

# REIMAGINING CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

Origins and Philosophy of the Administrative State

# COAL MINING BEFORE AN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE

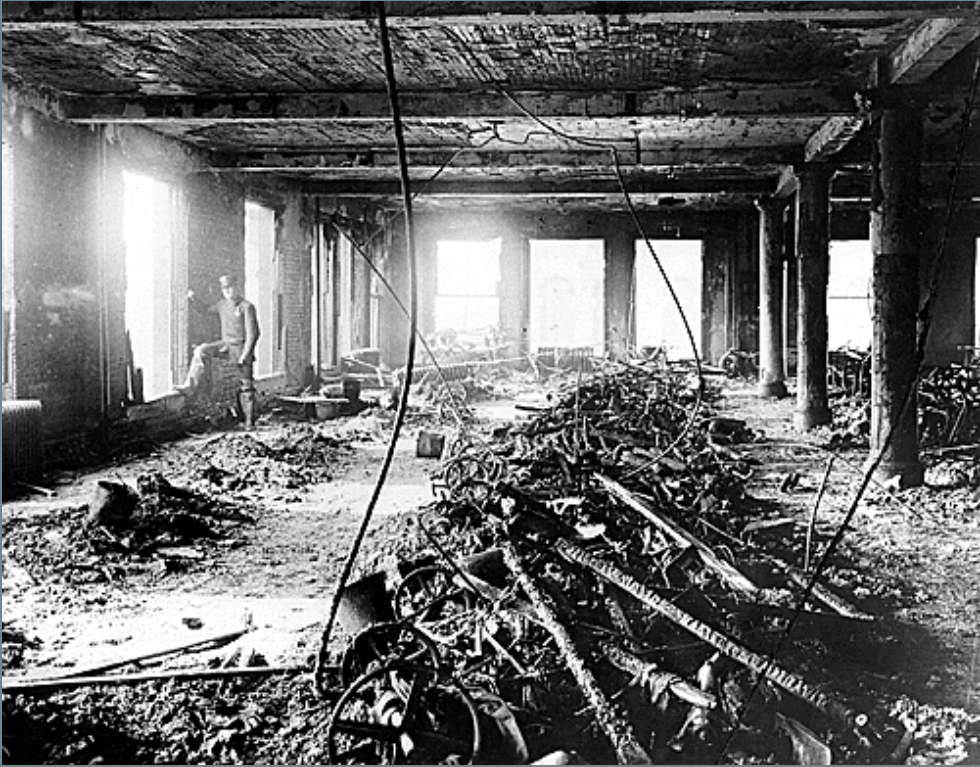


# TEXTILE MANUFACTURE BEFORE AN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE





# TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE: LABOR BEFORE AN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE



Photograph by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

# LABOR VIOLENCE BEFORE AN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE





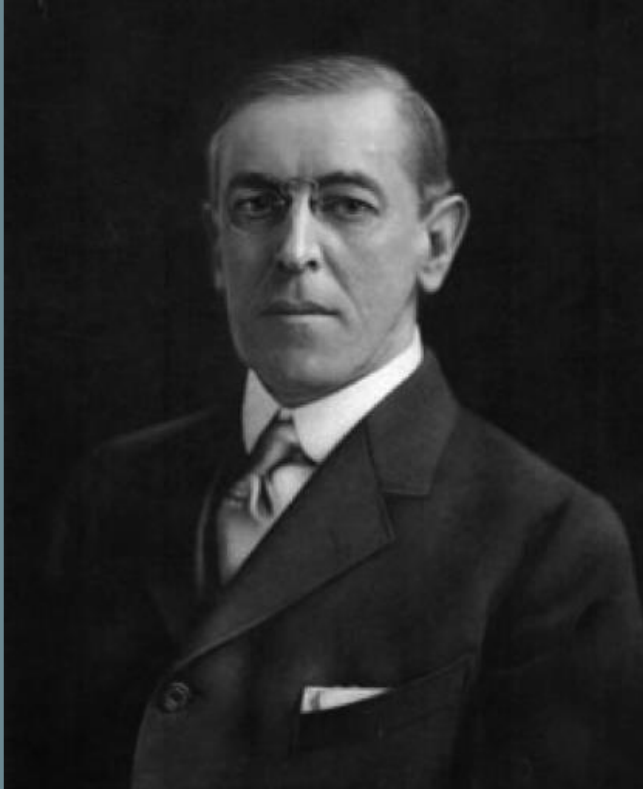
# PROGRESSIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM



*We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.*

Black Leaders of the Niagara Movement

# PROGRESSIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM



Woodrow Wilson

*The Constitution of the United States had been made under the dominion of the Newtonian Theory...*

*The trouble with the theory is that government is not a machine, but a living thing. It falls, not under the theory of the universe, but under the theory of organic life. It is accountable to Darwin, not to Newton... All that progressives ask, or desire is permission... to interpret the Constitution according to the Darwinian principle; all they ask is recognition of the fact that a nation is a living thing and not a machine.*

# IMAGINING THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE



Mary Parker Follett

*...so we see that the citizen and the state are one, that their interests are identical, that their aims are identical, that they are made up together. Our old political dualism is now disappearing... **The state is not the servant of the people. The state must be the people** before it can reach a high degree of effective accomplishment... Those who govern and those who are governed are merely two aspects of the common will. [emphasis added]*



# REIMAGINING DEMOCRACY

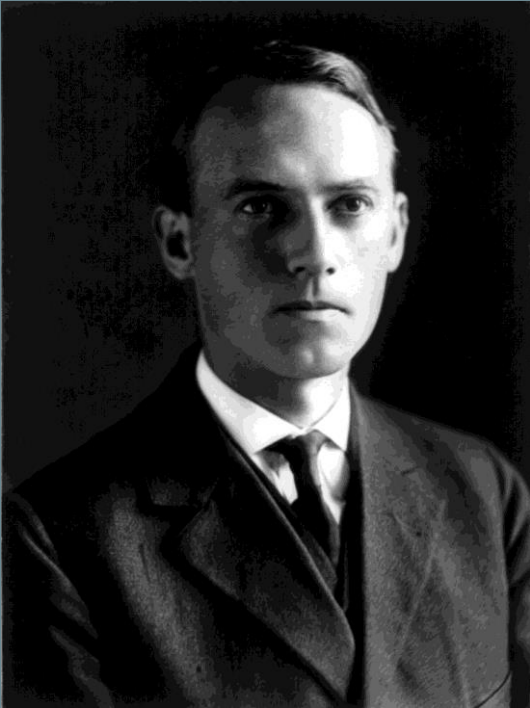


John Dewey

*In the mass of people, [we see] vegetative and animal functions... Thus by nature, and not merely by social convention, there are those who are slaves—that is, means for the ends of others...*

*Talk of democracy has little content when big business rules the life of the country through control of the means of production, exchange, the press and other means of publicity, propaganda and communication*

# REIMAGINING ECONOMICS



Simon Patten

*Our children's children may learn with amazement how we thought it a natural social phenomenon that men should die in their prime, leaving their wives and children in terror of want; that [workplace] accidents should make an army of maimed dependents; that there should not be enough houses for workers; and that epidemics should sweep away multitudes...**the new social philosophy which we are at the moment framing will have so moulded their minds** that they cannot return to the philosophy that moulds ours. [emphasis added]*

# FDR & THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE



Franklin Roosevelt

*The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand...of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. **The day of enlightened administration has come.** [emphasis added]*

# THE NEOLIBERAL REACTION TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE



Ronald Reagan: Government is not the solution to Our problems. Government is the problem.



Bill Clinton: The era of big government is over.