

McNary Calls on Nation to Rally Around GOP Standard, Attacks New Deal "Statism"

(Continued from Page One)

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.

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—or unwillingness—to further the unemployment 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 theory that America is finished, that our economy is inevitably contracting, 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.

Old as Pessimism
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.

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 a

dynamic America, thus admonished his country:

"Sail, sail thy best, ship of democracy,
"Of value is thy 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.

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 Northwestern 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, following the valleys of the Kaw, the Platte, the Sweetwater, the Snake and the lordly Columbia; fording icy streams, withstanding hostile Indians, suffering hunger, thirst and sickness aggravated by strange diets and exposure—and leaving thousands of unmarked graves beside the trail.

A Proud Epic
The settlement of the Oregon country remains one of our proudest epics. At the time of the Yorktown surrender, our frontiers 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 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.

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

were 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, there were dissenters. 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 every act. 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.

At Champoug
The place where they met was Champoug. A proud and happy settlement encompasses me as I reflect that that hallowed place lies only a little distance from where we now meet. There, free Americans demonstrated the flexibility of the American political system; they proved that institutions forged on the Atlantic served equally as well on the Pacific and that, therefore, the continent could be welded into one nation. Out of the bold and considered action at Champoug sprang the assurance which fortified our diplomacy in acquiring title to the old Oregon country from Great Britain.

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 and derided Seward for buying Alaska. In like manner, the little American of 1940 maintains that our race is run. The throb he hears is not the hum of America's dynamo, but the hardening of American 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 slipped step.

"We Are Optimistic"
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 autocracies. 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. The virtues of 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 demands that we, at least, conserve those legacies for this and future generations.

Farm Problem
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.

The farm problem is by no means the exclusive worry of the farmer. In a true and realistic sense, the problem is as national as the problem of national defense.

Permit me to cite an example. Statisticians find an uncanny correspondence between gross farm income and industrial payrolls in a given year. When, as in 1929, farm income rose to 12 billion dollars, factory payrolls also were 12 billion; and when, in 1932, farm income dropped to five billion, industrial payrolls fell off similarly.

The New Deal has administered the farm problem for more than seven years, what is the present state of the American farmer, who, with his dependents, makes up a quarter of our population? In the year 1939, his share of the national income was the lowest since statistics have been kept. Moreover, his income during the seven New Deal, or lean, years has averaged only seven billion dollars; whereas, during the preceding seven years, under republican administrations, it averaged nine billion. Bear in mind if you will, that the New Deal totals included all the benefit payments from the treasury of the United States—and that the seven prosperous republican years include the black year 1932, which marked the depth of the depression throughout this New Deal cycle, we have been confronted with the related phenomena of depressed farm prices and industrial unemployment. With the farmer producing without profit, the city worker was idle, his consuming power diminished. I have long felt that these phenomena could not be separated, that a sound policy would work toward relieving both of these disorders.

I shall discuss the farm situation in detail later in the campaign. It is a subject near my heart. For 20 years I have sought means and measures to better the lot of the agrarian producer. For the moment, let me say that the republican platform 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 an all-embracing cure. It does constitute a promise that the republican party genuinely seeks solutions.

A substantial solution of the farm problem may be resolved into a question of markets. Any rational plan must assist the American farmer to the American market. 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 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 reap; with the other, it lowers tariff barriers so that foreign crops undersell our own in our market.

Praise For Opponent
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 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.

For years I have advocated a two-piece system, a system enabling us to export without injuring the domestic price level. The McNary-Haugen act, which looked to that end, was twice vetoed by a president. Although conditions have altered radically since the bill was last 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 uncertainties arising from pyramid debt. The overall solution may only await the installation of an administration which wholeheartedly wishes again to see the United States a going concern.

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 perpetually on subsidies which stop short of economic justice. They wish to re-enter the economy as independent producers. They are entitled to the fulfillment of that wish.

For years I have advocated a two-piece system, a system enabling us to export without injuring the domestic price level. The McNary-Haugen act, which looked to that end, was twice vetoed by a president. Although conditions have altered radically since the bill was last 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 uncertainties arising from pyramid debt. The overall solution may only await the installation of an administration which wholeheartedly wishes again to see the United States a going concern.

Forest Conservation

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 future supplies, stabilize streams and soils and conserve our rich endowments 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 un-economic 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 areas. 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 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 country's 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 navigation. Out of these services flows the by-product of power.

Power Our Heritage

Unflinchingly, 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 consumer, farmers and small users of power should be the yardstick by which we measure the usefulness and serviceability of every federal development. Moreover, 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 private companies by the Tennessee Valley Authority. From the standpoint of the treasury, the records of the great public power projects at Boulder canyon 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 service. Food deficiencies caused meatless, wheatless days and the plowing up of the short grass prairies in what is now the dust bowl.

Peace But No Surrender

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 America does not prefer the peace of appeasement; nor the surrender of our national dignity, our independence of action, our 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 the holy alliance to keep its arbitrary hands off 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 pro-

pose 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 thus invite their aggression. For my part, I prefer the part of strength. That has been the American choice.

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. Everywhere we hear that our country faces greater perils than at any time since the republican 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.

DAYLIGHT



when you want it

Hygrade

MIRALUME

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FLUORESCENT AT ITS FINEST

An entirely new kind of light. Several times the illumination of ordinary incandescent lamps of the same wattage. Practically shadowless. 25% of the radiant heat. Corrected for power factor.

Complete in sizes from 50 to 200 watts, shielded or unshielded. READY NOW

NOTHING ELSE TO BUY.

F. R. HAUGER

515 Market Phone 7221

OPEN

FOR BUSINESS

Owens Cafe

2401 So. 8th

DINE AND DANCE

Formal Opening

Wednesday Night

This Is Important!

In Spite of the General Rise of Tire Prices in July, Here's Your

FIRST and ONLY Chance This Year
To Buy the World's Most Famous Tire

AT THE LOWEST PRICES IN HISTORY!

7 DAYS ONLY

THE GREAT

GOODYEAR
"G-3" ALL-WEATHER TIRE

Reduced to—and nationally advertised all year at—the amazingly low price of

\$11.11

6.00-16 SIZE

With your old tire

BUT NOW — FOR THE FIRST AND ONLY TIME THIS YEAR

—we offer you the great Goodyear All-Weather—road-proved favorite of more millions of motorists than any other tire—at this special pre-Labor Day Sale price

999

8.00-16 SIZE
Price (with your old tire) for "G-3" All-Weather or Rib Tread. White sidewall slightly higher.

Special

SURPRISE LOW PRICES

during this sale!

GOODYEAR LIFE GUARDS

Save with Safety!

LOW PRICES

on other guaranteed Goodyear Tires—as low as

\$5.15

4.75-18 or 5.00-19 Size

Cash price with your old tire

•

WRITTEN

LIFETIME GUARANTEE

They make good or We do!

IT'S EASY

TO BUY ON OUR

Easy-Pay

Terms

TRUCK OWNERS—GET OUR LOW PRICES ON MARATHON TRUCK TIRES

BALSIGER MOTOR CO.

Main and Esplanade

Phone 3121

Where's George?



—gone to...

VAN'S Camera Shop

George is strong for the splendid renting service at Van's Camera Shop. He lives up all of his parties with comedies and feature length shows that he gets at Van's at a cost that is so reasonable anyone can afford to use this type of entertainment.

300-ft. 8mm news reels and comedies 50c an evening.

SUBJECT TO CHANGE

WITHOUT NOTICE!

These prices are Summer Prices, Better Buy NOW!

Pine Slabs Double Loads

\$3.50

10 Double Loads

\$3.00

Extra Heavy, Hand Picked

\$3.75

Block Wood Double Loads

\$3.75

Lowest Price in Twenty Years

Fred H. Heilbronner

"Fuels That Satisfy"—Plus Service

Yard and Office—821 Spring Dial 4153

Friendly Helpfulness

To Every

Creed and Purpose

Ward's Klamath Funeral Home

Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Ward.

Owners

Willard Ward, Mgr.

825 High Phone 3334

After seven years we need a