

The President pro tempore of the Senate was escorted to the Speaker's station, the Secretary to the Chief Clerk's desk, and the members of the Senate took seats in the west side of the chamber.

JOINT CONVENTION

In accordance with House Concurrent Resolution 12 duly adopted, the joint convention was called to order, President Hickenlooper of the Senate presiding.

President Hickenlooper announced a quorum present and the joint convention duly organized.

Blue of Wright moved that a committee of three, consisting of one member from the Senate and two members from the House, be appointed to notify the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association that the Convention was ready to receive them. Motion prevailed and the President appointed Senator Husted of Madison on the part of the Senate, and Representatives Blue of Wright and Alesch of Plymouth on the part of the House.

The committee waited upon the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association and escorted them to the seats provided in front of the rostrum.

The committee then escorted Senator Byers of Linn and Representative Walters of Pottawattamie to the rostrum.

Senator Frank C. Byers gave the following address of welcome on the part of the Senate:

"MR. PRESIDENT and Members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association: It is an honor and a privilege to be allowed to welcome the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers in behalf of the Senate.

"There have been great changes in recent years. The day of the ox-cart, covered wagon, even the horse and buggy are gone, and there are many new conditions arising which require legislative consideration and regulation.

"You laid the foundations of the laws of our state wisely and well, and I presume you felt when the last session of your terms in the Legislature ended and you had adjourned that the state had all the laws it needed. You would have been correct if life had remained of the tempo of those days but in this day of the radio, airplane, automobile and the streamliner, the rule of life is change rather than stability, and it is to meet this change with its increased complexity of human relations that new enactments are constantly required.

"But one thing does not change, and that is human nature. The

Proverbs of Solomon are as true today as they were three thousand years ago. The human instincts and reactions depicted in the plays of Shakespeare appeal as unerringly to human emotions today as they did three hundred years ago.

"Yet you realize as well as we that all change is not progress. It is still true as in the time of the old Chronicler that we must, 'Consider well what is proposed and hold fast to that which is good.' Though we have thus far preserved the heritage of a free people which our forefathers brought forth and you helped hand down, democracy was never as much challenged in the world as today. With England and France standing alone in a dictator ridden Europe and with highly organized pressure groups making their influence more and more felt in America there never was a time when it has been more necessary to exert every effort and strain every power at our command to maintain our Republic and transmit it unimpaired to the coming generation.

"These are the problems of today. They seem to us greater than the problems of yesterday. They may not be; they may only be closer. We take from you the inspiration, the zeal, the steadfast loyalty to the principles of the Constitution of our Country which you in your legislative careers so highly exemplified. We hope to carry on upon the same high plane of public endeavor. The future only can judge of our success.

"For the services you rendered the state, for handing down the charter of American freedom undimmed and unerasd, and for the example of useful and necessary legislation you set, I welcome you here in the name of the Senate."

Representative Herman W. Walter of Pottawattamie gave the following address of welcome on the part of the House:

MR. PRESIDENT, Pioneer Lawmakers, Assembly of Guests, Members of House and Senate:

It is indeed a great pleasure and honor to welcome you. When I recall the achievement you have attained, I feel deeply the debt of the present to the past. In welcoming your distinguished body, we do well to remember that the word Pioneer is not an isolated word, but a word that is descriptive of courage, foresight, vision and leadership. We need but pause for a moment and look into the past and realize many of the ideals of the Pioneer Lawmakers have become realities, and are so deeply entrenched in the hearts of the people of Iowa, that they can never be erased. When the forefathers of this country wrote the Declaration of Independence, they knew that man was created and endowed with certain inalienable rights, that being life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

When the framers of our constitution gathered from all the states then in the Union, they framed a document recognized as the greatest instrument ever written by man. Embodied in this instrument was the protection of these inalienable rights so ably announced by Thomas Jefferson and which forever guaranteed to the people of this country a representative form of government. The leaders of this country formulated into law the expressions and opinions of the people of this great land, fully knowing that without recognizing human rights and liberties as paramount in government, there can be no progress.

The vision and foresight of our Iowa Lawmakers of yesteryear has made possible the erection of huge state institutions and maintenance for the care of the many unfortunates not able to take care of themselves. This is but one of the many humanitarian acts which we owe your distinguished body.

The erection of our great places of learning which can be attended by all, regardless of class, color or creed, of which Iowa might be well proud, is due only to the foresight and vision of the Pioneer lawmaker, well knowing, "that without education there can be little vision."

The achievements, which you, the Pioneer lawmakers have attained, is today a guiding light in these troubled times. An encouragement to spur us on to do our task which we have before us and which we hope we will be able to perform as courageously and ably as you. On behalf of the House of Representatives of the Forty-eighth General Assembly, I welcome you.

The program was then carried out as arranged by the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association, President John C. De Mar of the association in charge.

President De Mar then introduced the Honorable George Cosson, who addressed the Joint Convention as follows:

THIS CONFLICTING WORLD

We are at the end of a cycle and the beginning of a new. Between end and beginning is chaos. So said Oswald Spengler.

It was Thomas Huxley who said that next in importance to clear and right thinking was clear and wrong thinking, but we have neither clear and right thinking nor clear and wrong thinking.

We have a mass of confused thinking. This results from the fact of our opening statement. We are at the end of a cycle and the beginning of a new. Every intelligent person will admit the truth of this statement, but scarcely one in a million really acts accordingly.

That is true in both our domestic and international relations. It is true of the man on the street. It is true of the business man and it is true of the men who run our government.

So long as this confused thinking continues, there is not much hope for the world.

Let us pass from the general to the specific. From the dawn of civilization and even before civilization, the struggle of man has been to obtain food, clothing and shelter and the beginning of civilization is measured by the extent to which man could increase his supply of food.

It is, therefore, a matter of tremendous importance to keep in mind that we have now passed from this scarcity economy into an economy of plenty and abundance.

That does not mean that everyone has plenty and abundance, but it does mean that production and transportation have advanced to that stage where the most favored could live in unsurpassed luxury and even the humblest might have the comforts and necessities of life. Yet it is

not too much to say that nine-tenths of all our action and thinking and legislation is based upon the old order; upon the scarcity economy, and strange as it may seem, this old order is not defended by the poor and ignorant, but by the educated, responsible people of society.

To use a phrase of James Trueslow Adams, it is the rich, the wise, the good. It has ever been so. It was the respectable and responsible people, that is—the rich, the wise, the good—who crucified Jesus and took the greatest exception to his teachings, and it was the cream of aristocracy of the south, that is, the large plantation owners, who were the most ardent defenders of slavery.

It is one of the tragedies of our times that so many of the most intelligent and the finest of our people still look upon the glories of our civilization which existed during the first quarter of the twentieth century, and still cling to the idea that if we could get rid of the New Deal and all its works, we could return to the status quo. That we could restore the old order.

Regardless, however, of the merits of the New Deal, which is not under discussion, as this is not the time nor place for such a discussion, and regardless of what happens to the New Deal and every individual who has been a part of the New Deal, the old order changeth. It has already changed.

The economy and the pattern of our civilization which many so ardently desire to re-establish is gone forever, never to return to this world or the world to come.

This failure to recognize in the pattern of our everyday and business life, as well as in legislation, the fact that the scarcity economy is gone and we now have the equipment and knowledge to live in an economy of abundance and plenty, is largely responsible for our present condition.

Before proceeding to a discussion of world affairs and international relations, perhaps a few observations will help to make clear the point I wish to establish.

In a scarcity economy under the old order when there was always a scarcity of both food and industrial products, it was literally true that he who could make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, or two ears of corn grow where one grew before, was a real benefactor of the race as well as a benefactor of the agricultural class, but, as Governor Lowden pointed out, it has usually followed that the farmer's lowest income has occurred when he raised the largest crop, and, since agriculture is by far the major industry in America, between three and four times as large as any other single industry, whenever the farmer suffers, the nation suffers.

It is also true that there was some justification for special favors in order to encourage infant industries.

Speaking generally, it could be said that the saying of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Payne that "that nation governs best which governs least" was true. The doctrine of laissez faire put a premium on initiative and enterprise.

In the scarcity economy especially, so long as there was new land to be opened up and new enterprises which needed developing there was no need to worry about over-production and exchange.

There was always the opportunity to exchange labor, money and commodities, but today, the problem, as before stated, is not that of production, not that of transportation, but the problem of exchange and distribution.

Hence, the very grave problem of unemployment That is to say, how to exchange the labor of the ten or twelve million of unemployed. How to exchange the labor of substantially all able bodied men for money or commodities.

To this question, we have made no substantial contribution. We have not even scratched the surface. We have applied poultices, and administered bromides and anesthetics, whereas the patient indicates that no recovery can be had without a major operation.

It should be perfectly apparent to anyone who not only sees, but, as Carlisle said, who sees through, that we have not only failed to solve the problem, but because our pattern of civilization is still governed by the old philosophy of a scarcity economy, things are worse instead of better.

This follows because of the tremendous increase in debt, state, municipal and personal, and because of the enormous increase in taxes with no real improvement in unemployment.

As the debt burden and taxes increase, it follows that more and more of the small business men and private enterprises are put out of business.

Under these conditions, it is increasingly difficult for an individual or a small industry to succeed. Under these conditions more and more, the individual and the small business man is driven to the wall while those corporations with large reserves, large research departments and excellent management, able to change with changed conditions alone have a chance to succeed. It follows also that since our problem now is one of exchange and distribution, that any action which interferes with the freedom and the increased volume of exchange or trade, or which curtails labor and increases unemployment, aggravates the situation.

Hence, trade barriers, whether in the form of state legislation or national legislation in the nature of embargoes, trade quotas and excessive tariffs, aggravate our difficulties, because they all tend to limit and curtail trade, exchange and distribution and increase unemployment.

So likewise, all monopolistic practices which arbitrarily restrict production for the purpose of increasing prices and destroying competition, aggravates the situation, lessens the power of exchange and distribution and increases unemployment. This is also true with reference to labor.

Up to a certain point, an increased wage means increased purchasing power and decent standards of living. Beyond a certain point a scarcity of labor with a very high and rigid price per hour wage operates in precisely the same manner as monopolistic practices on the part of industry.

It results in the law of diminishing returns. Whatever is gained by the increased hourly wage is more than lost in the reduced monthly or annual wage, and if out of line or balance with other labor, it follows that the lower priced labor cannot buy the products of the commodities produced by the excessively high labor, so that again we have a reduction and curtailment of production, exchange and distribution.

All forms of special legislation granting special favors to particular classes or organizations as a result of pressure groups are anti-social and aggravate the situation by further curtailing exchange and distribution, for the reason that an equivalent burden must be imposed for every special favor granted and again the burden falls most heavily upon those least able to stand it.

Along with this type of legislation goes all that great mass of tax exempt securities available only to those with large surpluses; the result being that a large part of the property of the nation receives full protection and the owners receive all the advantages of a free government, yet they make little or no contribution to production, the employment of labor or the support of the government.

This again results in curtailment of labor, production, exchange and distribution.

What then, shall we say of legislation reducing taxes upon homesteads and national legislation in aid of Agriculture?

My answer is, that both, under present economy, are not only justified, but advisable. The first, because the sales tax falls most heavily upon the poor and the homestead owners. The homestead tax reduction law merely tends to equalize the sales tax which places an undue heavy burden upon the poor and the small home owner and those least able to pay.

As to national legislation in aid of the farmer, it cannot be said too often and has not yet been said often enough that agriculture is entitled to its fair share of the national income and that few times in the entire history of our country has the farmer received his full share of the national income, whether measured by population or the real contribution which he makes to the well-being of society.

I recall but one year during the past generation when the farmer received his proportion of the National income. That was in 1919. During that year the value of Agricultural products totalled \$16,640,000,000 or in round figures \$17,000,000,000, and all classes benefited thereby. The farmer directly supports one third of the population and feeds all of the population but generally speaking, receives but one-seventh to one-tenth of the National income.

Therefore, so long as we continue to grant special favors to industry and banking, the farmer is entitled to consideration in order to equalize the special favors which have been granted by our Government from its earliest history to industry and banking.

Time forbids a discussion of the question, but if we had the courage and the vision, we could adopt a program for Agriculture with little or no regimentation and in complete harmony with a program of economy of plenty by taking over 50 million acres of land and retaining and operating the same under lease, where it has become necessary to fore-close under farm credit administration loans.

Under such a system, a surplus ample to take care of food shortages as a result of drought or otherwise, could always be maintained by the Government. Men could be given an opportunity on small acreages to make a living and large numbers of men could be put to work in process-

ing foods for relief purposes and to feed the unemployed. This plan would be in complete harmony with the pattern of an abundance or economy of plenty.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

If we now turn to International affairs we find this same confusion of thought. We profess to believe, and undoubtedly in the abstract we sincerely believe, in international law and international peace, but in action we cling to the old order; that is to say, the doctrine of isolation and self-sufficiency where each nation determines for itself what is right, refuses to cooperate with other nations for the purpose of preserving international law, and undertakes to defend and enforce its rights by its army and navy. In other words by precisely the same methods which have existed from the time the first savage tribe fought a hostile savage tribe in order to gain food or territory. These are not the methods belonging to this age, to an economy of abundance and to a high state of civilization. These methods belong to a former age, to barbarism, to savagery and to a scarcity economy.

Now as a result of the world war, the peoples of the world were so shocked by the horrors of modern warfare and its futility that they were ready to abandon the methods which had been in existence since prehistoric times and by group action undertake to promulgate, to declare and to enforce international law and international peace. It is not too much to say that probably not less than 80% — 90% of all the civilized people of the world, including the people of our own country, believed that the time had arrived to abandon the old order and establish the new.

Accordingly, in connection with the Versailles Treaty there was established a League of Nations and an International Court of Justice, the League of Nations to promulgate and declare international law, and an international court to decide in accordance with the principles of international law so that each nation could submit its disputes and have a decision based upon law instead of force. The civilized nations of the world subscribed to this new order, some 50 in number the exceptions being Turkey and the United States.

Now, in view of what has happened in the world since the world war and in view of the conditions which we find existing in the world today we hear upon every hand that America's participation in the world war was a horrible mistake, that we sacrificed 50 thousand of our young men and billions of dollars to no end and to no purpose and that it is most fortunate that we did not adhere to the World Court or join the League of Nations. This, however, does not tell the whole story. There existed in the minds of the thoughtful people of our country when we entered the war that some way the result would be to establish a new order in the world to the end that we might have international peace and that disputes might be settled by arbitration or some peaceful method. The feelings and hopes and aspirations of the American people were clearly expressed by Woodrow Wilson when he said we are entering the war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy and yet when we hear

this statement made amongst all of the classes of our people they either laugh or sneer. And yet what is more worthwhile in the world than to end war and make the world a safe place for the nations of a free people where each shall have a voice in the government; where all the great fundamental rights shall be protected and guaranteed and where individual liberty and individual initiative is preserved and encouraged and where there shall be a free interchange not only of thoughts and ideas and scientific inventions, but of goods and commodities.

I wish here and now to challenge the popular assumptions which exist amongst our people in connection with our entering the World War, and the whole American foreign policy following the World War.

First let me say boldly and unequivocally that the World War was not a failure, that our participation in the World War was not a mistake. On the contrary the World War was necessary in order to preserve the rights of smaller nations and free peoples, and it was imperative that America enter the World War in order to save its own soul.

Let me again assert the motive was worthy and laudable. Our entrance was not a mistake and the war was a success. Never before in the history of the world had there been such heroic, unselfish cooperative effort amongst the great nations of the world to bring about a new order of things in the world.

How then, shall we explain the conditions which we find in the world today, where every nation has become an armed camp, where the preparations of war exceeds many times that which ever existed before in history, where the major thought and industry of the leading powers is to discover and increase new and better methods of killing people. And how shall we explain that we now have the most pagan and vicious forms of despotic power and totalitarian governments that ever existed? The answer is simple. The war was a success. What was sought to be accomplished so far as the war itself was concerned was accomplished, and both America and the Allies were glorious in war. The heroism and disinterested cooperation as before stated was unparalleled in the world's history, but while we were noble and glorious in war, we were ignoble and inglorious in peace.

If America and the allied nations of the world had shown the same determination, the same heroism, the same disinterested and cooperative effort following the war that existed during the war we should have accomplished precisely the purpose as stated by Woodrow Wilson, and we would have made the world a safe place for the free peoples of the earth and the smaller nations of the earth, and the dream of the ages would now be an established fact and a reality, and we could all repeat the words of the Great Teacher and the Great Law Giver, "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men".

I repeat, the failure was not in connection with the war, the failure is the result of the fact that we deserted the cause at the very time the great influence of America was needed the most.

If argument is needed in order to establish the truth of the statements here made, we need go no further than our own history. The Revolutionary War was fought under great difficulties by the 13 separate colonies, each of which was a separate sovereign power. Suppose at the end of

the Revolutionary War the colonies not only had a Patrick Henry to oppose the constitution but suppose there then existed a little group of men referred to by Woodrow Wilson as wilfull men. The highest coun- cils, George Washington, John Marshal, John Adams, Benjamin Frank- lin, Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Adams had not succeeded in founding and establishing a constitution but on the contrary the Patrick Henry's and such men as Senators Lodge, Borah, Reed, Moses and others aided by a yellow press known as the Hearst Publications should have succeeded in destroying the constitution. Is there a single person in this audience who believes that the conditions which would have followed would have been even worse if possible than the conditions which have followed the destruction of the cooperative effort following the World War to establish international law and international peace. The imagin- ation can hardly grasp the consequence which would have followed if the doctrine should have prevailed in each of the colonies of isolation and self sufficiency which was so ardently advocated by Patrick Henry and so successfully advocated by a little group of men following the World War, some actuated by honest and mistaken motives but a number actuated by sordid, political and mean motives.

I accuse William Randolph Hearst and the Hearst Publications of spreading international poison and hate and ill will throughout the world. I accuse Senators Lodge, Borah, Reed, Moses and the other group of Senators of misrepresenting the noblest sentiments and aspirations of the American people and the peoples of the world. I accuse Senators Lodge, Borah and Reed and this little group of men of destroying not only the World Court and the League of Nations but the cooperative effort of the nations of the world to establish international law and international peace.

When President Harding said, as he did say here in the City of Des Moines: "I turn my back upon the League" he not only then turned his back upon the League but the result of his action was to destroy the usefulness of the World Court and cooperative effort of the nations of the world.

Is it not time that we should see the issues clearly? Is it not time that we should cease confusing cause and effect? Is it not time, as Carlyle said, that we should not only see but see through? There are but two methods in the world to settle difficulties. One is by force; that is the law of the jungle and anarchy. The other is by cooperative effort and some form of judicial decision. That is the method of civilization.

Sooner or later we must make a clear cut decision between one or the other of these methods. There is and can be no such thing as isolation and self sufficiency for this nation or any other nation in the world. If proof is needed witness the demonstration of 20,000 Nazi storm troupers which met in New York two weeks ago—flogged and beat up people who undertook to express an independent thought, wore the Nazi uniform, gave the Nazi salute, placed the swastika above the American flag, in- dulgued in sneers and boos at the name of the president of the United States, and declared for friendly cooperation with Adolf Hitler. Also note the fact that Field Marshal Goering said but a few days ago in

Berlin "We shall use all our power to increase our 80 million population to 100 million". He further said "Young men will stream in doubled and three-fold numbers into barracks. We intend to use every one of them." And "we must produce planes in numbers and of quality which seems unthinkable". And then he uttered the blasphemous statement "Plainly the Lord is with us."

In a recent number of the Forum magazine we are told that Germany has more, faster and better bombing airplanes than England, France and the United States combined, and that their production capacity is ten times as great as that of France.

In spite of this we still have a school of thought who profess to believe in isolation and self sufficiency and that America should be neutral and lady-like and say nothing which will offend these pagan dictators, and while these speeches are being uttered in the press and in the halls of the United States Congress, Federal juries are finding Nazi spies guilty of being members of a spy ring in the United States, hired by the German government to obtain the military secrets of the United States and carry on a propaganda of Nazi government here. At the same time we read of the solidarity of the Rome, Berlin, Tokio axis recently augmented by the Government of Hungary and the cooperation of Franco in Madrid.

As a result of this solidarity on the part of the dictators and the lack of cooperative effort on the part of the democracies and the other nations of the world we witness a series of world aggressions on the part of these nations, each one furnishing encouragement for the other, namely, Manchuria, Manchukuo, China, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Munich.

My conclusion is that trying to follow the old order leads to nothing but tragedy and disaster. That national restrictive legislation in an attempt to maintain neutrality results not in neutrality but to the advantage of the stronger and aggressive nations. That a national policy which closes its eyes to the ravishment of weaker nations and the destruction of every religious and civil right which exists among the peoples of the world is not the road to peace but the road which will inevitably lead to war. A world crisis is at hand. America must not play an ignoble part. If we are to remain free we must be bold. The world needs leadership as it never needed it before. There are many encouraging signs notwithstanding the warlike preparations of the dictator nations. Their weakness has become apparent, their shortage of food and the necessity of raw materials is even admitted by them. A new Pope has just been selected. Within 24 hours after his selection he declared to the world and over three hundred million catholics for national peace based upon justice. He refused to be intimidated by the warning of Adolph Hitler and his lieutenants and he refused to be intimidated by the warning of the Italian press. The government of America can do no less. We need not become entangled in a foreign war. We should uphold the hand of the President of the United States in letting it be known that America condemns the lawlessness and the persecution of the dictator governments and that our sympathies are with the democracies and the free

governments of the world and that in any conflict we shall use every peaceful and lawful method including the furnishing of foodstuffs, raw materials and war planes and even munitions to the democracies in their contest against autocracy, despotism and paganism.

Personally I shall unhesitatingly support the new order. I unhesitatingly declare in favor of international law and international peace, and sufficient cooperation among the free nations of the world to establish and preserve international law and international peace.

Senator Doran moved that the addresses by Representative Walters, Senator Byers and ex-Senator Cosson be printed in the Journal. Motion prevailed.

On motion by Hallagan of Polk the Joint Session was dissolved.

The House reconvened, Speaker pro tempore Goode in the chair.

AMENDMENTS FILED

Roan of Lee filed the following amendments to Senate File 128:

(1) Amend section four (4) by inserting in the fifth line of subsection 3, after the word "stamps", the following: "at a price equal to the amount paid for such stamps".

(2) Amend section four (4), subsection 3, by adding at the end thereof the following:

"The treasurer may promulgate rules and regulations providing for refunds of the face value of stamps affixed to any cigarettes which have become unfit for use and consumption, unsalable, or for any other legitimate loss which may occur, upon proof of such loss. Refund shall be made by issuing new stamps of an aggregate value of the tax paid on the cigarettes adjudged to be unfit for use, consumption, unsalable, or any other loss suffered."

(3) Amend section nine (9), by placing a period after the word "provided" in the third line of subsection 2 and by striking the remainder of the sentence, as follows: "who, in the opinion of the treasurer based upon the past record and history of the applicant, can be relied upon to comply faithfully with the provisions of this act."

(4) Amend section nine (9), subsection 7, by inserting in the fifth line of said subsection, after the words "provided that", the following: "the treasurer may by regulation require that"; also amend by striking the word "bears" at the end of said line and inserting the word "bear"; also amend by inserting in line six (6) the word "that" following the word "and"; also amend by striking the word "is" at the end of line seven (7) and inserting in lieu thereof the word "be".

(5) Amend section eleven (11), subsection 3, by inserting at the beginning of said subsection the following: "The treasurer may by regulation require"; also by beginning the word "Every" with a small letter.

Further amend said subsection 3 by striking from the second line thereof the word "shall" and inserting the word "to".

Further amend said subsection 3 by striking from the fifth line thereof