

## The G. O. P.'s New Stand

as swiftly as human efficiency, ingenuity, courage, and sacrifice can achieve it. It must be no mere decision of arms. It must go far beyond superiority on the field of battle. It must eradicate from the world the ways of thought and life that have caused this war. Totalitarianism must be deleted from the world so emphatically and finally that never again will they be potent to poison the thoughts of men or to bring agony to mankind.

The Republican Party must withhold nothing calculated to strengthen our arms. It must grant and authorize whatever shall be asked for by competent military leaders. It must cooperate wherever and whenever it can without stultifying its right principles. It must help and never obstruct when sacrifices or even suffering be demanded of our people—if that suffering or sacrifice shall be justified in the achievement of victory.

It must grant every essential power to the President of the United States, but it must be steadfast and courageous to withhold every revolutionary power, demanded under the emergency of war, but calculated to weaken or destroy the fabric of our Constitution; to move us nearer to some form of state socialism or regimentation; to deprive the American citizen of individual independence of thought or action. We must fight to withhold all powers dangerous to the enterprise, opportunity, and thrift of the American people. And to place an hour for the termination of such dangerous powers as it has been necessary to grant for efficiency in war.

THE Republican Party must scrutinize every measure and every action to determine if it be for the common good. It must applaud the efficient and it must denounce the inefficient, the blundering, or the perilous. It will have the power to demand investigation and to disclose the results of investigation to the public.

There are questions it must ask. It must demand to be told why the civilian employees of New Deal bureaucracy today number millions, almost the total of men enrolled in our armed forces. And why these individuals are retained in that employment instead of being compelled to change civilian dress for uniforms, if they be of military age, or to be poured into our reservoir of manpower to augment our producers instead of stagnating in cumbersome governmental departments.

Republicans in both houses of Congress must scrutinize and report upon men in Washington occupying positions of crucial importance, men who have been given vast authority—not by the election of their fellow citizens, but by appointment. Many of these men are unfit and should be replaced. Many of them are unnecessary and should be dispensed with. In addition, an efficient study should be made of the bureaucratic chaos which rules in the national capital, and suitable measures, based on sound experience, should be contrived for its abatement and for the substitution of orderly methods and processes. This in

order that our war effort should not be impeded, hampered, or confused by the present lack of orderliness and organization.

It is now possible, and the Republican Party will see to it, that Congress be re-established as an independent department of government, as it is commanded to be by our Constitution; and that it shall cease to be merely another bureau with conduct dictated by the Executive. Congress must assume its proper constitutional place as the direct instrument for expressing the will of the people. And it must maintain its equality, its independence, and its integrity, no matter what pressures, in the mistaken guise of emergency, shall be brought to bear against it.

For years there has been a movement toward centralization, and toward a diminution of the powers and functions of the states. During the past ten years this movement has been accelerated, so that the states have shrunk in importance and in power and the federal government has been aggrandized. Local government is the first safeguard of free men. Centralized government always is a peril to civil liberties. There have been invasions of states' rights, and a grasping for centralized power.

The Republican Party regards this movement, this trend, as dangerous to a federal, republican form of government, and must take action, not only to halt its progress, but to see to it that past aggressions against the sovereignty of the states shall be undone, and the states elevated again to their natural and legal status.

AS ALL Americans know vaguely, much of the important business of Congress is carried on by committees. It would be impossible to function intelligently and efficiently in any other manner. For years past the Republican Party has been all but futile in committees because they were so greatly outnumbered. Now that membership, especially in the House, is so nearly equal, the Republican Party will demand and must be granted a more fair ratio of representation upon all committees. In this way the Republican Party can be more effective to carry out the mandate of the people, and will no longer be deprived of the opportunity to originate and to influence proper legislation. Probably in this respect more than in any other will the results of the last election become apparent in concrete and beneficial results.

Because Congress, by constitutional command, holds the purse strings of the nation, it will, upon asserting its independence as a separate branch of government, no longer be subservient to White House command, and will be able to bring into being just and proper economies. Particularly, economies in the spending that has been so persistent for non-war purposes. Because a Republican membership in Congress has been pledged to such economies, it will, and I believe forthwith, concern itself with the problem of wastefulness and prodigality.

The November elections will be regarded by future historians of our country as deeply significant because they definitely preserved and re-established the two-party system of conducting our national affairs. To me it seems that this was a definite turning point in the political and social thinking of America. It was the great accomplishment of the people in this election—an emphatic turning away from the lure of the one-party system, from totalitarianism and from the trend toward state socialism. It was the categorical declaration by the people that they meant to retain

the power to criticize and to elect; that they would not surrender their right of opposition; their right to displace elected officials and to rebuke conduct of which they disapproved.

The domestic program of the Republican Party must be farsighted and intelligently liberal. It must be conceived and carried into effect inside the framework of the Constitution and not in violation of our basic law. It must be sound and practical, not visionary, experimental, or revolutionary. It must base itself upon the assertion that the Bill of Rights is the foundation upon which rests all freedoms, hopes, and achievements of this people; and that the Bill of Rights in and by itself is the greatest liberal charter ever devised by man.

• Today we are moving toward a new and vastly different world. Never have we needed big men in America as much as now. If the Republicans can develop not one but several leaders of national stature, equipped to deal with unprecedented problems—men who have intelligence, understanding, and the courage of great convictions—our nation is bound to be strengthened and benefited.

• Because we believe that the safety of democracy lies in developing an articulate and effective leadership of a loyal minority, we asked Mr. Spangler, the new Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to set down for our readers the program and aims of his party.

• THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE presents this article, not as a partisan political document but as a service to the nation.

The Republican Party must stand firmly for an orderly supervision and regulation of our economic life. A regulation that shall set standards of decent, honest conduct, protect the investor, the laborer, and that great section of our people who save and desire to put their money to work. But it must denounce and bring to an end bureaucratic hampering and harassing of decent industry and honest business.

That regulation should see to it that every citizen shall receive the fair and just return in money and in opportunity to which his industry and thrift entitle him; and that no man, class, race, association, or corporation shall receive unfairly or in greater measure than its contribution to the public welfare shall entitle it to receive.

It must open wide the door of betterment and of opportunity. It must protect private property and the savings of the people, so that

all may be able, by economy and thrift, to look forward to a day of plenty and security when their productive days have passed. It must make it possible for the people to work, to save, to invest, to have for themselves a decent amount of leisure in which to enjoy the fruits of their toil, and for the improvement of their minds as well as their pocketbooks.

It must plan and labor diligently to bring a day when capital, labor, agriculture shall walk a common road in mutual trust and with mutual respect—not as opponents, but as allies working in intelligent harmony to the common end that there shall be prosperity and happiness for all.

It must reverse the bad thinking that has been propagated in this land that it is improper to save and to acquire a decent holding of private property. It must enact laws and make provisions encouraging to economy and thrift and self-respect, in the hope that it may bring closer an hour when no man need ask his state or government for dole or support, because he, himself, will have ensured his future and his security by his own efforts—efforts fostered and made safe by wise legislation and lawful supervision.

It must, in short, assert a program in which the citizens shall be the ultimate authority, acting through their elected agents to see to it that the government works for them. It must destroy any conception that the state is the ultimate authority and that the citizens are merely creatures to carry out its will.

ANOTHER matter of grave concern, which will become increasingly important, is the future of the young men now serving in our armed forces. Steps must be taken and plans formulated which will absorb these young men into our civilian population when the need for them in our Army, Navy, and Air Forces shall have ceased.

The best that our country has to offer will be none too good for the survivors of this war. And the Republican Party will work intelligently and diligently to make and implement a plan by which they may be taken back into civilian, productive life; by which they may be assured jobs commensurate to their individual abilities; decent, properly lucrative jobs that will maintain their self-respect, their economic independence, and enable them to take their earned and rightful places as valuable and producing members of their several communities.

Our fighting men must be welcomed home, not with cheers alone, but with jobs. Every man as he steps from his homing ship, or out of his camp, must know that tomorrow he will be employed, and where and how he will be employed.

This is essential; it is not a reward for service, but a right well earned. What can humanly be done the Republican Party will do to see to it that this thing is done.

The Republican Party, by resolution and by declaration, has stated its position with respect to international matters. It has stated that position as categorically as it is possible to do with the world in chaos. It has said that it realizes that, when peace shall come, the responsibility of the United States cannot be circumscribed within its territorial limits. But that this nation must play some great and efficient part in the settlement of the peace, and in the preservation of peace when the voices of the guns shall have fallen silent in the world.

It is not possible to set down a sum below the line until a column of figures has been written down for one to total. Just so it is im-

possible today to announce a specific program or plan for co-operation with our Allies when victory shall be ours. The problem has not been fully posed for us.

We have partners in this war, partners who have fought, bled, sacrificed. It would seem to be both improper and ungrateful were the United States to announce a plan or fabricate a mechanism for postwar procedure without consultation and agreement with our three great partners: China, Russia, Great Britain. It would seem that any plan made by the United States alone must be a futile plan, because we shall need the collaboration of our partners in peace exactly as we need it now in war.

Only by agreement, understanding, unity of purpose, and unselfish harmony among the Allies can anything of a beneficial or permanent nature be achieved for the amelioration of conditions in the world which we all deplore.

We must be willing and wise to collaborate, but that collaboration must be without impairment of our national identity as an independent nation; without surrendering our individuality as a sovereign state. The United States of America must remain the United States of America, under its own flag, and free to follow and to realize its high ideals. Any concert into which we may enter must see to it that our standard of life shall not be lowered, and that unthinking idealism shall not bring the people of the United States down to foreign economic levels—but that our aim shall be to elevate the condition of alien, less fortunate men to the high and happy level which is our own.

FINALLY, the program of the Republican Party must be to restore government under constitutional, republican forms; to eradicate collectivism, totalitarianism, any scars of state socialism. It must be to assert and to maintain the freedom and the dignity of our citizens; to bring about equal opportunity for all; to ensure tranquillity and security by protecting the laborer in his just rights, the farmer in his independence, the manufacturer in his vision and his endeavor to create wealth—wealth to be justly shared and apportioned between investor, inventor, management, and labor.

Only by creating wealth can we create security; only by creating security can we create that serenity of life, enjoyment of living, to which every citizen is entitled. It is not enough merely to create wealth, and equitably to divide what we have created. A sufficient amount of it must remain in the hands of the creators, the earners, the savers. It must not all be snatched and sequestered by the state. What we do, what we achieve, what we create is not for the benefit of some impersonal central government, but for the benefit of the men and women whom that government is created to serve. We must create a vast reservoir of private savings to be used for the building of our national future.

The mission and the program of the Republican Party is to get the United States back on the tracks, to keep it on the tracks, and to see to it that no force, foreign or domestic, shall throw the switch.

The motto of the Republican Party might well be:

"Keep our Republic on the Main Line." The effort of our party will be to avoid side-tracks and derailers, to make a safe, comfortable, and steady journey into the future that rightfully is ours.

THE END ★★