

"New Deal's Capacity to Govern" Is Attacked by Senator McNary

Here is the text of Senator Charles L. McNary's address presented at the state fairgrounds yesterday afternoon accepting the republican nomination for vice-president of the United States:

I accept the nomination for vice-president so generously bestowed upon me by the republican national convention last June. I endorse the platform and renew my loyalty to the candidate for president, the able, magnetic and forceful Wendell L. Willkie.

"No Ordinary Campaign"
This is no ordinary campaign. The impact of the wars raging beyond both our oceans, together with our urgent concern for the peace of this hemisphere, surround the political decision we are about to make with a heightened gravity. Domestic issues, linked to the average man's peace and foreign relations, take on enlarged significance in our present mood.

For more than seven years we have lingered in a backward, degrading our destiny, neglecting our defense, both spiritual and material. The great energies of America have been hindered — where not actually stifled. Some have lost faith in the future; faith in work, the source of our being. No party is solely responsible. We of the minority have, perhaps, failed in vigilance. But the overwhelming responsibility rests upon the party in power. They have the mandate.

This campaign is more than a mere contest between rival political parties. This campaign is a conflict between philosophies — philosophies of government and of action. We must choose in November whether America shall advance again along the path of her historic mission, or retreat still further into the fields of still life.

Hits "Economic Heresies"
I should be guilty of a narrow partisanship consistent with the west were I, however, to condemn the New Deal in its entirety. Candor requires me to credit this administration with certain social gains, which have made the lot of the average man more secure — if not more fruitful and satisfying. I, for one, do not choose to relinquish these advances, where they are genuine; nor to detract from the humanitarian impulses actuating the president. In his coming, I shall not seek to indict the New Deal's motives. I shall, with all the force at my command, attack the New Deal's capacity to govern and the political and economic heresies which have deflected us from our course.

Every administration since Washington has made progress toward fulfilling the American dream. The New Deal is exceptional in that it, alone, has sought to substitute new states of mind for old, to incite the government in place of self-reliance and to supplant hope with fear of what lies ahead.

We may forgive the New Deal's incompetence in dealing with economic forces; its inability, or unwillingness, to further the employment of idle capital and idle hands. We might overlook the confusion in theory and practice that have curbed initiative, stalled the engines of production and multiplied debt. We are still a rich country. What we cannot forgive is that the New Deal, finding itself unable to restore national vitality, fashioned its plan upon the thesis that America is finished, that our economy is inextricably constricted, and that, hereafter, we must look increasingly to the government for jobs, for security and for the oversight of our private lives.

That concept of human pessimism, germinated now from a Europe which has been transformed — by poverty, political immaturity and war — into a dismal despotism. That concept is elitism; the doctrine of the ascendancy of the few over the individual. I deny its validity in terms of a youthful, vital America. I charge, moreover, that the diffusion of that concept has impeded the national spirit; and, if persisted in, will rob us in time of the will to be free.

Quotes Walt Whitman
What we need, in times like these, is more democracy — not less. In an earlier period of doubt and dismay, Walt Whitman, the good, gray poet of the United States, thus admonished his country:

"Sail, sail thy best, ship of democracy,
"Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the present only,
"The past also stored in thee."
The Philadelphia convention, meeting in the birthplace of our liberties, handed us our sailing orders; bidding us look to our various past, reconstruct America and set her anew on her course. I accept those orders in full confidence that we shall triumphantly make port in November.

Lessons in Oregon Trail
This occasion is, in a sense, a personal dedication. I make no apology, therefore, for personal references. Lacking only four years, I have served my native state of Oregon in the United States senate for a third of its existence. In that 23 years, my record has been open to the view of my countrymen. I have supported progressive measures. I have sought to conserve and employ for the benefit of all, our heritage of soil, water power and forest. I stand on that record. Not one uttered word can be expunged, not one vote recalled; nor would I wish it otherwise, considering the light that then shined upon me.

I should be lacking in sentiment were I not gratified by the presence of the notification committee. Many of them crossed the continent to be with us. I hope they find compensation in the grandeur of our mountains and forests, and the enchantment of the Willamette valley. I hope they may be recompensed also by the opportunity of mingling with this assemblage of free citizens of the old Oregon country, the northwestern empire, which once embraced all of Oregon, Washington Idaho and parts of Montana



Youthful, friendly Governor Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, as he gave the republican party's formal notice yesterday to Senator Charles L. McNary, of Salem, of the senator's nomination for the vice-presidency. —Statesman photo.

Stassen Lauds McNary View on Conservation

Formally notifying Senator Charles L. McNary that he is the republican party's choice for vice-president, Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota spoke yesterday as follows:

We are met for the notification ceremony of the man to whom the people of all parties and all walks of life are turning as the next vice-president of the United States, the Honorable Charles L. McNary.

We cannot notify him of his nomination, but we can express to him the admiration and respect of the republican convention that nominated him.

Held at Philadelphia, historic lighthouse of free men, its free and open decisions were in keeping with the finer traditions of this great liberty loving nation.

In this manner the delegates first selected a man whose rise from boyhood in Indiana to eminence in private enterprise has shown the qualities of leadership the country needs and they named as their nominee for the presidency Wendell Willkie.

How fitting it is that the delegates then selected the statesman we honor today as the republican nominee for the vice-presidency.

Senator McNary, in nominating you, the delegates of the republican convention paid a tribute to the service you have rendered to your country.

They recognize that for 23 years you have been the outstanding friend of the farmers of the nation. As a son of the soil yourself, living on the farm your grandfather homesteaded, you have had personal knowledge of the agricultural problem. Your

and Wyoming. This is pioneer country still. We are here pioneers, and the sons and daughters of pioneers; of the stock that transposed American sovereignty from the Mississippi to the magnificent Rocky mountain region to the Pacific, conquering and subduing this rich domain for the union.

Pioneer Hardships Recalled
Some of our visitors, flying here, crossed the old Oregon trail in the air. Their passage across plains and mountains took only hours — instead of months. Others motored here. They reckoned traveling time in mere days. Accustomed to the ease of modern transport, it is hard to project our imaginations backward a century into the experience of the bearded men and the heroic mothers who rode uncomplainingly in covered wagons over the Oregon trail.

The settlement of the Oregon country remains one of our proudest epics. At the time of the Yorktown surrender, our frontier rested on the Alleghenies. Sixty years later, the surging genius of our ancestors had pushed our borders to the Pacific. The beginnings of Oregon lay in the imagination of Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of democracy, who served only two terms in the presidency, frowning upon contemplation of a third term. It was Jefferson who, after purchasing the Louisiana country, sent westward the first expedition beyond the Rockies. Their journals kindled the interest of colonial America in the far west. The explorer, the fur trader and trader broke the trail. Next came the missionary; and, close behind, the homeseeker. If we pause today, we may read in the old Oregon trail lessons applicable to the problems besetting us now.

Move to Pacific City
Most Americans are familiar with the broadness of the vast migration. They are not so familiar with the fact that it was a people's movement. The government at Washington, absorbed in the 1840s by the acquisition of Texas and the gathering clouds of secession, virtually ignored the trend toward the Northwest. In congress, numerous voices were

reject the hypothesis of the little American. We are optimists. We say that America is not yet half built. The little American dates the decline of American enterprise from the time when the last free land was thrown open to settlement. We hold that the theory of the last frontier is only figurative. Land, if you had to work it, never was free. Men paid for it in sweat and blood and loneliness, if not in dollars.

As long as great rivers run idly to the sea; as long as vast reaches of virgin soil await only life-giving water; as long as the deserts wait to be tamed, and as long as well-being is inequitably distributed, then we say that America is not finished. Our job is to work for an integrated self-confident country, ready to undergo the discipline of the pioneer. We say that we may not only survive in a threatening world but distribute our blessings more abundantly. The call is for a disciplined population. I prefer the self-discipline of the pioneer to the imposed discipline of the modern state. The pioneer tradition is strong in our blood. All of us, whether our ancestors crossed the Atlantic in the 17th century or whether we ourselves came in the 19th, are pioneers, or the descendants of pioneers, or the beneficiaries of their work, thrift, and self-denial for the common good are part of our tradition. We have the tools.

What are some of the specifications for the reconstruction of America? Among the first is the preservation and fuller employment of the natural resources of soil, forest and water power. Prudence dictates that we, at least, conserve these legacies for this and future generations.

Restoring Farm Empire
The prosperity of agriculture should be the first charge on the attention of any administration. Not for sentimental reasons, although society owes a real debt to those who, year in, year out, supply us with the essentials of food and raw materials. No, the reason for our preoccupation with the farm problem is social and economic betterment. The farm stands as the keystone of our economy. For 75 years the farms of America balanced our foreign trade and, through exportable surpluses, provided the foreign exchange that assisted in building our factories, mines and railroads. The first world war disrupted that profitable trade, and, for 20 years, we have struggled with recurring, unmarketable surpluses.

Your election to the vice-presidency would make you the first distinguished son of this, the Pacific west, ever to be elected to the presidency of vice-presidency. Your action as republican leader of the senate has been outstanding, particularly so in the defeat of the bill to pack the supreme court.

We honor you today, and more, we issue a call to further service. A call to aid in this crusade to set the feet of this nation on a new road of progress next November to make America strong in its own defense, to improve the position of agriculture, to develop more jobs for our unemployed, to conserve and develop our great natural resources.

It is a distinct honor, as one who has personally appreciated and valued highly your counsel and advice, to formally notify you not merely of your nomination, but of your call to be by the people through their delegates at the republican national convention.

Friends, I present to you the Honorable Charles L. McNary, raised in discouragement. It was said that Oregon lay beyond our proper aspirations as a nation; that the Rockies should mark the permanent boundary. Senator Thomas H. Benton, the Missouri giant, suggested erecting a statue of the Roman god Terminus on a peak of those mountains as a reminder of our natural limitations.

Fortunately, these views were discarded. The great Calhoun warned the senate that, in spite of governmental objections, settlers were overrunning the Oregon country and — he suspected — the settlers, once established, would maintain themselves against the world.

No, the government did not occupy the Oregon country. That job, thank God, was accomplished by the people. Americans had not then been instructed that they must look to Washington for inspiration and sanction for their own action; and when the pioneers found they needed to organize their rude society into lawful patterns, they made no appeal to the government. They acted. They formed their own government.

The place where they met was Champeong. A proud and happy sentiment encompasses me as I reflect that that halloved place lies only a little distance from where we now meet. There, free settlers and for research aimed at developing industrial use for products of the soil. We favor continuing the food stamp program, which serves the double purpose of assisting the needy and helping the farmer by reducing surplus crops. The platform offers no magic formula. The problem is far too complex for an all-embracing cure. It does constitute a promise that the republican party genuinely seeks solutions.

News "Little Americans"
Markets Held Big Question
A substantial solution of the farm problem may be resolved into a question of markets. Any rational plan must assign the American market to the American farmer. Better being far and away the greatest market it is the only one we may hope to control. The farmer is, at least, entitled to that and no treasury benefits can compensate him for its loss. Yet the New Deal, which, in seven years, has failed to set out a long-range plan for reconstructing the agricultural empire, piles confusion upon confusion by following two contradictory policies at once. With one hand, the New Deal pays farmers not to sow and with the other, it lowers tariff barriers so that foreign crops undersell our own in our market.

Secretary Wallace, a high-minded and sympathetic secretary of agriculture, may not be blamed for this second policy. Any secretary of agriculture would be hampered by the reciprocal trade system, which, in the last two years, has admitted competitive farm products to the value of \$37 million dollars a year. That sum, it is interesting to note, approximates what the government has paid farmers to reduce acreage and production. Experts estimate that the 35 million acres withdrawn through government payments from production correspond closely to acreage displaced by competitive imports. I have always opposed reciprocal trade treaties, as formulated by the New Deal. When I spoke against their renewal last spring in the senate I charged that the treaties amounted to "disastrous, elaborate liquidate the uneconomic conditions" affecting agriculture. I held to that opinion still. Moreover, as the war spreads the areas of closed trade I gravely fear that the effects on agriculture may grow worse and we have no assurance that peace will restore foreign markets for our surpluses.

Advocates 2-Price System
After seven years we need a realistic reappraisal of the whole problem and, whichever party assumes the responsibility next January, we should demand and have the formulation of a long-range policy looking to the restoration of our agricultural empire. The farmers do not wish to rely on subsidies which stop short of economic justice. They wish to reenter the economy as independent producers. They are entitled to the fulfillment of that wish.

For years I have advocated a two-price system; a system enabling us to export without injuring the domestic price level. The McNary-Haugen Act, which looked that end, was twice vetoed by a president. Although conditions have altered radically since it was first rejected, I maintain with undiminished faith that some such formula must still be sought.

Farm recovery may well be part of a greater whole. The recovery of our whole economy hinges to some degree upon removal of such obstacles to easy commerce as adverse government policies, restrictive laws, burdensome taxation and the uncertainty arising from pyramiding debt. The overall solution may only await the installation of an administration which wholeheartedly wishes again to see the United States a going concern.

Renewal Contemplated
I come to a problem that profoundly touches my emotions. We stand today in the heart of the last considerable area of virgin forest left in the United States; the majestic remnants of nearly a billion acres of timber that clothed this country when the first Europeans saw it. I was born within sight of the great trees that characteristically dominate the western scene from the Rockies to the Pacific. In my lifetime I have witnessed the growth of the lumber industry to its present huge proportions and the expansion of the social and recreational value of our forests. It is, but natural, therefore, that during my years in the senate I have made legislation affecting the forests my special province.

Everyone knows that American timber resources are being swiftly depleted. We take assurance for the future, however, from the knowledge that they may, with care and wise governmental policies, be restored. Happily a substantial portion of our forest lands are being managed and utilized in ways that best safeguard social values, provide maximum employment, guarantee food supplies, stabilize streams and soils and conserve our rich endowment of natural beauty and wild life.

Yet, much more can be done. The government equitably could assume half the cost of abating loss from fire, insects and disease to the desirable point where forests might become insurable risks. Credit facilities are rudimentary and inadequate. Forest taxation too often tends, by laying too heavy an immediate burden, to compel uneconomic exploitation and forced liquidation. Unproductive areas increasingly should be acquired for public ownership and the exploration and research arms of the forest service should be expanded. Deserted villages and abandoned cut-over lands are the price society

pays for wasteful nudations of our forest area. The remedy for this ruthless policy is a government encouraged program of perpetuating this natural resource by regulating the volume of the crop that annually can be harvested. This means balancing the budget between the growth and the cut.

Power—National Heritage
Power is the prime requisite of modern industrial existence. A measure of America's industrial magnitude may be found in the fact that one half the installed horse power in the world is developed within our borders. Steam power made England the industrial colossus of the 19th century; steam plus electrical power has made the United States the industrial giant of the 20th. Yet America's water power resources are still largely undeveloped. In the mountainous parts of the Pacific west where strong rivers run unimpeded to the sea, a major portion of the potential hydroelectric power still waits to be harnessed. Fortunately, the principle on which this power may be made available has long been recognized. The federal government accepts the obligation to control floods and assure naviga-

tion. Out of these services flows the by-product of power. Untalteringly, the congress has granted to the public preferential rights to power generated from navigable streams. Such power should be a common heritage. The government, having made this power available, should have an indisputable right to control its utilization and distribution. Maximum benefits for domestic consumers, farmers and small users of power should be the yardstick by which we measure the usefulness and serviceability of every federal development. Moreover,

Characterizing Senator Charles L. McNary as a man destined to lead the country back to sanity and prosperity, three outstanding national figures of the republican party addressed nearly 500 persons crowded in to the dining room of the Marion hotel yesterday noon.

The luncheon, held in honor of



Colorful, vivacious was Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, republican national chairman, as he presented Governor Harold E. Stassen, notification speaker, at the McNary acceptance ceremonies. —Statesman photo.

McNary Held in High Esteem, Says Martin

With these words Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, chairman of the republican national committee, yesterday introduced Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, who gave the party's formal notice of Senator Charles L. McNary's nomination for the vice-presidency:

I am happy to come to Salem, Oregon, which is closely tied in sentimental bond, with Salem of my own state. I am pleased to join with the good people of the west in paying tribute to a great statesman, an able legislative leader, and a splendid citizen. In my long experience in congress, I can say I know of no one, who has won more completely the respect and confidence of his associates and the American people than has your own native son, Charles L. McNary.

That appreciation of his splendid qualities and the high esteem in which he is held in the country brought to him, unsought, the nomination for vice-president on the ticket with one of the most vigorous, able and patriotic Americans of today—Wendell Willkie.

Through the years, Senator McNary has fought the battles of the people and has made life a little easier and a little better for his countrymen. No one recognizes more clearly than he that if the country is to go forward it must be through the advancement of the masses.

My part in the program is a simple one. It is to present to you another distinguished leader and a great American—I am proud to claim him as a warm personal friend.

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rates should be maintained at the lowest level consistent with sound amortization. Where irreconcilable conflicts arise between public and private interests in the development and distribution of power, private holdings should not be confiscated and we now have a working precedent for such fair treatment in the recent acquisition by purchase of the Tennessee Valley authority. From the standpoint of the treasury, the records of the great public power projects at Bonneville, on the Colorado and at Bonneville on the Columbia are reassuring. Both are liquidating their commitments to the government, as, no doubt, the mighty power and reclamation development at the Coulee dam on the upper reaches of the Columbia likewise will do. The subject of hydro-electric power deserves fuller treatment, which I expect to give it in a later speech.

The resources we have been considering bear pertinently on a subject uppermost in our minds as we look across the Atlantic. I refer to preparedness for defense. The last war disclosed deficits in power and farm and forest products. A shortage of power in certain eastern industrial districts deprived domestic consumers of services. Food deficiencies caused meatless, wheatless days and the plowing up of the short grass prairies in what is now the dust bowl.

Opposes Entanglement
In common with what I believe to be the overwhelming majority of our countrymen, I oppose involvement in foreign military adventures. America, as always, prefers peace. But America does not prefer the peace of appeasement; nor the surrender of our national dignity, our independence or our political freedom to the civilized values that we cherish.

The existence of aggressive despotisms in Europe is not new to our experience. We administered a lesson to George III. Napoleon invaded our shores. In commerce, Monroe and John Quincy Adams effectively warned the Holy alliance to keep its arbitrary hands off this hemisphere. We helped bring Maximilian's imperial adventure in Mexico to an inglorious close.

Nor have we failed to exercise our guardianship over countries within the scope of the Monroe doctrine. Unless I mistake our temper, we are no less firm and positive today. We are not a docile people and we propose to work out our destiny on our terms. In the present world situation, we still have a choice. We shall be strong, in which case we shall deter our enemies at home and abroad, or, we may remain weak and invite their aggression. For my part, I prefer the part of strength. That has been the American choice.

Party Offers Leadership
In conclusion may I remind you that the republican party this year lifts the standard of hope; a standard which all men and women of courage and clear-sighted faith in our mighty traditions may repair. Everywhere we hear that our country faces greater perils than at any time since the republican party preserved the Union under Abraham Lincoln.

In another hour of crisis, the republican party, cradled in a great tradition and seasoned in government, offers to lead America out of doubt, negation and dimity. Problems change, new dangers arise, but certain are the ancient virtues, self-reliance, faith, hope and courage—which animated and sustained the pioneer in his quest for a greater, ever greater, America.

Let your cooperation, we shall renew our setting our country again on the path of high adventure toward her true destiny. With your help, we shall not fail.

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Central figures at the speakers' table at the luncheon for republican precinct committeemen and women at the Marion hotel yesterday were these, from left to right: National Chairman Joseph W. Martin, Jr.; Governor Charles A. Sprague of Oregon, State Senator Douglas McNary, who served as toastmaster, and Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota. —Statesman photo.