

# Sen. McNary's Acceptance Speech One of Typical Moderation

## NEW DEAL CHIDED FOR ITS 'STATISM', NO CONDEMNATION

### Use of 'Fear' for Hope Hit—Self-Reliance Urged for Nation—Credit Given.

State Fairgrounds, Salem, Ore., Aug. 27.—(P)—Charles Linza McNary accepted the Republican vice-presidential nomination today in a 30-minute speech in which—with typical moderation—he chided the Roosevelt administration for its doctrine of "statism" but refused to "condemn the new deal in its entirety."

Oregon's beloved "Charley Mac" told 40,000 westerners who gathered for the acceptance ceremonies that "we must decide whether America shall advance again along the path of her historic mission; or retreat still further into the fields of futility."

But in the next breath Wendell L. Willkie's running-mate said "I should be guilty of narrow partisanship . . . were I . . . 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 . . ."

He took sharp issue, however, with the new deal's effort to "inculcate reliance on the government in place of self-reliance and to supplant hope with fear of what lies ahead."

The text of Senator McNary's address follows:

"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 loyal support of the candidate for President, the able, magnetic and forceful Wendell L. Willkie.

"This is no ordinary campaign. The impact of the war 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 as they are with preparedness and foreign relations, take on enlarged significance in our present mood.

"For more than seven years, we have lingered in a backwater, denying our destiny; neglecting our defenses, 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 well-being. No party is solely responsible. We have not chosen to advance again along the path of her historic mission; or retreat still further into the fields of futility.

"I should be guilty of a narrow partisanship unsuited to the great 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 this campaign, 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.

**Govt. Versus Self-Reliance**

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 inculcate reliance on 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 to bring about a more equitable distribution of income; its failure to further the employment of idle capital and idle hands. We might overlook the confusion in theory and practice that have curbed initiative, stilled 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 idea that America is finished, that our economy is inevitably con-

tracting; that opportunity has been extinguished and that, hereafter, we must look increasingly to the government for jobs, for security and for the oversight of our private lives.

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

**More, Not Less, Democracy**

What we need, in times like these, is more democracy—not less. In an earlier period of doubt and dismay, Wait Whiteman, the good, gray poet of a dynamic America, thus admonished his country:

"Sail on my best ship of democracy.

"Of value it they freight, 'tis not the present only.

"The past is also stored in thee."

The Philadelphia convention, meeting in the birthplace of our liberties, handed us our sailing orders; bidding us look to our vigorous 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.

**Reading Lessons in The 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 guided 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 Northwest-ern empire, which once embraced all of Oregon, Washington and Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming. This is pioneer country still. We here are pioneers, and the sons and daughters of pioneers; of the stock that carried American sovereignty from the Mississippi across the magnificent Rocky Mountain region to the Pacific, conquering and subduing this rich domain for the Union.

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 "iron road" from the Great Bend of the Missouri to the banks of the Willamette.

**The Jefferson Concept**

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 Lewis and Clark to spy out the land 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, New Spain 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.

**Little Americans Then and Now**

We can afford to smile at the timidity of the obstructionists who lived a century ago. In their day, they thought America finished. They belonged to the tribe, seemingly numerous in each generation, which holds that the limit has been reached. Little Americans they were; the type that advocated impeaching Jefferson for his purchase of Louisiana and decided Seward for buying Alaska.

In like manner, the little American of 1940 maintains that our race is run. The throb be-

hears is not the hum of America's dynamo, but the hardening of America's arteries. It is his despondent outlook that deflates the hopes of youth; insists that our industrial plant is over-built and that we must look forward only to a slippered senility.

We, of the old Oregon country, 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 for 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 Americans prefer work to ease, 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 to the end 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 European autocrats. 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 20th, are pioneers, or the descendants of pioneers, and the virtues of work, thrift, and self-reliance for the common good are part of our tradition. We have the tools.

**Question of Markets**

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. Beside 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 map out a long-range plan for reconstituting 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 reap; with the other, it lowers tariff barriers so that foreign crops undersell our own in our markets.

**Opposes Reciprocal Treaties**

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 537 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 the 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 had failed to dissipate, alleviate or liquidate the uneconomic conditions affecting agriculture. I hold 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.

**Restoring Agricultural 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 it with its first essentials, food and raw materials. No, the reason for our preoccupation with the farm problem is social and economic betterment. The farm stands somewhere near the center 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.

**Renewing Our Forests**

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 characterized the 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 future supplies, stabilize streams and soils and conserve our rich endowments of natural beauty and wild life.

**Power—A 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.

form recommends a hopeful and affirmative farm program. It endorses the principle of parity. It advocates—and this is a departure— incentive payments to farmers willing to experiment with tillage of crops we now import. We stand pledged to continue soil conservation payments, commodity surplus loans; to encourage acquisition of farms by tenants and for research aimed at developing industrial uses 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 any all-embracing cure. It does constitute a promise that the Republican party genuinely seeks solutions.

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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 disunity. Problems change, new dangers arise—yet remain the ancient virtues, self-reliance, faith, hope and courage—which animated and sustained the pioneer in his quest for a greater, ever greater, America.

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

## TEXT OF MARTIN'S INTRODUCTION OF GOV. H. E. STASSEN

State Fairgrounds, Salem, Ore., Aug. 27.—(P)—The following is the text of a speech by Rep. Joseph Martin (R-Mass.), chairman of the Republican national committee, introducing Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota at ceremonies notifying Senator Charles L. McNary of the Republican vice-presidential nomination.

I am happy to come to Salem, Ore., which is closely tied in sentimental bond with Salem of my own state of Massachusetts, and 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.

When the Republican national committee sought a man to keynote the issue of this important campaign, its task was easy. There was but one man considered and he became the unanimous choice of the large committee.

It chose Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota. He is the youngest of a group of Republican governors, who, through wise leadership and able administration, have contributed largely to the rebuilding of the Republican party.

He is a real representative of the progressive and forward-looking West. He reflects the new type of leadership which during recent years has revitalized the Republican party and rededicated it to the genuine service of the nation.

Today there is a new Republican party; a sound, sensible, forward-looking party to which the people of this country are turning for leadership.

The distinguished and able governor of Minnesota is materially contributing to that leadership.

I am delighted to present to the people of Oregon, to the people of the Far West, yes to the people of all the United States—a great governor—a great American—Harold E. Stassen.

**Prepare For Defense**

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 electric industrial districts deprived domestic consumers of service. Food deficiencies ensued, and the plowing up of the short grass prairies in what is now the dust bowl.

In common with what I believe to be the overwhelming majority of my countrymen I oppose involvement in foreign military adventures. America, as always, prefers peace. But peace does not prefer the surrender of our national dignity, our independence of action or political freedom or the civilized values that we cherish.

The existence of aggressive despots in Europe is not new to our experience. We administered a lesson to George III. Napoleon inconvenienced our commerce. Monroe and John Quincy Adams effectively warned arbitrary despots of this hemisphere. We helped bring Maximilian's imperial adventure in Mexico to an inglorious end.

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 stand strong in which case we shall elect our enemies at home and abroad, or we may remain weak and thus invite their aggression. For my part, I prefer the part of strength that has been the American choice.

**America To Go Forward**

In conclusion may I remind you that the Republican party this year lifts the standard of hope, a standard to which all men and women of courage and clearheaded faith in our mighty traditions may repair. Every where we hear that our country faces greater perils than at any

## WILLKIE RENEWS DEBATE REQUEST IN 'LOOK' ARTICLE

### Says FDR. Should Not Shield Himself Behind Dignity of Office.

New York, Aug. 27.—(Sp)—Wendell Willkie declared today that a presidential candidate should not be "shielded by the dignity of office," when he again proposed public debates with President Roosevelt in an article published in Look magazine. Willkie's article, entitled "I Challenge Roosevelt On These Issues," contained what appeared to be a thrust at the "fireside chat" technique. The Republican candidate's article for Look said in part: "Voters are entitled to see the man for whom they are asked to vote and to find out for themselves what kind of fellow he is in the free exchange of ideas. Never was there a time when the democratic principle of free and open discussion of all the issues was more essential. Political campaigns have fallen too much into the stereotyped reading of essays into the radio."

Other high spots from Wendell Willkie's Look article: "A Democratic Unity party—I am not naming it, but that might be a good name—is being proposed so the Democrats of the south may cast their vote for the Republican candidate without losing their Democratic identity. Nothing has been more gratifying than to see the splendid type of Democrats who are rallying to this cause."

"There may be a businessman, big or small, who has confidence in the present administration. If there is, I do not know him."

"The English and French fell for a canny, cynical philosophy of government. To them, society was an infirmity of crying babies to be quieted with soothing syrup. The thought never occurred to them that well babies, if fed and left alone, stop crying and learn how to live."

"We must have more candor and less provocative statements about national affairs. What good does it do to attempt a colossal bluff about producing 50,000 airplanes annually when the nation we try to impress is the greatest producer of airplanes in the world?"

"Talk about going back to the days of Harding and Coolidge is just plain nonsense, because we are not going back to anything."

"America today is divided into discordant units. Mutual respect and confidence are gone and we invite disaster to the only completely free society left in the world."

**New Power Line**

Portland, Ore., Aug. 27.—(P)—Construction of a 69,000-volt transmission line from Walla Walla, Wash., to Pendleton, Ore., will be completed within a year, the Bonneville power administration said today.

Use Mail Tribune want ads.

## GOV. OLSON'S WAR ON ECONOMY BLOC FACED BY VOTERS

### San Francisco, Aug. 27.—(P)—Nearly two million Californians were expected to vote today in a state primary election climaxing a campaign marked by Senator Hiram W. Johnson's bid for re-election, and Governor Culbert L. Olson's effort to end an anti-administration "economy bloc's control of the state legislature.

A prediction that 55 per cent of the registered total of 3,782,702 persons would vote was made by Charles Hagerty, deputy secretary of state.

A total of 690 names appeared on the official state ballot, including candidates for senator, 20 congressional places, 20 state senators' seats, and 80 state assembly places. These races, along with judgeship and other local contests made the major party ballots lengthy.

Although the selection of party nominees is the purpose of the primary election, California's election law allows candidates to file on more than one ticket, and this circumstance contributed to the interest in the re-election campaign of Senator Johnson.

The veteran senator—fighting his hardest battle since 1916—sought nomination on the Republican, Democratic and Progressive party tickets. He was opposed by three on the Republican ballot, five on the Democratic, and one on the Progressive.

**Home Tragedy**

Stayton, Aug. 27.—(P)—The body of Waunita Minten, 14-month-old daughter of Henry Minten, was found last night in an irrigation ditch near the Minten home. She wandered away from the home yesterday afternoon.

Closing time for Too Late to Classify Ads is 4:30 p. m.

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