democratic nominee for President, in the event he is a candidate at said convention.

And if Franklin D. Roosevelt is not a candidate at said convention, it is the sense of this convention, in recognition of the great service to his country of James A. Farley, his ability, high integrity and eminent qualifications for the Presidency, that the delegates chosen by this convention shall vote at said Chicago convention in support of the candidacy of James A. Farley.

The Weather

Light Rain Today, Cloudy Friday;
Northwest Wind
Report on Page 1

Portland Press

VOL. 78. Established June 23, 1862 PORTLAND, MAINE, THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH

Maine Democrats Instruct For Roosevelt; Farley S

ess Herald

For Your Spring Tonic
Use Classified Ads.
They Will Do Wonders.

20 Pages

MORNING, MARCH 28, 1940

Entered As Second
Class Mail Matter

** PRICE THREE CENTS

instruct Delegates Farley Second Choice

Decision Hits Garner Hopes

No Opposition Is Made To Pledged Delegation

By Staff Correspondent

Bangor, March 27—President Roosevelt will have Maine's 10 votes if he seeks nomination for a third term at the Democratic National Convention, the state convention voted today, and Postmaster General James A. Farley, principal speaker at today's deliberations, will have the votes to support his own candidacy if the President does not run.

Instructions to the 20 delegates elected to represent Maine at the National Convention were adopted without contest after the resolution had been presented by Ernest L. McLean of Augusta, shortly after Farley left the convention hall. Decision to instruct the delegation was a blow to the hopes of Maine supporters of the presidential hopes of Vice President John Nance Garner. They had sought an unpledged delegation.

The resolution pledged Maine's delegates to President Roosevelt specifically as a presidential candidate if he should seek the nomination but carefully was constructed so that the votes otherwise would be cast "in support of the candidacy of James A. Farley" without specifying the office which he might seek.

file *BF*
D. N. Conventions

SAMPLE BALLOT

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION

Democrat Party

To vote for a person whose name is printed on the ballot, make a cross (X) in the square after the name of the person for whom you desire to vote.

Each voter is entitled to vote for one person for president and person for vice president of the United States; for four delegates-at-large and for two district delegates to the party national convention.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Vote for one

JOHN NANCE GARNER	☐
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	☐
	☐

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (None)

	☐
--	--------------------------

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE

Vote for four

WILLIAM B. RUBIN	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
JULIUS G. SEYFERT	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐
BERTHA M. SHEROPSHIRE	Uninstructed Delegate	☐
JOSEPH H. WALLIS	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
A. MATT WERNER	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
JOHN A. CALLAHAN	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐
JAMES E. FINNEGAN	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐
MAURICE J. FITZSIMMONS, JR.	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐
CHARLES E. HAMMERSLEY	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐
CHARLES W. HENNEY	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
GUSTAVE J. KELLER	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐
FRANCIS E. MCGOVERN	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐
ADAM PORT	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐

DISTRICT DELEGATES—7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

(Vote for two)

JOHN RINGLE, JR.	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
KURT A. BEYREIS	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐
CHARLES B. CASHIN	Officially Endorsed Roosevelt-Farley Delegate	☐
JAMES T. CAVANAUGH	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐
FRANK D. CHAPMAN	Endorsed Garner For President Delegate	☐
JOHN LAWRIE	Roosevelt Delegate—State Conference Endorsed	☐

SAMPLE BALLOT
ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
Republican Party

To vote for a person whose name is printed on the ballot, make a cross (X) in the square after the name of the person for whom you desire to vote.

Each voter is entitled to vote for one person for president and person for vice president of the United States; for four delegates-at-large and for two district delegates to the party national convention.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
 (None)

--	--

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
 (None)

--	--

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE

Vote for Four

WALTER S. GOODLAND Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	
QUINCY HALE Dewey Instructed Delegate	
RALPH NELSON Dewey Instructed Delegate	
ALBERT J. O'MELIA Dewey Instructed Delegate	
EDWARD W. RICHARDSON Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	
FRED R. ZIMMERMAN Dewey Instructed Delegate	
FRED H. CLAUSEN Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	
MICHAEL G. EBERLEIN Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	

DISTRICT DELEGATES—7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Vote for Two

JULIUS SPEARBRAKER Dewey Instructed Delegate	
HAROLD E. DAMON Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	
EDWARD F. KILEEN Vandenberg Instructed: Peace—Employment—Experience	
OTTO MUELLER Dewey Instructed Delegate	
RALPH E. PUCHNER Uninstructed Delegate	
PAUL E. ROMAN Uninstructed Delegate	

OFFICE OF
WAUPACA COUNTY CLERK
LELAND J. STEIGER
WAUPACA, WISCONSIN



Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Hyde Park,
New York, N.Y.

White House
Washington D.C.

PSF: Democratic Nat. Convention

LAW OFFICES
JOSEPH B. KEENAN
WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLIC 2740

Monday - Mar 25 - 1940
3:00 P. M.

Dear Grace:

The main convention meets at Bangor the day after tomorrow. Since talking with you I have met with Con Brauer - Fulton Redwood the gubernatorial candidate and several others. They together with my old roomate - and Harold Hubbard the National Committeeman are emphatically for an instructed delegation for the re-nomination of President Roosevelt. They consider that the only sure winning ticket. Some of them are quite selfish in this position - but all of them feel that it is the overwhelming position of the people of their state. They feel that if it impossible to persuade him to accept the nomination the outlook is pretty blue - the only other one who might lead to victory is C.H. who would run very poorly in this part of the country.

Saturday Brauer told me that the delegation would be for F. D. R. in any event. ~~That~~ He wants it ^{so} instructed. Both he and Redwood said Saturday that since the P. M. G. is the speaker at their convention (I believe on a nation wide hookup) there would be some sentiment for him. They were going to argue up the situation with the intention of instructing the delegation for F. D. R. or in the event that it would bring a sharp controversy on the floor leave the delegation uninstructed. They are quite opposed to the suggestion from Fred Lancaster the state chairman (who is on his way out) for the naming of a 2^d choice.

LAW OFFICES
JOSEPH B. KEENAN
WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLIC 2740

They are keeping in touch with me and will talk again tonight and Tuesday. If you have any suggestions I would be glad to learn of them.

I hope the President is recovering rapidly from his cold.

Sincerely,

Joe Keenan.

P.S. The opinion of these Maine men is in harmony with 19 out of 20 men I have met in the last several months. They all say,

1. F. D. R. will be renominated and if he will accept ~~it~~ will be overwhelmingly elected.

2. If not the Democrats face a stiff fight until the prospects have too good.

3. The home people in our country - the independent group feel that the international situation may make our domestic situation far graver than it appears for the moment and they hope the President will take that into consideration in reaching his final determination.

4. These sentiments are expressed by many republicans who are really concerned about the welfare of our people today and are less inclined to political party partisanship therefore.

To Miss Eva Tully.

go to.

*file
personal*

LAW OFFICES
JOSEPH H. KEENAN
WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REPUBLIC 2740

Mar. 15. 1949

Dear Grace:

It was very nice of you to arrange for Gen Brown to move to see the President. Unfortunately he had to leave the evening before for New York, and I was unable to get him back in time.

I've called me on the telephone yesterday from his office in New York. And with him was John Clifford. (My old room mate at Harvard) who is the U. S. attorney.

The P. M. B. is going to speak at their convention next week - at the time the Labor Convention meets to choose the delegates to the National Convention at Chicago. The P. M. B. wants a delegation instructed for the P. M. B. for President. The Labor Chairman. Fred Hancock is very much for him, I have been very close to the main stand for some years back. I happened to have attended primary school in Rhode Island with Fulton Redman who will be a candidate for Gov. on our list & at her local platform.

Gen Brown saw me the day I called you and I told him I felt it was imperative that he do nothing until he learned of the President's view - i.e. why he wanted the delegates instructed for Eisenhower. Brown agreed to go along.

Yesterday when he called me from Mo. he stated

me if I could find out from the Boss, and I told him I would try.

I can see I can trust Braun & Clifford & Alderman and they can work out anything (and will) that the Pres. wants.

Will you let him know this? I would like to see him and talk with him about this — (I have not seen him since he went about a year ago) but I do not want to meet any newspaper men or in any way interfere with any plans the President has.

He of course knows that I want to do anything in any way to help the administration — the democratic party under his leadership — in any way I can. I have no aim to gain any more than I ever have had.

You have always been so faithful and attentive to anything I have asked I hesitate to bother you. But the Maine delegation I believe is the first one chosen and ergo had that much respectance.

If the Pres. will see me — or come to I would of course be most happy — if he merely wishes to pass a ^{word} on this you ~~is~~ it's alright too. I just want to find out what if anything he wants done and to unobtrusively & silently carry that out.

To Grace Tully -
White House

Sincerely —
Joe Keenan



OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION
WASHINGTON

PSF
New York
Convention

SNC

April 3, 1940

File Personal

Hon. Edwin M. Watson
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear General:

I am attaching hereto a memorandum in
respect to the Wisconsin primary which may be of
interest to the President.

Sincerely,

Leo T. Crowley

Leo T. Crowley,
Chairman

PSF
D.N. Conventions

Paula
file -
" January 1940

New Hampshire returns 274 voting precincts out of total of 294:

Delegates at large - first 8 elected:

Caron	(R)	10,281
Devine	"	10,083
Lucier	"	10,033
Craig	"	8,888
Powers	"	8,602
Proulx	"	7,963
Studd	"	7,452
Stevens	"	7,270
Morency	"	6,699
Seymour	"	6,260
Cartier	"	6,045
Burke	(F)	4,335
O'Reilly	"	3,423
Chevrette	(G)	3,379
Sanders	(Unpledged)	2,697
Warston	"	2,056

82 1/2
votes
each

3 extra
R delegates

Giving the top three men on the list the votes cast for Roosevelt pledged candidates, Morency, Seymour and Cartier, shows total Roosevelt vote of almost 4 to 1 over vote for high Farley man; almost 5 to 1 over Garner candidate; and almost 7 to 1 over unpledged candidate.

Incomplete returns in the districts show that in the first district Sheehan and Gagne (pledged to Roosevelt) lead Hurley (unpledged anti-Roosevelt) and O'Connor (pledged to Farley) 2 1/2 to 1.

The same incomplete returns in the second district show election of Haggerty and Laegacy (pledged to Roosevelt). Laegacy leads Chairman Murchie of the State Committee (pledged to Roosevelt) by 38 votes at last report.

March 13, 1940.

STANDARD

SALISBURY DISTRICT • BOARD OF EDUCATION



Vol. 55. No. 15.

APR

VOTERS DECRE

WELL, IT'S ALL OVER

The Doctor was the Ballot, and Illinois again became the Mother of a Bouncing Boy Candidate. And the people roared with one accord — it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt by 10 to 1.

And the candidates they again spurned learned that Mr. and Mrs. Public can not easily be fooled and that the faith of the Illinois public was for F. D. R. and remained there steadfast.

The old fight on local candidates in Illinois almost received a jolt from Edward Barrett; in fact, methinks that had Eddie Barrett conducted a different sort of a campaign he could have busted the slate. Hershey and the rest of the Machine Boys, or Robots, were renamed.

For a while everything will be very quiet, at least until after the convention, and then again the Steam Roller will be brought out and oiled and started rolling. But that's a

E. F. D. R. DRAFT

R—AND IT'S A BOY

long way off. If F. D. R. decides to run, then Illinois will be a cinch for the Robot Boys. But should F. D. R. change his mind, then Nets and Life Belts will be in order, as many of our friends will do the Leaping Act.

The other day Louie Lewis passed thru a room in the Morrison hotel. Twelve Ward Comedians were sitting waiting to enter the Great Presence of Old Pat Nash, who is so old he cannot remember what he promises any more. Louie had a Big Cigar in his Mouth, and he really nodded to the Boys — or should I say "Boys"? Well, I said it, so what? Can you imagine what Louie will do after he is elected? The Boys will get Nodding from him.

And so it goes down the line. In our mind The Candidate is still a Hershey Bar and can be licked — could be, Magee, could be.

NEW DEAL FATE AT STAKE; VOTERS DEMAND ACTION

Draft Roosevelt for victory in November and continuance of the New Deal.

That, in substance, must and undoubtedly will be the slogan for the campaign following last Tuesday's two-party primary elections. The primaries indicated clearly the popularity of the New Deal President, not only in Chicago, but even in normally Republican downstate. It indicated that, with Roosevelt active in the campaign, the Democratic party can carry downstate against the strongest candidate the Republicans can put in the field.

It indicated also the logic of the "Draft Roosevelt" demand. Without a "fireside chat," without even a hint of assent from the White House, President Roosevelt's name was placed on the ballot and he piled up a vote downstate of which he need not be ashamed even had he "stumped the state." Without the uttering of a word, without the raising of a hand, without even a smile of greeting, he swept the state, including Chicago and Cook county, where his "preferential victory" over his Republican "opponent" was of 2 to 1 proportion.

Roosevelt to Be Drafted

It now appears virtually certain that Roosevelt will be drafted as the Democratic nominee at the Democratic national convention. To say that he will accept is to read the man's mind, but there is no doubt in the minds of the sponsors of the primary campaign in his behalf that he will accept. That confidence is based on the results of the preferential primary.

The vote received by the Republican "volunteer primary candidate" was just a "personal publicity popularity thrill." That he will be chosen as the Republican nominee at the Philadelphia convention in June is almost inconceivable. If political gossip in G. O. P. circles means anything, it means that the big leaders of the party don't want him. In spite of the

An Independent Newspaper Free from Any Political Obligations No Fear or Favor

(Continued from Page 1)

cold facts and prospective views, they don't believe he is the man that could defeat Roosevelt.

Dewey hasn't the personal appeal of F. D. R. It won't take long for the voting public, if those two should campaign the country on opposing platforms, to become convinced that, after all, Thomas E. is just an excited boy, and the substantial leaders of the Republican party are wise enough to view this prospect in advance.

The issues, not only in this country, but in the world at large are too great, too vastly important to be placed in the hands of a young, inexperienced person. Unless the intelligence of the Republican party is on the wane, this fact will become more and more evident in G. O. P. deliberations as the preliminaries for the Republican national convention progress.

Voters Issue Decree

All this means that on April 9 the Democratic voters of Illinois, amassed a ballot decree to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on July 15 to draft President Roosevelt for a third term and that the Republicans must, if they possess any strategical wisdom, accept that as a foregone conclusion.

With the landslide victory for the Regular Democratic slate at the primary, the Democratic party can present a united front for a sweeping victory for their ticket headed by the New Deal President. The Garner primary vote will go along with them. That vote for Garner was just a reflection of a traditional feeling against a "third term" without any real substance to it. It can easily be overcome by an intelligent presentation of the benefits of the New Deal.

The primary battle is over and the campaign for the November election looms with an aspect of importance that will appease all factional differences in both parties. Intra-party rivalries are no longer of a character that make for perpetual bitterness. Political developments in Illinois during the last few years have proved this to be a fact. A new age in politics is with us. Every intelligent political leader sees the wisdom of being—

A practical good sport.

The voters like this, take rivalry utterances with a grain of salt and full

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

(Continued from Page 1)

their candidates polled at the primary, to win any major offices in November is a puzzle. But they actually seem to be tickled and still talk in terms of landslides. Doubtless they have themselves in training to take it with a smile, whichever way. To this extent they are to be congratulated heartily.

Once Pat Nash's candidates left the barrier, he never worried and was at



John

case with several incumbents who won election last Tuesday.



THIRD TERM TO BE DEBATED BY ICKES, JOHNSON

An opportunity to hear a pre-convention debate over leading campaign issues will be offered Chicago next month when the Citizens School Committee will sponsor a debate by two national figures—Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and General Hugh Johnson, newspaper columnist and outspoken critic of the New Deal. "Shall the New Deal Have a Third Term?" will be the question discussed by these two speakers before an audience in the Civic Opera house Monday evening, April 22. Ickes will take the affirmative and General Johnson the negative side of the debate.

In announcing the event, Arnold R. Baar, president of the Citizens Schools Committee, declared, "Democracy and education mean the free discussion of controversial issues. Therefore the Citizens Schools Committee, in sponsoring this debate, brings to Chicago two noted authorities to discuss the nation's No. 1 controversial issue."

The Citizens Schools Committee, headed by Arnold R. Baar, is an organization of Chicagoans which for the past seven years has watched over the interest of nearly a half million school children in Chicago. With the help of leading educators in the Universities and in the school system it has studied school enrollment, administration and curriculum, and has put its findings into graphic form.

Among the outstanding Chicagoans who are members of the committee are John A. Lapp, Max Adler, Charles W. Glick, James L. Hough-telling, Robert Maynard Hutchins, Albert W. Palmer, J. R. VanPelt, and Charles H. Judd.

Tickets for the political debate sponsored by this organization are on sale by mail order from the Citizens Schools Committee, 185 North Wabash Ave. The prices range from 55c to \$2.20, with box seats selling at \$2.20.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



Politically, the interest of the entire nation will be centered on the New Deal President more than on any other person up to the time of the Democratic National Convention, July 15. More than 1,000,000 Illinois voters virtually decreed the drafting of Roosevelt for a third term at last Tuesday's primary election.

MEMO FOR S.I.R.

Should this all be kept together
and marked "platform 1944"?

GGT

yes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 27, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

This is my proposed draft of a platform. It has 2072 words.

I have gone over it with Justice Byrnes and he says he thinks it is O.K.

It has not been cleared with anyone else. One or two items should be. Particularly the section on the peace should be gone over very carefully by the State Department because it refers to other declarations.

I would like to discuss this with you after you have read it.

Jim

S. I. R.

ROBERT E. HANNEGAN

Memorandum

*BF
D. N.
Conventions*

Chicago, Illinois
July 25-1944

Dear Miss Tully:

In accordance with the President's request
I am returning the papers he sent to me in
Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

2072.
BSF

PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

In 1933, Democratic leadership found this nation in an economic coma, as a result of Republican misrule -- its finance, its industry, its labor, its agriculture. That leadership has now built this nation up to be the most prosperous in the world.

In 1933, that leadership found a nation completely disarmed, almost defenseless, as a result of Republican neglect -- its navy, its army, its air force. It has now built this nation up to be the most powerful in the world.

In 1933, that leadership found a nation distrusted and disliked among the nations of the world, as a result of Republican international blundering. It has now built this nation up to become the leading nation on earth -- in prestige, in dignity and in spiritual strength -- the hope and guiding light of all common humanity.

That same kind of Democratic and efficient leadership is now presented to the people of the United States as the most qualified, experienced, and competent for the purposes of:

(1) Winning the war as effectively and speedily as possible, and bringing our boys back home with the least suffering and loss of life.

(2) Making a just and lasting peace -- founded on principles of international cooperation and justice.

(3) Building a sound postwar economy in the United States -- with full production and employment and with decent standards of living and security for the common man.

WINNING THE WAR

That is the paramount objective of all our thinking and action -- second to none. That is the primary determination of this Democratic Administration -- and will continue to be.

Starting with practically nothing in military power, this Administration -- often over Republican opposition and hamstringing -- has raised, trained, armed, equipped and transported the most powerful armed force in the history of the world. That force is now fighting a successful offensive war -- with the best weapons in the world, produced by American labor and industry with miraculous speed and efficiency.

Besides, through the vision and courage of the President of the United States in formulating and initiating the lend-lease program, we helped to save Britain and Russia, and were able to keep the war away from our shores and save our cities from bombing and devastation.

PSF
DN Comms

What Democratic leadership has done so far in production for war and in waging war, is proof of what it can do -- and will do -- to end the war in complete victory -- with speed and dispatch.

MAKING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE

The aggressor nations, when defeated, must be rendered incapable of making war again.

We favor the creation of an international fully-representative organization of all peace-loving nations of the world with broad joint responsibilities for promoting international cooperation and for dealing with the problems of world relations.

We favor the creation of a council of the four major nations and a suitable number of other nations, to settle peacefully all international disputes, and to prevent any breaches of world peace or any threats to world peace.

We also favor the creation of an international court of justice to deal primarily with justiciable disputes.

We do not favor the creation of a superstate with its own police force or coercive power. By agreements and arrangements, adequate force can be maintained, available for joint action when necessary, to prevent war or deliberate preparation for war.

We adhere to the principles and objectives enunciated in the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, in the Declaration by the

United Nations of January 1, 1942, in the Fulbright Resolution of September 21, 1943, in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, in the Cairo Declaration of Dec. 1, 1943, in the Connally Resolution of November 5, 1943, and in the statement of the United States Secretary of State of March 21, 1944.

ESTABLISHING A SOUND POSTWAR ECONOMY

The fundamental policy of this Administration is to bring about as full production and as full employment as possible in the postwar period.

(1) This Administration has already initiated a definite program of orderly and speedy economic conversion from war to peace with fair treatment to industry and worker alike: -- to enable workers, through unemployment insurance and other means, to carry over to peacetime jobs; and to enable private industry, by prompt payments on contracts and by other means, to provide peacetime jobs for war workers and veterans.

We will continue this program for an orderly postwar economy so that there will be no recurrence of the Republican system after the last war -- breadlines, apple-selling, and soup kitchens.

We will also see that the vast amount of government surplus property is so disposed of after the war as not to foster monopoly and special privilege but to favor small, independent business and

fair competition.

(2) This Administration has adopted a program for veterans benefits unequalled in any other war or in any other nation -- education, reemployment, mustering-out-pay, unemployment allowances, hospitalization and medical care, vocational training, generous pension and disability allowances.

Would the Republican leaders seek to repeal any of this legislation?

We will carry out this program to do our full duty to our soldiers and sailors.

(3) This Administration gave American labor for the first time, minimum wages, maximum hours, collective bargaining, legal right to organize, adequate machinery to settle labor disputes, abolition of child labor. Would the Republican leaders seek to repeal this legislation?

In order to relieve unemployment distress created during Republican misrule, and to provide jobs, this Democratic Administration, from 1933 on, never hesitated to make use of all of the financial and material resources of the United States. Unemployment was defeated. If private industry after

the war is unable to provide full employment, we will not hesitate again to use all the power of the Federal Government to provide useful work to those who are willing to work.

We will continue to protect labor from those who used to exploit it, and would exploit it again if they could.

What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(4) This Administration rescued American agriculture from the complete ruin to which Republican leadership had sunk it; and gave the farmers of the nation the first comprehensive program to raise their income and save their farms from foreclosure -- by AAA, soil conservation, farm credit, establishment of parity on farm products, crop insurance, commodity loans, reduction of farm tenancy, retirement of sub-marginal land, low-cost rural electricity, farm-to-market roads, ever normal granary, food and cotton stamp plan, research and extension work, water con-

servation and flood control, reclamation and irrigation control, farm cooperatives, and marketing agreements. The American farmers, as a result are now enjoying the highest prosperity in history. Would the Republican leadership repeal this legislation?

We will continue to bring economic security to the farmer and his family and increase the dignity and freedom of American farm life. What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(5) This Administration saved from complete ruin and collapse American business, industry and finance -- the whole system of free enterprise. It has curbed monopolies and concentrations of economic power and overweening public utility companies. It has enforced the antitrust laws. It has emphasized the needs of small business. It has prevented fraud in the sale of securities. It saved the banks of the country and set up a sound banking system with deposit insurance. Would the Republican leaders seek to repeal this legislation?

We will continue to build a sound system of honest American business and free enterprise on which American well-being is founded. We will continue to protect it from monopolies and unfair competition. What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(6) This Administration started our entire system of social security -- old age and survivors' insurance, unemployment insurance, relief to handicapped persons. Would the Republican leaders seek to repeal any of this legislation?

We will extend it to other workers, and to include accident and medical care, and liberalize it to give labor and self-employers additional protection after the war. What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(7) This Administration built the TVA -- a model for all vast regional developments. It built great power dams for cheap electricity for the homes and farms of the nation. That program, too, will be continued. It started the whole national program of public low-cost housing and slum clearance, and of new home construction by private enterprise through FHA. It has saved millions of homes from foreclosure and reduced interest rates on home mortgages. Would the Republican leaders repeal this legislation?

We will continue our efforts to re-house the one-third of America now living in sub-standard homes -- principally by assistance to private enterprise. Public funds should be used only for those low-income groups for whom private enterprise will find

it unprofitable to build. What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(8) This Administration, in spite of sixty (?) billions of excess purchasing power due to the war, has prevented inflation -- has substantially kept down the cost of living, and has established a fair system of price-ceilings and rationing, so that every one -- rich and poor -- has had his fair share of the necessities of life. Within the last twelve months the cost of living has actually decreased.

At the same time, this Administration has provided the machinery to prevent the collapse of prices of the basic agricultural commodities after this war as happened after the last war. Do the Republican leaders urge the repeal of this legislation?

The government controls which have made possible this almost impossible task will not be continued one day longer after the war than is necessary to prevent postwar inflation or unfair distribution. The Congress now has the power to remove most of these controls at any time it thinks proper after the war, and should retain this power.

With the ending of the war there should likewise be an ending of wartime taxation. This Administration is now at work on plans to revise taxes so as to encourage postwar industry.

We will continue our efforts to keep our war and postwar economy on an even keel. What we have accomplished -- in deeds, not words -- is proof of what we will continue to do.

(9) We believe that the future of this nation -- the proper utilization of all its vast material resources and human skill and energy -- depends upon certain inalienable economic rights which modern society requires be added to the political Bill of Rights guaranteed in the Constitution. Those rights have been outlined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as follows:

- (1) The right to a useful and remunerative job
in the industries, or shops or farms or mines
of the nation;
- (2) The right to earn enough to provide adequate
food and clothing and recreation;
- (3) The right of every farmer to raise and sell his
products at a return which will give him and
his family a decent living;

- (4) The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;
- (5) The right of every family to a decent home;
- (6) The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;
- (7) The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;
- (8) The right to a good education.

Much has been done by this Administration to attain these objectives. We pledge ourselves to continued unremitting efforts to effectuate these economic rights.

In spite of the unscrupulous efforts of Republican leaders to prevent our soldiers and sailors from voting in the election next Fall, we have full confidence that the American people will continue in office a leadership which has demonstrated, by its past accomplishments, its ability:

- (1) To win the war more speedily than any one else.
- (2) To establish a just and lasting peace for the world.
- (3) To build a sound and fair economy in postwar America.

COPY

Saturday noon

Dear Howard: (Hunter)

Enclosed is your manifesto to throw to the wolves. It might be well to combine 4 and 6 into one which make it ten paragraphs or to remove the numbers entirely so that it wouldn't be apparent. I think that if you will read carefully you will see that everything is in here. It is designed in form and in vowel and consonantal sequence to be read aloud as you will see when you try it. Unfortunately it is nearly three hundred words long instead of 250. There were places where I had to add words for rhythm and for balance for speaking aloud. I've thought pretty hard on this and it is the best I can do. Perhaps later I can get some perspective and work on it some more but the form is about what I would use in any case. Tell them that in kicking it around to be careful of its very concise balance or they will destroy any effectiveness it may have. It was very carefully designed.

Jon (Steinbeck)

D.	3,000	1,000
D.	2,000	1,000
P	2,000	2,000
+ 9,000		0

COPY

1. We intend to win the war quickly and decisively.
2. We propose to create and to help direct a militantly peaceful world organization with the strength to prevent wars.
3. We believe that no people can long prosper in isolation, that all must rise together or sink separately.
4. We propose to cooperate with other nations through trade, association and understanding in order that all people may climb to the new peak of security and comfort which technical developments have made possible.
5. We will not permit methods of production or destruction to be used or controlled by men or nations for the exploitation or enslavement of peoples.
6. We believe that a free flow of goods and of ideas are the foundations of world peace and world development.
7. We believe that a thoughtful and controlled economy can support the farmer on his land, the workman in his job and the merchant behind his counter and we know from brutal experience that uncontrolled economy can and will bring us to the edge of destruction.
8. We propose that our returning fighting men shall be secure in their futures -- that they shall have jobs in private industry if possible, but we insist that they shall have jobs.
9. We propose to lower taxes when possible but not at the expense of the welfare, security or strength of the nation.
10. We intend to protect our racial, religious and political minorities from those who would deny them the right to live and develop in our democracy.
11. We believe that in the techniques of abundance lie the greatest promise of comfort and security the world has ever seen. We propose to encourage, develop and control those techniques to the end that the greatest good may indeed come to the greatest number and that peace and plenty may live not only in our nation but in the whole world.

PSF Democratic National Convention folder
3-44
MEMORANDUM FROM OSCAR R. EWING

June 29, 1944

TO: Steve Early

file

Apropos of the possibility of the President,
in advance of the Convention, indicating that
he will accept the nomination, the Chairman
asked me to send to you the enclosed suggestion
for a statement that he might make. This was
prepared by John Steinbeck.

Oscar R. Ewing

The Nation is in the final stages of a horrible war. Every soldier, every sailor, every marine in our fighting force has officers from whom he takes his orders. And his officers have superior officers. The President is the Commander-in-Chief and he, too, has his superior officer — the people of the United States.

If my party nominates me for the Presidency I shall accept. If the people elect me, I will serve, for the people are the ultimate commanders of the Nation.

I will accept and serve, but I will not run, in the usual partisan, political sense. While the young men of America are living and dying in the hell of the beaches and the islands, I feel a revulsion toward a political campaign. But if the people command me to continue in this office and in this war, I have as little right to withdraw as the soldier has to leave his post in the line.

OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.



JAMES F. BYRNES
DIRECTOR

July 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Ben Cohen and I have been discussing the Platform. I requested him to put in writing what we agreed upon. The draft is attached. It is fifteen hundred words -- a column and a half.

I agreed to Sam's draft which has been delivered to you but think this worthy of your consideration.

J. F. B.
J. F. B.

Copies to: SIR and HLM

I

Today America, firmly united, fights for its freedom and for peace for all mankind.

To win the war, the present Administration has placed country above party and national unity above party advantage.

To hasten the day of victory and to win a peace which will endure, the Democratic Party calls upon all Americans without regard to party, to keep in power the present Administration which has demonstrated its determination and ability to put country above party and national unity above party advantage.

II

The accomplishments of the Democratic Administration in the domestic field from March, 1933 to January 19⁴¹~~42~~, are recorded history. Through them, we preserved our system of free economic enterprise from the abuses which threatened to destroy it and recognized the continuing responsibility of government to see that that system works to provide full employment for agriculture, labor and industry. Through them, we freed the farmers from

intolerable debt and increased their income, improved and conserved their lands, and brought them low cost electric power. Through them we gave new dignity to labor, recognized workers' right to work, to bargain collectively, and to secure fair labor standards. Through them we laid the foundations of a social security system to protect against the hazards of old age, unemployment, and other handicaps. These accomplishments were approved in the elections of 1936 and 1940. They no longer represent the accomplishments of a party; they are a part of the nation's heritage.

III

We take pride in the efforts of the present Administration:

1. to awaken the nation to the dangers to its very existence when many wished to believe that totalitarian aggression in Europe and Asia was no concern of ours;
2. to awaken the nation to the need of all-out preparations to defend itself against those dangers when many viewed such preparations as war-mongering;

3. to awaken the nation to the need of all-out aid to peace-loving nations defending their freedom from totalitarian aggression so as to give us time to prepare for our own defense and to keep the war from our own shores;

4. in developing in accordance with its constitutional responsibility and in concert with our Allies the military strategy of the war, so that passion should not prevail over reason, so that major battles should not be undertaken without adequate preparations, and so that final victory may be achieved in the quickest possible time with the least suffering and loss of life;

5. in organizing the energies and resources of the nation for total war, which has given America:

- (a) the best trained and equipped Army in the world,
- (b) the most powerful and best trained and equipped Navy in the world,
- (c) the most powerful and best trained and equipped air force in the world,

- (d) a war production and supply program, unprecedented in size, achieved with the wholehearted cooperation of free civilian labor and free private enterprise, which has not only provided the equipment and supplies for our own armed forces but a substantial part of the requirements of all the United Nations,
- (e) a food production program, unprecedented in size, achieved by the overtime work of the American farmer, which has kept our civilian population as well or better fed in war than in peace and has met a substantial portion of the food requirements of our fighting Allies,
- (f) a stabilization program, which through necessary war-time price, wage and rationing controls, taxes and organized war savings plans,
 - (i) has held the line against inflation and prevented an undue rise in the cost of living,
 - (ii) has ensured a fair and equitable distribution of essential foods and other necessities.

It is yesterday's preparations on the home front that has made possible the winning of today's battles by our brave fighting men on our far-flung battle fronts. It is today's work on the home front that will enable them to bring us tomorrow's victory and peace.

IV

We take pride in the efforts of the present Administration, working in close cooperation with Congressional leaders without regard to party, to prepare the basis for a just and enduring peace.

We shall firmly support the efforts of the present Administration:

1. to establish, at the earliest possible moment, if possible prior to the surrender of our enemies, a general international organization fully representative of all peace loving nations, large and small, with provision for:

- (a) outlawing war and establishing a regime of law among nations,

- (b) establishing machinery for continuing consultation to

facilitate the peaceful settlement of international disputes

and to ensure common action to prevent any breach or threatened breach of the peace and security of the world,

(c) making effective agreements and arrangements through which not a superstate but sovereign nations, acting under the law of nations, would undertake to maintain, according to their capacities and responsibilities, adequate security forces, which should be available for joint action when necessary, to assure peace and security and to make impossible deliberate preparation for war,

(d) maintaining an international court of justice to deal primarily with justifiable international disputes,

(e) providing arrangements for the accounting of the stewardship of dependent areas in order to promote the well-being of the inhabitants, to encourage the growth of self-government, and to prevent imperialistic abuses,

(f) developing upon the basis of mutual and common interest, economic and social cooperation among nations with a view to

promoting conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

2. to make effective arrangements to prevent our present enemies from making war again;

3. to carry into effect the principles and objectives enunciated in the Atlantic Charter. In particular we shall vigorously support all efforts to ensure that Poland ~~which~~ first withstood the military might of Hitlerite Germany shall be restored as a strong, free and democratic State and that the Jews who were the first to be cruelly maligned and to be subject to the most unspeakably wicked mass murders shall be helped to go, if they wish, to Palestine without hindrance, and there to reconstitute their national home and build a free and democratic commonwealth in accordance with the principles of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

V

We pledge our support to the declared purpose of the present administration to see that our system of free economic enterprise aided by government when necessary, provides full employment for agriculture,

labor and industry and adequate security based upon minimum federal standards for all against the inevitable hazards of old age, sickness, unemployment and other handicaps.

We take pride in the following programs, already worked out, or in the course of being worked out, by the present Administration in cooperation with Congressional leaders without regard to party and with leaders of industry and labor, to facilitate the transition from war to peace:

1. Benefits for ex-service men and women in any other war or by any other nations, including education, retraining and vocational guidance, muster-out-pay, unemployment allowances, hospitalization and medical care, generous pension and disability allowances and loans for the purchase of farms, homes and business properties.

2. The prompt settlement of terminated war contracts, the providing of adequate credits, particularly for small business, to finance reconversion so that the capital and facilities of private enterprise may

promptly be put by private enterprise to peacetime use providing peacetime jobs for workers at the earliest possible time.

3. The orderly disposition of surplus war properties as promptly as possible without unduly disrupting normal trade; the greatest care to be taken to avoid the building up of monopoly and special privilege and to help the building up of free competitive enterprise, particularly small and local enterprise.

4. The guaranty of our farmers not less than 90 percent of parity on their basic crops for two full crop years after the termination of hostilities, with crop insurance to protect against the hazards of crop failure.

5. The provisions, in cooperation with the states, of adequate unemployment benefits for all workers temporarily unable to find employment during the period of demobilization and reconversion.

6. The release of war-time controls as war requirements will permit without aggravating the dangers of inflation or of an inequitable distribution of the necessities of life as a consequence of war-time

dislocations.

7. The adaptation of our tax laws to an expanding peace-time economy as soon as the war ends and the danger of inflation passes. This should involve a thorough revision and simplification of our present tax structure, the elimination of war-time excise and excess profit taxes and of tax-exempt securities, the encouragement of risk capital, new enterprise and of mass consumption, all in accordance with the principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay and the balancing of the budget at high levels of national income and employment.

VI

America is a nation made up of many races and creeds. American unity and strength depends upon the ability of its people to work together with tolerance and understanding of their racial and religious differences.

America is built upon the principle of equal opportunity and fair play for all of its citizens. In maintaining and safeguarding this principle, the present Administration has incurred the enmity of all forces of bigotry and intolerance.

-11-

We pledge ourselves to support the present Administration in its efforts to maintain and safeguard the principle of equality and fair play. We pledge ourselves to maintain the religious, civil and political liberties of all citizens without regard to race, creed or color. These essential liberties include, among other, freedom from economic discrimination, freedom from the fear of lynch law. These liberties should be protected by legislation in the several states and by the Federal Government to the full extent of its constitutional powers.

PSF; Dem. Convention folder 3-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Audrey —
To sink in files —
top secret —
Lot:

Hyde park, N. Y.,
July 14, 1944.

My dear Senator Jackson:-

In the light of the probability that you will be chosen as Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and because I know that many rumors accompany all Conventions, I am wholly willing to give you my own personal thought in regard to the selection of a candidate for Vice President. I do this at this time because I expect to be away from Washington for the next few days.

The easiest way of putting it is this: I have been associated with Henry Wallace during his past four years as Vice President, for eight years earlier while he was Secretary of Agriculture, and well before that. I like him and I respect him, and he is my personal friend. For these reasons, I personally would vote for his renomination if I were a delegate to the Convention.

At the same time, I do not wish to appear in any way as dictating to the Convention. Obviously the Convention must do the deciding. And it should -- and I am sure it will -- give great consideration to the pros and cons of its choice.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Samuel D. Jackson,
Stevens Hotel,
Chicago,
Ill.

My dear Senator Jackson:

Wright Post July 14th
In the light of ~~your impending leadership in the Convention,~~
~~and in the thought that many rumors accompany all conventions,~~ *because I know that* I
am wholly willing to give you my own personal thought in regard
to the selection of a candidate for Vice President. I do this
at this time because I expect to be away from Washington for
the next few days. *P.C.*

The easiest way of putting it is this: I have been associated
with Henry Wallace during his past four years as Vice President,
for eight years earlier while he was Secretary of Agriculture,
and well before that. I like him and I respect him, and he is
my personal friend. For these reasons, I personally would vote
for his renomination if I were a delegate to the Convention.

At the same time, I do not wish to appear in any way as
dictating to the Convention. Obviously the Convention must do
the deciding. ~~Nevertheless,~~ *perhaps,* it should--and I am sure it will--
give great consideration to the pros and cons of its choice.

First and ~~foremost~~, of course, is the consideration that
the candidate should have integrity, experience and ability.
Then there are these two most important political tests:

Will the nominee draw affirmative support to the ticket?

Will the nominee meet opposition in so-called doubtful
states to the extent that he will diminish the strength of
the ticket?

As you can readily understand, I do not advocate the choice
of any individual, but I do ask that consideration be given to
these important questions.

Stevens

Draft No. 1

My dear Senator Jackson:-

Because it is hoped that you will be elected Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and because I know the many rumors that accompany all Conventions, I am wholly willing to let you know my own personal thoughts in regard to the selection of a candidate for Vice President.

The easiest way of putting it is this: Because I have been associated with Vice President Wallace in the past four years; because I like him, and because we have always worked together as a team, I would personally vote for his renomination if I were a delegate to the Convention.

The Democratic party operates under a free Convention system, however, and I do not wish in any way to appear as dictating to the Convention.

Obviously the Convention must do the deciding but, at the same time, it must give great consideration to the pros and cons of its choice. There are two considerations in addition to the consideration of experience and ability. These are the questions -- Will the nominee strengthen the ticket, and will the nominee meet such opposition in so-called doubtful States as to hurt the ticket by decreasing the number of votes for it?

Therefore, as you can readily understand, I am not advocating the choice of any individual but I am asking that consideration be given to the above.

PSF, Convention folder
3-44

file Samuel

Hyde Park, N. Y.
July 14, 1944.

My dear Senator Jackson:

In the light of the probability that you will be chosen as Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and because I know that many remove accompany all Conventions, I am wholly willing to give you my own personal thought in regard to the selection of a candidate for Vice President. I do this at this time because I expect to be away from Washington for the next few days.

The easiest way of putting it is this: I have been associated with Henry Wallace during his past four years as Vice President, for eight years earlier while he was Secretary of Agriculture, and well before that. I like him and I respect him, and he is my personal friend. For these reasons, I personally would vote for his renomination if I were a delegate to the Convention.

At the same time, I do not wish to appear in any way as dictating to the Convention. Obviously the Convention must do the deciding. And it should -- and I am sure it will -- give great consideration to the pros and cons of its choice.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Samuel D. Jackson,
Stevens Hotel,
Chicago, Illinois.

Convention folder
JW

15 Sept July 12
24

My dear Senator Jackson:-

Because it is hoped that you will be elected
Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and because I know the
many rumors that accompany all Conventions, I am wholly willing
to let you know my own personal thoughts in regard to the
selection of a candidate for Vice President.

I do this at this time because I expect to be asked for the next few days
The easiest way of putting it is this:

Because I have been associated with Vice President Wallace
in the past four years; because I like him, *and he is a personal friend* ~~and because we~~
~~have always worked together as a team~~, I would personally
vote for his renomination if I were a delegate to the
Convention.

~~The democratic party operates under a
free convention system, however, and~~ I do not wish in any
way to appear as dictating to the Convention.

Obviously the convention must do the
deciding but, at the same time, it must give great con-
sideration to the pros and cons of its choice. There are
two considerations in addition to the consideration of
experience and ability. These are the questions -- Will
the nominee strengthen the ticket, and will the nominee
meet such opposition in so-called doubtful States as to
hurt the ticket by decreasing the number of votes for it?

Therefore, as you can readily under-
stand, I am not advocating the choice of any individual
but I am asking that consideration be given to the above *questions*

*file
very confidential*

TSF Dem. Natl Convent

July 19, 1944.

Dear Bob:-

You have written me about Harry Truman and Bill Douglas. I should, of course, be very glad to run with either of them and believe that either one of them would bring real strength to the ticket.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Robert E. Hannegan,
Blackstone Hotel,
Chicago,
Illinois.

PSF Convention folder 3-44

The White House
Washington

JUL 21 10 22 PM 1944

16
TO HONORABLE ROBERT S. KERR
STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

THANK YOU MUCH FOR THAT FINE SPEECH WHICH OPENED THE
CONVENTION. IT MADE ME VERY HAPPY

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

10-25-44
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CHICAGO ILLINOIS
STEVENS HOTEL
TO HONORABLE ROBERT E. HANNEGAN
8872 2 10 28 PM 1944

NEW YORK 10 15 AM

White House
Washington

23

The White House
Washington

TO HONORABLE ROBERT E HANNEGAN

CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

JUL 21 10 28 PM 1944

STEVENS HOTEL

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

YOU ARE TO BE HEARTILY CONGRATULATED ON YOUR FIRST
CONDUCT OF A DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WHICH CERTAINLY DESERVED THE
WORD DEMOCRATIC ALL GOOD LUCK

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

10 30
E. A. Tamm

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House
Washington

JUL 21 10 50 PM 1944

10/10/10

TO HONORABLE SAMUEL D. JACKSON
STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.
YOU DID A MAGNIFICENT JOB IN PRESIDING OVER THE
CONVENTION AND I AM VERY PROUD OF YOU,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House
Washington

JUL 21 10 32 AM 1944

TO HONORABLE SAMUEL D. JACKSON
STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

YOU DID A MAGNIFICENT JOB IN PRESIDING OVER THE
CONVENTION AND I AM VERY PROUD OF YOU,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

11/2/44
D. M. C.

PSF: Democratic National Convention folder
3-44

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Fostine, Ore
July 27, 1944

Dear Mr. President -

I was way back in
the high wallowa mountains
of Oregon in a jack trip
during the Convention. So
it was only yesterday
after my return to
our summer place
that I learned of your
letter to Hannegan saying

that I would have been
acceptable as your
running mate. That was
a great compliment, Mr.
President, and I want
you to know that it
touched me deeply.
Some of the boys were
whooping it up for me -
much against my will.
But I succeeded just
to the Convention in
subduing that wild
uprising. I went away

on the job too
confident that everything
was under control. So it
was that your letter
really touched me. I thank
you from the heart for
your expression of confi-
dence, Mr. President.

I wish I could
help you - although I
doubt if you will need
much help out here. Today
I am sure you would
carry Wash., D.C. & Calif.

Did you know
that Tom D. & I were

classmates at Columbia
Law? By seated us in my
day alphabetically. Dewey
came next to Douglas for
3 years. I could tell you lots
on that score.

If you come west
between now & the middle
of September, I would like
to turn over to you our
modest two-cabin summer
place. We are one mile high.
Four blankets every night -
and roaring fires. Huddled
jams in that institution west
enthusiastically. We are only
70 miles from the main line of
the U.P. Huddled jams me in
sending you our affectionate regards.
As ever - Bill