That it would interest you
In a country as large as ours, with its extremes of climate, of altitude, of rainfall, of scattered and diversified natural resources, no political system has as yet been devised for making the forces of nature harmonize with a partisan scheme of things not based on natural factors and no amount of arm waving or body weaving on the part of national baton wielders can make them do it.

There are mountains and prairies, river valleys and deserts, mineral sections and farmlands; there are areas which are covered with snow many months in the year, while elsewhere frost is unknown. And so long as men live in such differing atmospheres just that long are there going to be local problems which can be solved only by local agencies attuned to local needs and conditions.

No statute or departmental rule or regulation has yet been written whose enforcement will level the mountains, bring rainfall to the semi-arid states, temper the heat of the southland, or earm the Canadian border in midwinter.

The basic theory underlying the Constitution delegated certain powers to a national agency while it reserved all powers not delegated to the individual states. It decreed that the states of smaller population should have equal representation with the rest in the upper house of the Congress. It recognized that geographical and climatological differences mould the lives, and shape the thoughts and ambitions of men in different ways.

For more than a century and a half our nation has gone forward on the assumption that basic differences in modes of living, and in the ways of earning that living justify the continued existence of separate states which meet and serve local problems. Influenced by such peculiar conditions state laws, usages and customs have been developed to control the acquisition and ownership of property, to define the use and enjoyment of common blessings, and to promote the interests of those affected by such conditions.
We must cling always to our federal union, which is designed to protect and foster our national institutions and interests, but at the same time we must recognize the need for local regulation and administration. And to the same extent that the national government is not qualified to solve all of the local problems of all sections of the country, to just that same extent is it unable to establish regional authorities which would supplant and supersede state governments, and measure all of the needs, all of the hopes and all of the rights of their people by a common yardstick.

To no man or group of men has been given the talent to go into the semi-arid sections of the West, for instance, and with only two main objectives—flood control and the development of hydro-electric power—to change the manner of life of all of our people and render it necessary for them to modify their activities, their plans and their thinking so as to become subservient to an artificial authority set up without regard to geography, to climate, to history, to property rights, or to the ideals of the individuals affected. To illustrate my position may I go to my own country where a regional authority is proposed which would take over our life program and dictate our future activities.

The first people who went into the Rocky Mountain section of the United States were gold seekers. But in the great rushes to the Western Eldorados all of the people who traveled in prairie schooners, or on mule back, or who pushed carts across the plains were not miners. The merchant, the shoemaker, the lawyer, the doctor, went along to follow their chosen lines, and perhaps as many as sought for gold came from the farms of the East and the Middle West.

The only trees which they found outside of the pine and its relatives were strings of willows and cottonwoods along the banks of occasional western streams. A short distance from running water the land seemed able to support only the prairie dog, the rattlesnake, the hison, the coyote, the cactus plant and the sage-brush. But there were traditions of irrigated farms on the Rio Grande below
El Paso, and sporadic attempts at irrigation had been recorded in various parts of the West. The farmers who followed the beaux ploughed the land and diverted water upon it. They proved that the soil of the semi-arid West, when properly irrigated, produced worthwhile crops. The mining states of yesteryear are agricultural sections today.

By a series of Congressional acts sympathetically interpreted and confirmed by decisions of the United States Supreme Court and other federal tribunals and under Constitutional and statutory regulations set up in the separate states, there has been developed a theory of water rights, called the "Doctrine of Appropriation". This idea is entirely at variance with the doctrine of "Riparian Rights", recognized under the common law in Old England, and in the eastern part of the country.

In order to acquire a permanent interest in the water which was diverted, the first users established the idea of "first in time, first in right", which controls the use and distribution of the waters of the West today.

Land without water is worth from 50¢ to $2.50 per acre. Land with any reasonable irrigation right is valued at from $25, to $250, an acre. The water carries the value. The land is merely incidental. The right to water is recognized as a freehold interest in property and is bought and sold the same as land. The title is as sacred as the title of land under patent from the government. The western lawyer of a prospective purchaser of a ranch investigates the title to the water rights before he ever thinks of examining the title to the land on which the water is used.

The date when a man first initiated his diversion of water fixes his relative right to the use of water in the future with respect to all other appropriators on the stream.

Recently there was introduced into the Congress a measure intended to place the drainage basins of the Arkansas, the St. Francis, the Red and the White Rivers, under a regional authority by a law drafted along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority bill.
To a Board of three men appointed by the President of the United States and responsible only to him, absolute control would be given over the drainage basins of these four rivers, including every drop of water which falls therein.

Under the Constitution, the states reserved the power to compact with respect to any question not national in its nature. By this act the states through which the rivers run might not compact without permission from the Authority. No highway, no bridge, no ditch might be constructed without the consent of that Board. All financial questions would be settled by provisions of the bill which would give the Authority the right to expend not more than $150,000,000 and to issue the bonds of the United States Government therefor in order to acquire property either by purchase or by condemnation and to construct reservoirs, canals and hydro-electric power systems. Further, it might set up single projects at a cost not to exceed $50,000,000 each. But there would be no limitation of the number of such projects.

Thirty years ago the Bureau of Reclamation was established to plan and assist in the development of the semi-arid West. It has written a glorious record by impounding water for the irrigation of thirsty land. That agency will participate in the development of the semi-arid West in future only with the consent of the three men government. The Corps of Army Engineers which have constructed flood prevention dams through the West and South will function further only with the Authority's approval.

The two main objectives of the Act are flood control and the development of hydro-electric power. All men favor flood prevention and no fair minded person opposes cheaper power. In a section fairly well served with power, where flood control is not essential, however, the major interests and industries should be consulted and preserved. And the main objectives of all people in all sections
are not included in the terms "flood prevention" and "hydro-electric power".

Protests against the proposed bill brought from its supporters and sponsors the information that no dams are to be built along that portion of the Arkansas which is admittedly an irrigation stream in Colorado and Western Kansas. There is no need for flood control dams. At no point from the headwaters and hundreds of miles into Kansas may power be developed on a commercially profitable basis. The plan we are told is to develop power on the lower rivers from 200 to 500 miles below the Kansas—Colorado line.

Another suggestion involves power developed at the colliers of coal mining shafts in Southern Colorado, from 75 to 100 miles from the river.

No one has explained the necessity for controlling the river flow when the power is carried to consumers on copper wires strung on poles far from the river channel.

The answer, obviously, is that someone wishes to control the whole river drainage.

The power to control the water of any country, be it desert, flood-ridden, or navigable, carries the power to control the lives of the people of that country, their property rights and their future.

If the lower states need protection from floods and if they can develop cheaper power, no one in the dry section objects. But in order to build great public works it has not been necessary in the past to assume control over a whole river drainage. If Colorado is without the area of heavy rainfall and power possibilities it should not be included with the Authority's jurisdiction.

The Arkansas Valley Authority bill is, of course, comparatively unimportant which to the people of all the country. It deals with a section supports only a small number of persons and involves rivers of comparatively little note as viewed from the East and the Middle West. To those of us who live in the West, however, it is of vital importance.
To the people of the East and the Middle West, where annual floods constitute a menace and a threat, the control of floods and the development of cheap power may seem to be the most important interest involving rivers. It is difficult for them to realize that with us "thunder is sacred, and water is a God." But the rest of the nation will be interested in learning that another bill has been introduced into the Congress which divides the whole country into nine regional river basins, which will place the people, their lives and their future under the control of such a superstate.

Under the recent New River decision by the United States Supreme Court, a subject of interstate commerce and navigation becomes comparatively unimportant. The real cause for concern involves the philosophy underlying the proposed act.

The difficulty with Regional Authorities appointed by the President and which are in no sense responsible to the Congress or to the States, is that they result in the establishment of an operative, active, superstate which is neither federal nor state-like in nature and which has power to accomplish things which the President, himself, under the Constitution probably could not do. This new kind of government will supersede and supplant the quasi-sovereign states of the Union in the exercise of control over local functions and problems. It may modify existing rights in property with powers which even the federal government does not claim.

The creature has not only become greater than its creator but has, in turn, evolved a third agency which supplants the original creator.

If we are to control the lives, the property and the rights of American citizens by a new kind of government then the people should have some voice in determining whether that innovation is to be attempted.

The peculiar civilization of the semi-arid West which supports millions
of people is the result of the very conditions there existing. Such a civil-
ization is not to be modified or erased through the unchecked operations of a
three man Board.

But the establishment of regional authorities over river drainages
is not the only evidence of federal encroachment upon the rights of states
or private individuals.
The mining industry finds itself in a peculiar position. People engaged in it are told on the one hand to speed up production to meet the National Defense needs, while on the other, numerous and sundry departments of government are devising various methods for retarding production. Those engaged in mining are so confused that the average mining operator does not now what new interpretation of some recently enacted legislation will bring down upon his helpless head a vast array of government officials, investigators and even court orders.

An enlightening example of the confusion which exists can be cited by referring to the Fair Labor Standards Act and its application to the mining industry. One of the larger California companies questioned the right of the National Labor Relations Board to interfere with its operations. It brought a test case. The Circuit Court of Appeals decided that mining was intrastate in this instance, and that the Labor Board had no jurisdiction.

Many operating officials felt that this decision would solve any further attacks by the administrative agents of the Board. Thereafter a case was brought against one of your companies here in the Coeur D'Alene and it was decided that under the Act the Board would have jurisdiction in this particular case. The Supreme Court refused to review this decision.

Not only was this company affected by this interpretation, but numerous other operations were similarly affected and confused. May we ask just where the Board's jurisdiction starts.
The Fair Labor Standards Act, or what is generally known as the Wage and Hour Act, came into being at this time. Some felt that they were not under the Act and others attempted to comply with its peculiar provisions. The mining industry, especially in the Coeur d'Alene area, has a reputation for its high wage scales, possibly higher than in any other section of the country. It has been a custom to pay these high wages, computing time at the place of work to equalize working conditions at the mine near the surface with those at depth. However, those in charge of administering the Act decided that time should be computed "when the miner reports for duty near the collar of the mine and ends when he leaves the collar at the end of the shift". The effective date of this interpretation was first set as of April first and later extended to become effective May first. Many men in the mining industry pleaded for a reconsideration of the ruling, pointing out that it was not the custom to compute the work-day on any such basis. In fact, the iron ore people of the Alabama and Lake Superior Districts, as well as the producers in Wyoming who ship their iron ore to our great plant in Colorado, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation's plant, contended that such a ruling would cut production considerably, and that the National Defense demanded that production—especially of iron ores—to be speeded up. Notwithstanding these pleas, it was decided that while this ruling might some day be overthrown by some understanding court,
it would nevertheless be the law of the land until such court did not.

Immediately suits were brought for millions of dollars under the contention that if this interpretation were correct, the effective date was not as of May 1, 1961 but as of the date the Act became law. Iron producers, as the result, must go to court, and, instead of mining ore for National Defense, the executives and officials of those companies are not engaged in getting together their own defense.

This same governmental agency has made a direct attack upon the Leasing System which has prevailed in the West for more than fifty years. A hearing at Salt Lake City was attended by representative mining men and lessees from various sections of the West. These men showed that the Leasing System was the salvation of western mining; that those engaged in this industry were imbued with the pioneering spirit—the spirit which displays initiative, thrift and enterprise without the domination of a boss. These men offered evidence to prove that in many instances they had been highly successful in their operations and had no desire to become again day-laborers and to work for a daily wage.

The Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor now has this matter under advisement and only you who are active in the mining industry can guess what the outcome of this decision will be.
Tungsten operators in Colorado have been approached by Army and Defense officials to speed up production and the reply has been "how can this be done on a 40-hour week?" Tungsten, so necessary for the National Defense, is being imported in large quantities from foreign shores in preference to the development of low-grade deposits in this country, with the exception of course of the deposits at Butte. Zinc is being imported from Mexico and other countries and the price is being held down by the government agencies while costs of production in this country are constantly being increased through governmental rulings and agency interpretations.

One agency of government proposes to conserve our metals and to buy these metals outside of our borders. Producers of these metals point out that no man can foretell what metals will be in demand ten years from now. Only a few years ago molybdenum was not used in large quantities by the steel industry. Today vast quantities of this metal are being mined successfully in Colorado and elsewhere in the West to meet the demands of the steel manufacturers. Vanadium ores exist in such large quantities in western Colorado and eastern Utah that the national demand for this metal is being met quite successfully by the producers.

We wonder how can producers in your area of lead and zinc continue to operate with one agency of the government fixing the price and another agency of the government increasing costs of production. It requires a genius to figure how a miner can be required to meet a National Defense need and lose money in the operation.
The future of mining is being jeopardized by the existing Public Land policies. Only those who have lived in the West can appreciate the need for new mining camps and new mining operations. We understand through the columns of the press that the mining industry was to receive government loans. How many men in this area have been able to get these loans? In Colorado over 200 inquiries and applications were made for loans and only six were granted. The terms of these were not satisfactory to the borrowers. Great areas have been withdrawn from mineral entry. Every conceivable excuse has been used to make it impossible for the prospector to go on government land and find new mineral wealth. A recent speaker at a mining convention pointed out "that it was high time that a reservation was being created for prospectors."

The efforts of the Northwest to defeat the continuation of this policy have been most commendable.

We ask ourselves why should we not be allowed to use the gold in our vaults as a medium of exchange. Hard money is the money of the West. It is the kind of money we have worked for and have earned through the sweat of our brow.

Government regulation of the mining industry is not conducive to higher production. Mining men cannot spend their time with governmental inspectors and still be on the job operating their mines efficiently. The mining industry must meet the requirements of the nation during the last war; the mining industry will meet the requirements of the nation if given a free hand to meet the needs of the people. The hazards of nature are not equal to the
hazards of governmental interpretations, especially by highly paid young governmental officials.

Mining needs encouragement; it needs the protection of the fundamental mining law of the West, and it cannot survive the destruction of states' rights. Mining lawyers know the full meaning of the "fundamental mining law." Western courts have given interpretations and legal precedents have been established which cannot be tossed out of the window overnight by newly created governmental agencies.

Let us hope for the day when mining will be restored to its position of freedom—freedom of operation, freedom of accomplishment, and freedom to raise new capital which it so badly needs for its future development.

In this section of the United States, you have irrigation, mining and flood control problems. You need cheaper power. No regional authority is needed to handle any of these.

You have great dams which are developing hydro-electric power in this section, and plans are being considered for its distribution at low rates. No regional authority can do a better, more efficient job and assure cheaper hydro-electric power rates than is being done at the Hoover Dam through the co-operation of the Colorado River states.

When disputes arise between the seven states bordering on that great river over the rights to use its flow for the many possible purposes it afforded, the states exercise that power reserved to them when they ratified the Constitution and allocated the benefits of the riverflow by an interstate compact.
Every state except Arizona ratified the compact, and Arizona has accepted all the benefits arising from its execution.

A committee of fourteen has settled the question of the sale of power in mass quantities. It has determined how the fund developed by the sale of power is to be allocated and distributed among the states.

When problems arise which overlap state lines and involve the interests of the people of two or more states, there is no need to ask Washington for a board or a bureau to handle the problem. Under their inherent rights of as quasi-sovereignties, the states with a better knowledge and understanding of local conditions, by cooperation and coordination, can meet the problem more intelligently, more sympathetically and with better results.

The answer to the demand for the appointment of every regional authority then is found in the fact that the states of the region in which the authority proposes to operate, can by coordination and cooperation reach a just and equitable solution. The Federal Government has plenty to do in taking care of national difficulties. Until it can show a little better record than we have now, it has no right to invade the province of the states.

Forty years ago, when the Reclamation Service came into being, there was a national policy which sought to encourage the development of the West.

The national policy now is to cut down the production of American farms. Those high in office propose to wipe out the sugar beet industry eventually.
Few persons object to the development of a Good Neighbor policy. Every man recognizes that in order to sell our products we must be in a position to purchase from our neighbor nations. But no reason has yet been presented for making it impossible for American farmers to farm and to live and to develop in order to buy the favor of any foreign nation.
Our system of government is gradually being changed without the consent of the governed. Our written Constitution is being made inoperative by the enactment of statutes which do not take that Constitution into consideration. What cannot be done directly is being accomplished by indirection.

If the states actually reserved any powers; if labor conditions are to be regulated locally; if we are to retain our Constitutional theory of government—then the time has come to say so. The issue faces us. Our only request is that we be permitted as states, as citizens, as Americans to participate in returning the answer.
LINCOLN--AMERICA'S GUIDE

Nearly a hundred years ago a long legged chap, with a comparatively small head and a pair of self-conscious hands which seemed never to find repose, was wiping the dust off the law books which had constituted his work tools before he had gone down to Washington to serve a term in the Lower House of Congress as a member from Illinois.

And as he gathered the loose threads of his practice for a fresh start, he probably pondered the question of the benefits he may have derived from that service in the lawmaking branch of the country's governmental machinery.

To some men it might have been disappointing. It might even have been discouraging to assume again the more or less monotonous and exacting business of trying replevin suits over farm horses, of settling disputes over boundaries and defending those who had run afoul of the criminal statutes of the State of Illinois.

But we may be sure that this bothered the Springfield lawyer not a bit. Like most first term members of the House he had accomplished little. He had made no wall swaying speeches to set the capitol afire or to point the solution to any of the many great national questions which engrossed the people at the moment.

And had it not been for some spark of ambition of genius or humanity or whatever it was the made Lincoln Lincoln, his name would probably have been blended into everlasting anonymity along with countless others who have answered the roll call in that body and then slipped back home to be forgotten forever.

True, Abe Lincoln had realized a great ambition. It was something to go to Congress, after all. He had acquired an acquaintance with the leaders of his own party, and had come to know the men from all over the country who "did things"--the men who counted.
To ride the circuit again offered no great hardship to a man who loved men and who possessed the sympathy and patience with their errors and foibles that Lincoln did. There was no end of fun and entertainment in the court rooms and boarding houses and hotels where the great presiding judge, David Davis, and the lawyers of his jurisdiction fought and debated, ate and talked, laughed and slept. Those of us who have pioneered similarly in some of the out sections of this Rocky Mountain West can appreciate what it means to travel from one county seat to the next, taking pot luck from the viewpoint of accommodations, meeting a new set of clients at every stop and finding a new docket of legal problems to determine in court or else to settle outside. There is a fascination about it which no other phase of the law practice offers.

But the point is that Lincoln, the one term Congressman, was not a frustrated man.

Of course, he wasn’t going back to the fascinating atmosphere where even a Congressman is a personage. He met the tasks of his daily practice as they presented themselves. And at the end of the day he placed the high beaver topper on his scraggly black hair, and set off through the mud or the dust of Springfield’s streets, depending on the season, for the home where Mary and their boys awaited his coming.

And while he listened to the stories of his clients and sought to concentrate upon the cases before him, his inclination was to allow his thoughts to wander off into other fields into the forum of public affairs. He ached to discuss the questions which burned men’s souls—the death of Lovejoy, the Abolitionist printer; the war with Mexico and the question of our justification in waging that conflict; the troubles which threatened out there along the border in Nebraska and Kansas which were brewing an element which came to affect an entire country’s activities and emotions to the point of warfare, which was known as John Brown—that spark was causing explosions in the carburetor of the soul of
the man Lincoln which would some day start the engine going to bear him upward and onward.

How enlightening it is to read the great biographies of the man which deal with that quarter of a century between his return from Washington and his history making journey back to the nation’s capitol in 1861. That indefinable something was at work. No man could have seemed farther away from the White House with its honors, its responsibilities, its humiliations, than the homely lawyer in the shabbily little second story office over the old Speed store facing the state house square in Springfield.

His speeches, his writings, his contacts were not such as would be expected to attract the attention of the millions who held it within their power to make presidents. He had neither money, position nor influence.

But he did have something else. He had convictions on matters of concern to the people. He possessed a talent which enabled him to couch those ideas in words as simple and as clear-cut as any master of English has ever used. He had the flare for public affairs. And as he practiced law and talked and listened and read, he learned, and grew and developed.

And that is my theme song tonight. I am not dealing with men or with personalities. I am not speculating as to whether any other man will ever again be able, by embracing some great national issue, to ride it to the heights. That is not our concern.

The lesson which we can draw from the life of the Emancipator at this turn in our country’s development involves the question of whether basic principles of constitutional government as clear and clean and praiseworthy as those with which he dealt can be re-established in a country where they seem to have been forgotten.

The principles which occupy your thoughts and the minds of followers of Lincoln throughout this country tonight are so basic in their character that
we have assumed—as most men of his time and of the years after his death and up until about a dozen years ago—that the Constitution was and would always be the guide and the way-shower for free men in a free America. But Lincoln sensed dangers which were developing, and which today have become real.

How different the positions of this country at this time and back there when Lincoln was first inaugurated eighty-four years ago!

Many of the Southern states had announced their right to withdraw from the Union. A few had already done so. Government stores and munitions located in armories and warehouses below the Mason and Dixon line had been seized. And the guns taken therefrom were being used to send bullets crashing into the bodies of the men for whose use they had been manufactured.

From his study in the White House, Lincoln could look out over the Valley of the Potomac and across the hills of Virginia. And he could see the armies clad in hostile gray marching grimly, determinedly, toward Washington, bent on the destruction of the thing which he had taken an oath before God to cherish and preserve.

It was a sad day in the life of a country lawyer with no experience as an executive, who had enjoyed comparatively little contact with either national or international situations, whose every heartbeat was one of sympathy for men and their problems. Suddenly he had been transformed into the epitome of everything which half the nation hated and despised. By the mere act of being elected President he had been accepted as the enemy of those whom he would have served.

It was a dark hour in the life of a nation which had been founded on the hope that political freedom for all men would prove a common basis for a unified people.

Today the stage has shifted. The men of Lincoln's home state of Illinois, of your state of Idaho, of all the other states of the Union, are witnessing a threat more menacing even than the approach of the Southern armies under Lee and
and Jackson and Beauregard and the rest back there in the 1860s.

Terrible as may have been the plight of our country, then, however, it was bright as compared with its position today.

The threat is not from without. The danger is within. Now we deal in the theories and forces which threaten our Union from exactly the opposite direction. Where the central authority was questioned in 1861, today centralized authority would wipe out state and local powers and controls and place every phase of life—governmental, economic and social—under the regulation of national boards, bureaus and commissions.

Under the guidance of that clear-thinking leader, our nation weathered that storm. We have lost ground in the last few years. Our need now is for leadership—for courageous, intelligent leadership—which will stand for principle and Americanism.

Let us pause just long enough to mention the situation insofar as our foreign problems are concerned. The men and resources of this country are concentrated on the winning of this war, the return of our boys to their homes, their families and their pursuits in life. There is no cleavage among our people there. We are a unit. We are of a single mind.

Our concern has nothing of foreign war involved in it. I am discussing the proposition that our domestic situation is such that unless there is a change, immediate and definite, there will be no land of freemen such as Lincoln conceived when our next great foreign problem confronts us.

The glory which is ours today because of the manner in which our people—and that means our industries, our farmers, our laborers—Americans all, took up the defense of our country and the winning of this war when we were so painfully unprepared, offers hope and confidence for the future.

Because of a series of unfortunate events, our American people started surrendering their constitutional rights and privileges about a dozen years ago. They refused to believe that there already existed and that there was growing in
this country a school of government which planned and intended to deprive citizens of those rights and privileges permanently. While Americans accepted loans, grants, projects and jobs from their government because they felt the pinch of want, they refused to recognize the inevitable.

Even today--within the last few months--the people of this country have blinded their eyes to the facts. Goaded by a fear which was planted in their minds by this same school of government, that the allied cause would suffer if a certain man were not kept in the White House, they voted to maintain in national office an administration which feels that it is greater than the country it has been permitted, temporarily, to administer. The result is that this threat has taken a new grip on the United States. You and I cannot guess the possible end or forecast the full effect of its applied power.

What are some of the principles which must be re-established in order to revive constitutional government?

First we must reassert that fundamental proposition that every man, while being created the equal of every other politically, is nevertheless not limited to or by the talents, the ambitions, the potentialities of his neighbor. The man with the gift of invention, the zeal to get ahead, the capacity for organization and promotion and progress and development under freedom of enterprise may attain any goal, provided only that he does not use his powers or his acquisitions to work injury to his neighbor. Once this principle becomes operative again most of our ills will be corrected by working from it as a basis.

Let us deny that philosophy which teaches that only the government can and will support individual Americans. Let us drown that claim that "made work" is the only answer to unemployment. Red blooded men are not to be limited by the idea that their chance for existence depends upon a plan where all men will work either directly or indirectly for their government.

That isn't Americanism. That is an "ism" which had its birth in
totalitarian Europe and Asia.

Give free Americans the chance to be free Americans and they will develop. All we need to continue prosperity after the war period is to provide a market where goods can be sold. The consumer will furnish the fuel for turning factory wheels, for the employment of the consumers themselves.

The party of Lincoln is the party which has always met our nation’s crises. It has been the clean-up squad which has always re-established confidence and good business and sound money.

A people who pay their bills as individuals will insist that their nation do likewise. What constitutes honesty and good morals for the citizen is not changed in the case of his nation.

We cannot spend ourselves into prosperity. It can never be charged that we would spare a dollar which is needed to clothe, to arm, to feed and care for our men in service and their dependents.

The follies against which I speak were established long before Pearl Harbor. They were developed in peace time. We shall soon be facing the problems of peace again. Those policies which failed before the war will not be cured by the war.

Let us return to the idea that under the Constitution an American’s rights are sacred. Any rules, regulations and orders which are promulgated to enforce federal statutes are always limited by, and subject to, the Constitution.

What a shock we shall experience a few years hence when we realize that under the New Deal boards and bureaus were given the right to make rules and regulations having the force of law.

The agents of those boards make investigations of alleged violations of those rules. Other agents file charges before the board and prosecute the case. Then the board acts as jury and judge and returns a verdict, enters judgment and issues its orders to be executed. And, finally, believe it or not, many of such
laws provide that a citizen has no appeal to the courts of America.

Abraham Lincoln's indignation and anger when he witnessed the slave market operating in New Orleans would fade into insignificance today if he were here to witness what is being done to the American people by the administration in power seven score and eighteen years after the fore-fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Those doctrines are not to be continued which seek to limit the uses to which our western lands have been put for the welfare of people, as, for instance, in areas where stock may no longer be ranged in the national forests; where timber may not be cut even under scientific supervision and upon the payment of fair fees; where the prospector who finds precious or useful metals and minerals will not be granted a patent to the land on which his find is located, but must seek a lease from a bureau of the. Let us have no more Jackson Hole or Dinosaur Monument instances.

What is the most pressing concern of our people today after the winning of the war? It involves certain proposals to establish Regional Authorities in every river basin in the country with power to do things which the federal government and the states have never claimed the right to do. It would set up a series of supergovernments which would introduce a new way of life, and a new set of rules which will do away with existing rights, laws and social relationships.

We are bewildered by the argument that only through the intervention of such a super-government can the development of all the multiple uses of any river flow be accomplished. There had been a pretty sizable development of the states of this semi-arid West before the first Authority bill was ever introduced. There is no reason why all developments which are planned under Authorities cannot be accomplished by the states involved with the aid of existing federal agencies.

Never before in history has the federal government of limited, delegated powers been accorded the right to use the money collected from its taxpayers to
purchase the constitutional rights of its citizens on a basis such as these Authority bills contemplate, to seize the powers reserved to the states when that Constitution was adopted, and to change the whole form of national and state government to fit the novel plans of a group of three men who represent neither the people, the states, nor the regions affected.

It needs no Authority of three mere men to get the job done.

Seven states on the Colorado River have allocated the waters of that great stream by compact, and a committee of fourteen, under a plan developed by the states, has drafted the program now in operation whereby the funds derived from the sale of power are distributed. No authority was needed there.

Compacts on the South Platte, the Republican, the La Plata, the Rio Grande and others have settled the differences between western states without the help of Authorities, and in the cases of the Colorado and the Rio Grande international problems were involved.

Nor can it be said that anything accomplished on the TVA furnishes a basis for Authorities in these sections where conditions are so different. The compactness of the TVA, its common need for flood control and for navigation may have justified its establishment. But the very size of most of the proposed Authority areas—the Columbia, the Missouri and the Arkansas—their varying interests, their peoples and soils and industrial potentialities, their irrigation needs which involve the vested property rights of hundreds of thousands of individual farmers, call for different treatment. The desire of the states themselves to retain their individuality as such, and to exercise the powers with which they have never parted argue against such plans.

No Authority is needed on the Columbia, the Missouri or the Arkansas.

Everything an Authority could do can be done by state compact with borrowed federal funds—only the states can do it better.

On the basis of certain claimed successes on a navigation project in the
Tennessee Valley, representatives of that school of government are demanding that state lines be erased all over the country, that state powers and prerogatives be seized, and that we permit our lives to be controlled and our individual property to be taken and subjected to the rule of three men to be selected by the President and responsible—not even to the Congress—but to the Chief Executive alone.

Because the government has been able to spend close to nine hundred million dollars in a section hardly larger than the State of Tennessee—at a cost of $33.00 per acre—and to provide cheap power and a measure of prosperity for that region, they would assume control over the whole country on a similar basis. They wanted protection for floods. They got it. Those lands are in no danger from floods any longer. Most of them are under water permanently. The project has used them for lake beds.

They use their own bookkeeping methods, and so are able to allocate costs to navigation and flood control, which expenses are not reimbursable because they are classed as national problems. Their properties for the most part are tax free, and they operate with government funds. The Authority has gone into business in competition with private enterprise in about thirty lines. Necessarily, then, the power investment shows an apparent profit. Put the Authority on a basis where it pays taxes does not have the advantage of federal money, and view the result. The other side of the TVA has not been told.

Give any man a billion dollars, let him spend it on 40,000 square miles, and if he can't show some benefit to the two million people involved he's a mighty poor administrator.

This has become a country of regions, not of states, says the chief spokesman for that project in one of the most persuasive books ever written. No propagandist ever did a better job. Let's wait for a detailed analysis. But has the Constitution been amended so as to authorize congress to wipe out the
individual states, or have we abandoned that document and parted with all the safeguards, protections and benefits which it vouchsafes to all men, to all business, to all America?

If the people of the State of Tennessee wanted an Authority which would furnish better navigation, flood control, cheap power and fertilizer; if the Congress was willing to spend nearly a billion dollars to accomplish that result; and if the rest of the nation is willing to foot the bill to furnish such benefits to the people of one per cent of the nation's area, so be it.

It is when they seek to extend their faulty reasoning into our river situations, when they seek to apply the theories of Fascism and Communism to the problems of our home country out here in the West, that we protest.

The planners who developed the TVA and who would substitute Authority controls for representative government and for our constitutional theories on every river basin in the country are not any more interested in the development of the natural resources of the United States than the people who live here on the Snake and the rest of the Columbia River Basin, than my people of Colorado who farm their acres and raise their live stock on the Colorado, the Rio Grande and the North and South Platte.

We of the semi-arid West have dreamed and planned and labored for a better development of our water resources. We have visualized dams and trunk line canals on every creek and river. The suggestion that we enjoy better regulated streams, that we impound and store more water for the dry years which come inevitably, did not originate in the minds of New Deal planners, to whom costs are nothing, provided the Federal Treasury pays the bill. We have planned for the time when the people in the sections of excessive rainfall would be protected from the annual menace of spring floods. But we have possessed no bottomless pockets. Our sparsely settled states have not been built up with enormous grants like the near-billion for the TVA from the tax payments of the whole country.
In a country where the rigors of our climate, the limitations of the very essentials, have dictated the way of life, we have reclaimed the land and are helping to feed the nation.

I am not indulging in a series of generalizations for the purpose of making "talk." This statement is fraught with importance to every man and woman living within the basin of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

People of Idaho, yours has become the problem. The future of every interest and every life in your State through the years ahead is involved in the potentialities of a certain bill introduced into the Senate one week ago today numbered 460, which would establish such an Authority as I have been discussing, right here in this city, in this state, in the Columbia River Basin. The title says that it is framed "to provide for integrated water control and resource development on the Columbia River, its tributaries, and the surrounding region in the interest of the control and prevention of floods, the irrigation and reclamation of lands, the promotion of navigation, the providing of employment for veterans and war workers, the strengthening of the national defense, and for other purposes."

People of the Northwest, the warning is being sounded. By the manner in which you meet this issue will you determine the future course of this part of the United States. Again I say the states can do these things and do them better, while we retain our status as free agents. Then read the bill, weigh its contents, visualize its possibilities and return your answer for history to record, for posterity to approve or condemn.

But that is not all.

An entirely new factor is introduced into our whole national picture by this latest proposed measure for subjecting Americans to the control of three man Authorities with dictatorial powers not derived from any grant or approval of the people to be affected.
This bill would create a new and controlling body called the National River Basin Development Board composed of the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, the Chief Engineer of the War Department, the chairmen of the boards of directors of the Tennessee and the Columbia Valley Authorities, and the chief executive officers of such other regional authorities as may hereafter be created by Congress.

Let us scan the item of greatest interest. The Secretary of the Interior is made the chairman of this board. And it is stated that the powers of the Authority itself shall be exercised by the board of directors subject to this National River Basin Board "as represented by its Chairman as hereinafter provided."

In other words, that man who has persistently attempted to seize and control the Natural Resources of the West now comes out upon the stage, advances to the edge thereof, and takes the spotlight. The plan is complete, When Harold L. Iakes is given the power to control not only the Columbus, but every other river basin in America, then, Men of the West, abandon your hopes, surrender your rights, and subject your best interests to the control of that individual.

The dawn of a dictatorship over the resources of this Western World will have been accomplished. Give this matter study. Ponder its terms. Then determine whether you are really followers of the philosophy of Lincoln, whether you intend to be freemen, whether you will participate in the plans for the lives of your children.

Out here, I say, in a dozen of the western and northwestern states a breed of men and women have wrested the plains and the hills and the valleys from the prairie dog, the rattlesnake and the coyote, and have transformed the surface from growth of cactus, rabbit brush and tule into the Garden Spot of the Western World.

This wasn't accomplished by a group of namby-pambies. The men who homesteaded these acres as their women carried water for family uses, sometimes for miles, while they fought poverty and hunger and every known hardship, including
Indians, to win the West, did not draw $450.00 per person or $33.00 per acre from a government fountain head.

They got the job done the hard way. And their grandsons and granddaughters, their progeny and their successors through generations to come, are not asking, nor will they ask, to be permitted to trade their sacred rights as American citizens—the rights and privileges which Lincoln envisaged—for a life of comparative ease where they will cease to be freemen and acquire the status of paternalistic nobodies.

No. We can solve these problems. With the aid of existing governmental agencies established years ago by laws intended to aid the farmer and the water users to reclaim the parched acres of the Great American Desert, while they live their own lives, plant the crops they choose to raise and pass on their lands to their children, we of the West can get the job done.

Lincoln was not just a man. He has become an institution. He and his life and his words and his deeds have transformed him into a symbol of America. His is the example, his the faith and the courage to breathe reality into a principle.

Those principles of Americanism are as true and real as they were when Lincoln talkcd about them in those soul stirring debates with the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglass. The Ten Commandments have not been amended since first they were carved on the tablets of stone for men to read and to heed. The principles by which the lives and hopes and plans and property of men were protected and preserved by the authors of the Constitution are just as efficacious, just as fine and usable and practical as they were in the summer of 1787.

Tonight it is your duty and mine, as believers in the things which Lincoln taught, to work toward that happy time when those principles will once more be enthroned in the halls of government and will again be functioning all over this broad land.
It is our task to see to it that the rights of every individual, of
every business man, of every laborer, of every farmer, of every human, shall
be so sacred and so respected that no man or group of men--no theory of govern-
ment--can deprive an American of his right to live and work and rear his children,
to save and to pass on to posterity the things which he has wrought, under the
principles which Lincoln knew and died for.