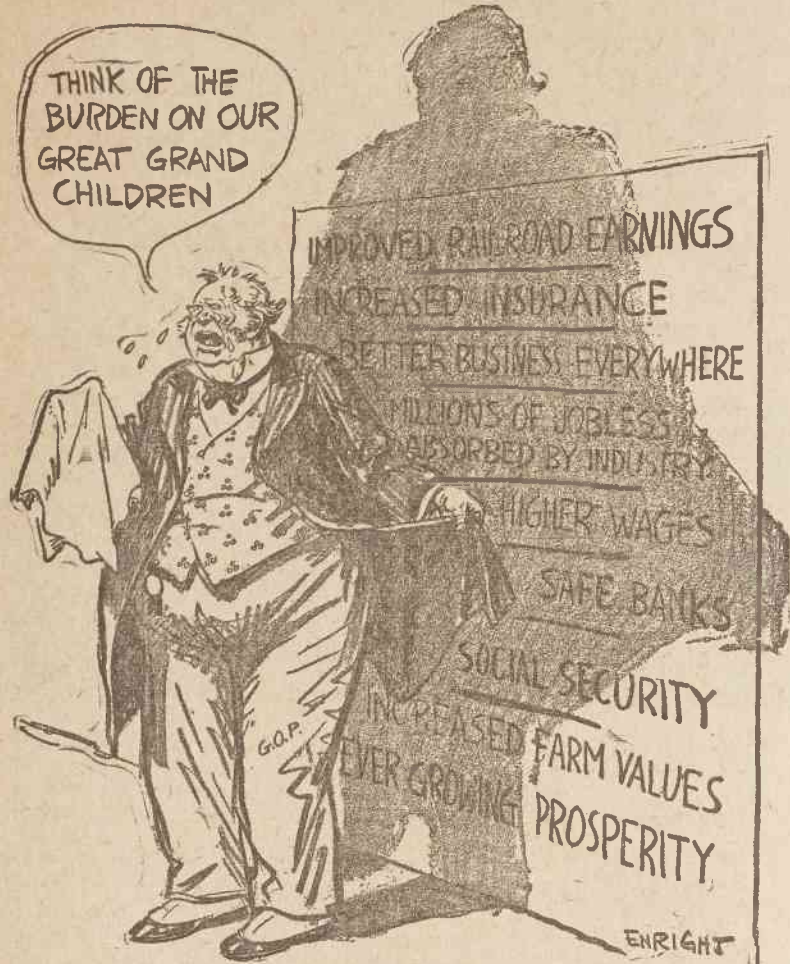


As New Dealers Paint the Picture



CROCODILE TEARS

For Roosevelt
THE NEW YORK TIMES

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specting drought relief, soil erosion, the prevention of floods, strong Federal protection for the investor and penalty for the reckless or crooked promoter, Governor Landon quietly makes his own.

One outstanding argument, however, runs heavily against the Republican party and its leader in this campaign. They have advocated, even if only half-heartedly, a policy of aloofness and isolation for the United States. They would make protective tariffs more prohibitive of foreign trade than ever before. They would at once abrogate the existing reciprocal trade agreements, and repeal the very law which gives the President power to negotiate these agreements—a law long endorsed by eminent Republicans. Those treaties already in effect they attack as destructive to the true interests of American farmers. After thus proposing to do all in their power by legislation to shut foreigners out of our markets, the Republicans proceed to the pitch of absurdity and effrontery by demanding that foreign nations pay us the debt while depriving them of the means of paying. All this policy, which may be called that of Little Americans, leaves the advantage on international issues distinctly with the Democrats.

Reviewing all these factors, weighing what has been accomplished, what is now proposed and what uncertainties still lie ahead, The New York Times, a conservative newspaper in its own sphere, believes that the public welfare will best be served this year by the continuance of the Democratic party in power and by the re-election of the President. Three considerations which we regard as dominant in the circumstances have led us to this conclusion:

First, we believe that Mr. Roosevelt is a keen enough judge of public opinion to make his second Administration more conservative than his first, in the sense that conservatism means consolidating ground already gained and perfecting measures hastily enacted. We believe this both because the tide of public opinion is now running with steadily increasing strength against experimentation and because the President himself has moved definitely in this direction. It is significant that most of the genuinely radical ideas sponsored by the Roosevelt Administration, ideas which were radical in the sense that they departed abruptly from the American tradition—NRA and AAA, for example—were products of the panic period, when, as the personal experience of Governor Landon testifies, many Republicans and many conservatives hailed these very innovations as essential to the safety of the country.

Second, not only do we believe that forces now operating strongly

will tend to make the next Roosevelt Administration more conservative, in the sense of conserving the best of what has been accomplished since 1933; we also believe that in a very fundamental way the President's re-election will provide insurance against radicalism of the sort which the United States has most to fear. We say this for several reasons.

It would be blind not to recognize the necessity of adapting and ameliorating our political and economic structure to the changing circumstances of the modern world, and equally blind not to appreciate at full value, and to wish to conserve for the uncertain years which lie immediately ahead, the unquestioned confidence which Mr. Roosevelt enjoys among the distressed masses who have been the worst victims of the depression. These masses still acutely remember their disillusionment in public leadership in 1932, and have with reason felt that the President has tried to restore hope, equalize opportunity and prevent the excesses of the recent past. We believe that Mr. Roosevelt's defeat at the polls would enable the more radical elements within the Democratic party to unite under irresponsible leadership which the force and ability of the President have hitherto helped to check and counterbalance. These radical elements would thereby be strengthened in their appeal to the masses.

In this connection we prefer to have in Washington, during the still critical period which lies immediately ahead, a Government united in all its branches, with power to take instantly action which may become necessary in any emergency which may arise. The Republican party cannot give us such a Government. Even if Mr. Landon should be elected and the Republicans should carry the House of Representatives, the Senate will remain Democratic because its present majority is too large to be reversed in 1936. A divided Congress during the next two years would threaten the country with precisely the same contradiction of purpose and paralysis of will which proved to be so disastrous in 1931 and 1932.

A further assurance against radicalism is the effectiveness of the social and economic measures pursued by the Democratic party, though often with fundamental error and raw materialism. We do not believe that these measures should be placed in other hands at the behest of those who have not been the real and chief victims of the malady, and who evolved or supported the policies which lie at the roots of its cause. Reform should be administered by those who vigorously and successfully proposed it, and the Democratic party stands in that relation to the public. In the administration of reform and the restoration of the normal processes of an American Government, there is urgent need for the restraining influence of the party's conservative wing. This, if the President is re-elected, will be

more than ever active in the next Congress, where the Democratic membership in the House will probably be cut down.

Finally, we believe that the narrow nationalism for which the Republican party stands today is in itself a policy which, if put into force, would carry us rapidly in the direction both of "regimentation" and "radicalism." It was the loss of foreign markets for our surplus farm commodities that was specifically responsible for the demand for crop control and a "planned economy" for agriculture. It is a loss of foreign markets for our factories that is responsible in large part for the industrial unemployment which still persists. The best antidote to both regimentation and discontent is a revival of international trade, and the reciprocal treaties sponsored by the President and negotiated by his able Secretary of State lead step by step in that direction. That way lies hope. The other leads to economic suicide behind a Hawley-Smoot tariff.

In supporting Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy for re-election, The Times does not intend to lose the independence on which it has always put chief emphasis or to compromise its own convictions. It will continue to endorse such of Mr. Landon's views as it finds deserving of support. It will continue to criticize and to oppose such of Mr. Roosevelt's policies as seem to it to lack merit. In particular, it will continue to oppose governmental extravagance and to insist on the vital importance of bringing the national budget into early balance. We are encouraged to believe that this can be accomplished more readily under a second Roosevelt Administration than under Mr. Landon, considering the extent to which the Republican party has now outbid the President in promising farm bounties.

The position taken by The Times is in line with its traditional sympathy for the main purposes and the moving spirit of the Democratic party. We believe that in this case conservatives and radicals can compose their differences within that party, and that the result will be to dissipate, rather than enlarge, class antagonisms, sectional jealousies and factional disputes. Tolerance is an essential part of the American tradition and national unity our most deeply prized possession.

For Landon

THE UNITED STATES NEWS

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dent-elect co-operated with his predecessor in the critical months between November, 1932, and March, 1933.

But when the crisis came Mr. Roosevelt was equal to it. What he did then in establishing national unity and in preserving the poise of the American people will not soon be forgotten.

In the wake of that emergency unfortunately came the mistakes. Devaluation of the dollar was fundamentally wrong.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was not only poorly written but even more poorly administered. Small wonder the nine justices of the Supreme Court, liberal and conservative, held it to be unconstitutional.

Coincidentally the steps taken to reorganize our banking system and to establish a limited insurance of bank deposits were wise and statesmanlike.

The objectives of the AAA, namely, to subsidize the farmer for the emergency period just as the city worker was given direct relief, were proper as an emergency policy. Production control on the farm and crop destruction were blunders but in themselves are not sufficient grounds for defeating the President. The Des Moines speech of Governor Landon looks to an equally cumbersome and faulty policy for agriculture.

Social security legislation represents an excellent objective but a defective plan and one that needs serious revision to make it workable.

Direct relief should have been handled not by such extravagances as the WPA but through loans to States and cities to be administered by non-partisan boards.

The federal agencies set up to refinance home and farm mortgages constituted a necessary and essential emergency action.

Likewise the insurance by the

As Republicans Would Have Us See It



A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS must be elected if New Deal squandering is to be stopped. Waste and boondoggling, and not expenditures for relief and recovery, have piled up our enormous and hamstringing re-employment.

In spite of President Roosevelt's estimate that this year (mostly hidden) will be 5 billion and 74 million dollars (3 billion million dollars greater than in 1933), he predicts a deficit of 1 billion dollars, without including six months of relief costs.

Federal Government of loans for housing was a constructive measure and one that can well be continued until private credit instrumentalities of a similarly effective nature can be set up on a sound basis.

The laws to regulate security trading and security issuance have excellent purposes but are very badly drawn and have been a hindrance to capital recovery and the flotation of long term loans for industrial purposes.

The reciprocity treaties negotiated by Secretary Hull have been a fine achievement in starting the world toward a reduction of tariff barriers and are to be commended as perhaps the greatest single move toward permanent recovery made by the Administration.

Efforts to improve collective bargaining methods are a step in the right direction. The process would have been farther advanced and labor would by this time have reaped much more benefit had the Roosevelt Administration chosen absolutely impartial administrators instead of class partisans in key positions.

As a consequence of this mistake we shall face serious industrial warfare in America in the next twelve months, especially if Mr. Roosevelt is reelected. He has allowed labor agitators to use the Wagner law to create the impression that they have the force of the Federal Government behind almost anything they may choose to do.

The President's request of a \$4,800,000,000 fund for executive disbursement and the subsequent approval thereof by Congress would not in themselves have been so much subject to criticism had the fund been administered with due regard to the national economy.

Valuable time has been lost in failing to classify the unemployed and in refusing to permit private industry to function so it could have by this year absorbed more of the unemployed. By refusal I mean the government's constant intervention through legislation and misuse of executive power in problems that were fundamentally unrelated to the emergency.

Experimentalism for social reform purposes was on the whole a tragic abuse of power and has delayed recovery.

But not all of the experiments were unwise. Thus the organization of industry into codes was the beginning of a new era in the democratic process of self-government in business. It would have resulted in greater and greater social responsibility on the part of business men had it been carried out with a constitutional law and a much slower-paced program and without attempts to confuse labor controversies with vital questions of fair competition and marketing.

The President, however, had not been in office a year when he told Congress in January, 1934, that he wanted to make his reforms "permanent." He failed to appreciate that the vast powers granted him were for emergency purposes only and that the American people did

not have time in nine months to determine by trial and error experiments were worth permanent and which ones be discarded.

On February 5, 1934, I called this page that I would myself to support President Roosevelt for reelection if he had fulfilled three major conditions.

The first called for an program of international action to prevent war.

The second called for retirement of the government's business ventures of its that private initiative would be impaired or constitutional disregarded.

The third called for a budgetary program.

I believe the Hull treaties constitute an approach to what become a greater effort in national peace if we are ourselves from a horrible war in the next few years.

But while the Roosevelt Administration has not gone as far nationally as I would have liked, I cannot bring myself to support a Republican platform on the subject of Governor Landon's at Minneapolis in which he damned the existing treaties.

On this issue—were it set from all the others and were no other issues involved—I earnestly support Mr. Roosevelt's reelection.

But on the other two issues do we find? The government's business and is reaching into the business affairs of the citizen in a manner most severe condemnation.

And what of the budget? been unbalanced now every with deficits running into billions. Mr. Roosevelt told us that "for three long years Hoover's Administration was taking the country "on the forward bankruptcy" because of a deficit of about five billion dollars. We must assume that the New Deal record of sixteen billion deficit is three times as great ever greater peril to the of the nation's treasury. stopped it means a danger of inflation with hardships for the mon people.

Of what use are the splendid achievements of a bank holiday crisis in 1933, if we are to have a panic because of imprudent spending of federal funds?

And if recovery is here, New Deal proudly claims why is it necessary for the government to spend more in the fiscal year 1937 than 1936?

I do not look to Mr. Roosevelt to effect the necessary reforms for fear it is not in his nature to cut expenses to the bone. His aspirations are entirely on the spending side—they have cost me no little to his popularity.

I acquit the President of intentionally acquired the New Deal (Continued on Page 7)