



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

REMARKS BY MAX M. KAMPelman BEFORE AMERICANS
FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,
November 14, 1951

1952 PLATFORM ISSUES

I am very pleased that your officers have chosen to pose tonight's ^{subject} ~~question~~
in terms of the issues which will face the American people in 1952. It is very
encouraging for me to see this formulation because I have been spending the
past few years attempting to combat an expression of cynicism in the American
society which bodes ill ~~ix~~ not only for politicians such as myself, but for
the future of democratic government in America.

Many of you have heard the statement "political parties exist not because
there are two sides to every issue, but because there are two sides to every
office--~~inside~~ inside and outside." It is this cynicism, and the cynicism of a state-
ment like "an honest politician is one when he is bought will stay bought,
which ADA by its very existence ~~xxxx~~ and by its activities combats and rejects
in the American society.

It is, of course, too early for me to state an answer to the question of
the evening's discussion because the campaign of 1952 ^{which began in Nov of 1948} ~~may~~ ^{under} go many changes
between now and election day, and the issues may change as international
developments change. But the topic does allow me an opportunity to make certain

observations about the political scene today and the role of ADA and your role as intelligent citizens in that picture.

First, let me state certain conclusions that I now hold.

a. Given no significant worsening of international relations, or drastic improvement in international relations such as the disintegration of ~~the~~ Soviet Russia, the campaign in my judgment will be decided on domestic issues.

b. This means there will be a significant agreement by a majority of the American people with the Administration's foreign policy.

c. For 20 years the Republican Party has been unsuccessful in its attempt to compete with the Administration's social welfare program, and it will continue to be unable to cope with the Administration on this issue. The American people cannot be expected to accept the repeated howling wolf cries of the Republican Party that "economic incentive has been weakened" in the American society at the same time as American industry keeps earning profits at the rate of \$50 billion a year before taxes and \$23 billion a year after taxes.

d. In spite of this apparent agreement by the American people with the Administration's foreign policy, and the apparent agreement by the American people with the Administration's domestic policy, *which it would ordinarily mean a democ. victory* victory for the Democratic

Party in 1952 will depend upon developments in ~~what has been called~~ "the corruption issue" and to ^{a lesser extent} ~~some extent perhaps~~ on what happens in the inflationary

picture. *Whether the anti-inflation sentiments of the Amer. consumer direct themselves against the D or R parties, will depend on the extent to which the Pres. can blame price increases on such disruptive R.*

Corruption ~~has~~ an issue in American ~~xxx~~ politics is as ancient as American *Itself.*

politics. *A* It traces its ancestry back to the very earliest political campaigns in American history. The effectiveness of corruption charges has varied from era to era and from area to area depending upon the political soil in which it is planted. Very little is being revealed today that Lincoln Steffens ~~did~~

not reveal many years ago. It is difficult for me to believe that Tammany Hall is any more or any less dishonest today than it was in 1945 or 1949. *when it elected a mayor.* *The*

American people frequently acted like the player of roulette who knew the wheel was fixed but said after all it was the only one around. *)*

The corruption which has been unearthed in Philadelphia by our courageous

ADA leaders, Joe Clark and Richardson Dillworth is news which has been available *and known* to the people of Philadelphia for decades. *A*

None of this is to say, however, that corruption ~~has~~ an issue in American

nothing as the paper would.

politics is not real or important. That it is real can be gleaned from the fact of the New York and Philadelphia elections, and from the growing unrest in the country with regard to the Democratic Administration as a result of Internal Revenue scandals. That it is important need not be reiterated to an audience of liberal-minded citizens who by their activities in their communities' political life represent the essence of clean government. ~~ADA's~~
~~role always has been and should continue to be that of unearthing corruption~~
~~and crime wherever it may be.~~ We must never let the American people forget that our opposition is to the steal--to the little steal and to the big steal as well. The danger we face in 1952 is that the attention of the American people will be so focused on the little steal, ~~that~~ they will forget the importance of the basic issues which I have chosen to characterize the "big steal." Let me give you an illustration of what I mean, ~~by~~ discussing for a moment the question of taxes.

The art of taxation has been characterized as that which consists of ~~plugging~~ plucking the goose ^{so} ~~as~~ to obtain the largest amount of feathers with the least possible amount of hissing. It is quite fashionable to oppose taxes and most people tend to prefer to associate it only with the payment

behavior of Re & Co
in Congress

of bills. A very distasteful process. The result has been that while the American people do not pay attention to this problem, large sections of American industry and significant sections of the American legal profession working for that industry have specialized and concerned themselves with this problem. This reflects itself for example in the fact that in the United States Senate that the Senate Finance Committee ~~ix~~ which has responsibility for tax legislation does not have one real liberal as a member of that committee.

The American liberals have concerned themselves primarily with the substance of the legislation such as social security, minimum wages, housing, and the like, ~~b~~By doing so, however, they have ignored the rules of the game which determine in effect the power issue in American life and financial control in American life.

The American taxpayer today is well aware of the mink coat which entered the back door of the White House, but does he know about the fact that the American taxpayer is losing more than \$4 billion a year as a result of loopholes in our tax laws which tax lawyers have been able to write into the bill?

making the big steal a legal transaction?

Outline:

A. Corporation Income Tax. By making date July 1 rather than January 1 we lose \$800 million. This provision alone according to the Wall Street Journal of September 11, 1951 gives the United States Steel \$23 million.

B. Depletion Allowance. \$750 million a year (85 cents out of every dollar to an oil company) Profits of oil industry will exceed \$2 billion this year. The Treasury cited cases where wealthy individuals with annual incomes averaging over million dollars per year paid an average income tax of only 22½%. One oil operator developing projects x yielding nearly \$5 million in one year did not even have to pay an income tax on that.

C. Percentage depletion for oyster shells.

D. Capital Gains for coal royalties.

What can we do about it? How can we develop the degree of sophistication in ~~our~~ our citizens so then they can distinguish ^{as} between ^{more important + less imp.} ~~real~~ issues and act intelligently in their own self-interest.

A liberal is a Christian Scientist with a bail

A liberal is a radical with a penis

A liberal is one who has his both feet firmly planted
in mid-air.

Task of preserving democracy can be accomplished only
by inventive effort and creative activity. For a long period we
have acted as if our democracy were something that perpetuated
itself automatically; as if our ancestors in 1787 had succeeded
in setting up a machine that had solved the problem of perpetual
motion in politics.

Handicapped by non-partisan tradition.

"Political duty"

Disraeli: "Politics is nothing but organized opinion"

"All free governments are party governments"

Watson: politics is "the science of progress in politics"

Aristotle: "Man is a political animal"

My message: Become magnificent men.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND THE ARTS
MINNEAPOLIS 14

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL STUDIES
SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAM