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DR. MILES' ANTI-PAIN PILLS

The Republican Party Faces the Future

Continued from Page 1

servative in temper and tradition, though it be, it is also a party of progress. The reforms of the last three-quarters of a century have for the most part been adopted under republican rule; and republican states have been conspicuously more progressive in their legislation. At the same time there are those party members incorrigibly die-hard in their attitudes. Their political thinking froze when they cast their ballots 40 years ago. I think the greatest mistake the party made in the 1920's was blind adherence to the Mark Hanna tradition of high protection and failure to recognize that our change from a debtor to a creditor status demanded a modification of the party's historic position on the tariff. So now in a period of great social upheaval the party must show a resiliency as it faces the problems of unemployment of industrial prostration, of agricultural distress. Antiquated ideas are the frozen assets of a moribund political party.

"New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth." "So I counsel against the mind-set of torism."

"In the third place I think the future offers a challenge to the younger leadership of the party. I do not propose summary shelving of the wheelhorses who have served with fidelity through the years. Neither do I propose mere window dressing to catch votes. But I am hearkened to see young men and women with fresh vigor and new ideas stepping forward to assist in party reorganization. That is why I find this gathering tonight so inspiring. You have come here not to hear me speak but to demonstrate by your presence that you are ready to assume responsibility in party affairs. This is not a company of retired office-holders sighing for former onions and garlic, nor a company dripping defeatism. It is a forward-looking assembly, called by a progressive leadership, loyal to party name and principles and eager to put the strength and enthusiasm of young manhood and womanhood to the task of lifting our party chariot from the mudhole of defeat and from the rut of traditionalism."

"I have dwelt thus far with the internal problems of the party because I believe we must effect this eternal reorganization of control and of attitudes if we expect once more to gain the public favor.

"Let us turn now to consider the political issues which confront the country in this second year, N. D. (new deal). Time permits only a brief reference to the democratic party's violation of its own pledges. You may recall the platform of the Chicago convention which nominated Mr. Roosevelt said.

"We believe that a party platform is a covenant with the people to be faithfully kept when entrusted with power."

"Now look at this plank in the platform:

"We advocate strengthening and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws."

"Yet the democratic congress in its first session voted the suspension of the Sherman anti-trust law and the Darrow board has just made a report to the president denouncing NRA for fostering monopolies, oppressing small businesses, and encouraging price-fixing to the injury of consumers."

"Another plank read:

"We favor maintenance of the national credit by a federal budget annually balanced on the basis of accurate estimates within revenues."

"In the face of this pledge the administration has so increased expenditures that the deficit in the first 10 months of the fiscal year is 859 millions in excess of that for the same period a year ago. In April the deficiency was at the rate of \$16,150,000 a day. The national debt has increased in one year \$4,675,000,000 to an all-time high of \$26,000,000,000, not including the tens of millions in bonds

the government has guaranteed.

"Finally there was the plank written by Senator Glass:

"We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards."

"That will go down in history to rival as a model of hypocrisy that famous slogan of 1916, 'He kept us out of war.'" The democratic party has devalued the gold dollar and for the first time in history repudiated the solemn covenant on the bonds of our government. Its inflation policy failed in its purpose of restoring commodity prices to the level of 1926 and precipitated a dangerous flight of capital from America. Now there are recurring demands for inflation which threaten the foundation of public and private credit. Our new White House dentist having experimented with putting a new gold bridge in our mouths without effecting much improvement in our mastication now proposes trying some new silver fillings in our jaw.

"What about the new deal? you may ask. Why, my friends, it is an old deal, a reversion to economic systems long since discredited. AAA and NRA hark back to the merchant guilds of the middle ages, to the mercantilism of the 17th century with its conceptions of economic insularity, its closed colonial systems, its grants of patents and monopolies. As one historian writes of merchant guilds:

"The traders in the merchant guilds endeavored to control the amount, quality, price and marketing of all goods produced and distributed. . . . Protection for merchants and craftsmen, reduction of 'foreign' competition, and a just and fair price, were among the principal aims of the guilds."

Sounds like NRA! But the guild system cracked quickly in the era of commercial expansion because it was too narrow and rigid. Listen to this from another historian dealing with mercantilism.

"Edicts and regulations followed one another by the score; methods of manufacture, with details as to the size, color and quality of manufactured articles were laid down. The tone adopted was that of a schoolmaster who alternated punishment with moral platitudes. The inspectors were sent round the country to enforce these regulations. . . . His (the minister's) instructions show his growing anger with the indifference of the people. . . . He uses irony and threats and often confesses that his efforts are in vain."

"Who is referred to, General Hugh Johnson? No, Colbert, of the 17th century, the Hugh Johnson to Louis XIV of France.

"I am not going to indulge in criticism of NRA with its codes, its implied boycotts, its threats of economic death, its sentence of a humble Jersey tailor to 30 days in jail and \$100 fine for undercharging five cents on pressing a suit of clothes, a sentence afterwards announced as suspended; nor in condemnation of AAA with its almost conscienceless destruction of food and cotton when thousands were on the verge of starvation and nakedness. To the extent that these were emergency measures to meet immediate critical conditions the republican members of congress joined in their enactment and republicans over the country have responded loyally to President Roosevelt's appeal for their acceptance.

"I do want however to attack the fundamental philosophy of the brain trust which looks to making permanent some of these emergency measures.

"The admitted objective of the brain trust is a 'planned economy' in which the government plans, regulates and to a considerable extent finances industry and agriculture. The system of competitive individualism is condemned and the socialized state acclaimed. Suppose we confess the bill of particulars against the excesses of competitive individualism, how positive may be of the virtues of planned economy? If we examine the proposals we will see that in precisely those fields where government control has been the longest and tightest the breakdown has been disastrous. Consider the railroads. Government regulation began with the passage of the interstate commerce act

in 1887. Since 1907 the interstate commerce commission has had full authority over rates. The Adamson act of 1916 fixed hours of employment of railway labor; and since the transportation act of 1920 government boards have fixed wage rates. Thus government agencies have had control over rates which are one large factor in income, and over wages, the largest item of expense. The interstate commerce commission has also had full power over the issuance of securities for many years, preventing inflation of capitalization.

In spite of this close regulation we have seen the greatest railroad systems of the country almost bankrupt, with several roads in receivership and most of the others sustained only by liberal grants of government credit. The plight of the roads was further accentuated by the competition on government improved waterways and highways. Certainly the railroads are not an eloquent testimonial of the virtues of planned economy as a preventative of depression.

"Or take the banks of the country. For decades they have operated under strict laws and been subject to careful and continuous supervision by government examiners. Heavy penalties are a constant threat against wrong-doing and frequent examinations are designed to keep institutions solvent. In addition we have had for nearly 20 years the federal reserve system, virtually an arm of the government, exercising great authority in the banking structure.

Here is planned economy again; but what is the record? In the last 14 years nearly half the banks of the United States have passed into liquidation. Was any breakdown more complete?

I knew of a bank where the federal reserve examiner urged the officers to invest all the bank's funds they could in South American bonds. Fortunately the bank was managed by 'rugged individuals' who ignored the advice; and the bank has continued to operate.

"How about planned economy in the creation of irrigation districts in Oregon a decade ago, with the approval of state officials, and the impression of the seal of the state on the bonds?

"Suppose we look at the government adventure in building hydro-electric plants in the northwest. We are all happy to see the Columbia harnessed to man's service; and glad to see work provided for the unemployed. It is a fair question to ask if the economic planning has been as thorough as the engineering planning. Present generating capacity, hydro and fuel, in Oregon and Washington is 1,212,996 kilowatts; and during 1933 the consumption was only 49 per cent of the maximum capacity. The initial capacity of Bonneville and Grand Coulee and the capacity of the city of Seattle's new Skagit river development are about 1,158,000 kilowatts, which will nearly double the present generating capacity, now being only one-half used. While we all hope there will be such an expansion in demand that the power will all be needed when the plants are completed, we must admit there is no such market now in sight. The point I am making is the failure of the planning to synchronize construction of the plants one after another, to meet an assured demand for energy. Present construction is in considerable degree a result of political pressures; and political pressures will always interfere with scientific economic planning when a political body has the decision.

"A political appointee possesses no better business judgment than anyone else; and he has no responsibility for loss in case his judgment proves bad. When you add bureaucratic inefficiency and political interference to private management you complicate and slow down the business mechanism. No central brain can compute the variables in a complex economy; it is only in a regimented state that a gosplan will even partially succeed. Apply planned economy to a free and intelligent people and you sterilize enterprise and freeze adventurous instinct which have developed the country and enabled it to sustain great populations.

"Government should confine itself to two functions; first provide positive and adequate social controls to prevent exploitation either of people or of natural resources by predatory individuals or corporations; second, outline the broad policies under which the economic life may be carried on with as high a degree of stability, security and freedom as possible.

"The trouble with the new deal is that it legislates in terms of cataclysms instead of normal living and

activity. The hysteria of the moment is calling for a new heavens and a new earth, and calling in the bitterness and emotionalism of the greatest economic catastrophe in history. We have in America 125 million people. They cannot be regimented; they cannot be fed by government interminably. There must be preserved freedom of enterprise and responsibility for enterprise if we are to restore balanced prosperity in this country. The hope of the future lies in releasing the energies of the people through their own restored confidence rather than in centralizing control of their affairs in mahogany forest of Washington bureaus.

"I conceive it to be the duty of the republican party to resist this drive of the theorists toward planned economy, with its inevitable goose-step for the population, and to take its stand for individualism—not jungle law, but intelligent individualism which preserves self-dependence that has been the mainspring of human activity from the time when Adam was expelled from the garden of Eden and enjoined to obtain his bread by the sweat of his brow.

"All of this leads up to a larger issue. One cannot survey the world at the present time without feeling alarm at the plight of democratic government. Fifteen years after a war to make the world safe for democracy most of the peoples of continental Europe are living under dictatorships. Freedom of speech and of the press are everywhere denied. Popular elections are a farce, representative government a mockery. Call the roll of nations: Russia with its ruthless dictatorship of the proletariat, Italy ruled by a reborn Caesar; Germany once the home of rich culture now a throw-back to crude despotism; Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, each with a minor chieflain strutting its stage. In the British isles alone of the great European countries does liberty as we have known it find refuge.

"What a contrast from the birth-pains of democracy a century and a century and a half ago, when 'liberty equality, fraternity' were the words like torches to set peoples aflame. Now even in this country those who espouse traditional liberties are treated with a degree of ridicule or contempt. The constitution has almost been set aside by popular consent, and the democratic legislative process superseded by a system of executive decrees.

"I was nourished on the oratory of popular liberty, on the Fourth of July recitation of the declaration of independence, on the words of Patrick Henry, 'give me liberty, or give me death,' on Daniel Webster's apostrophe, 'liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'

"Are those words meaningless today; or are we too craven to give them vitality? Can it be that the revolutionary fathers were deluded when they thought liberty worth fighting for?

"I would not for a moment impute to President Roosevelt or the responsible leaders of the democratic party any purpose to destroy popular government; but behind the leadership of both parties are sinister forces that seek by the opiate of gradual transition or by explosive methods of force to set up here a government after the present fascist or communist models of Europe.

"I stand by the American plan of popular liberty expressing itself thru representative government. It has not failed. The American people, bewildered though they be for the moment, are not licked, to become the easy prey of a dictator. If the republican party whether in or out of power stands ready with vigilance and courage to challenge, 'Halt! who goes there?' when subversive forces try to undermine or overthrow the American system, we shall arouse the people for the defense of those fundamental liberties which are the heritage of centuries of struggle and bloodshed.

"The immediate job of the republican party is the guardianship of ordered liberty and representative government under constitutional safeguards. Whether we return to power is of far less importance to ourselves and to the country than that we hold steadfast to those principals of free opportunity and free government. If these are not preserved life for most of us will have little value; if they are preserved, the United States will emerge with institutions intact, ideals still sacred and material well-being of all classes fully restored.

"To that task I urge you as young leaders of the republican party of Oregon to address yourselves."

SNOODLES



By CY HUNGERFORD

