

## BUSINESS TIDES

## Mr. Roosevelt's Election and Our Daily Lives

by RALPH ROBEY

Two major points stand out in an appraisal of the reelection of President Roosevelt from the point of view of its effect upon our future as we go about the ordinary business of making a living.

1—*There will be no basic and significant change in the controlling personnel of government bureaus.* There may be, and probably will be, some changes in the membership of the Cabinet, and perhaps there will be some shifting around in other top-flight positions. But, to us as individuals, changes of this character and at this level will be of secondary importance.

The reason such changes will be secondary will be immediately evident to everyone who has followed the working of the New Deal with any particular care. This reason is that under this Administration it is not, with one or two exceptions, Cabinet officers and heads of the major bureaus who make fundamental policy. Under this Administration fundamental policy is made for the most part by underlings—bureaucrats who in almost all instances have never even been heard of by the overwhelming proportion of the American public. It is these unknown little men—an amazing number of whom are either college professors of junior rank or just freshly out of law schools—who develop the theory, provide the "facts," and then write the laws and rules and regulations and decrees and directives which make up the New Deal as it affects our daily lives. Had Governor Dewey been elected, it is certain that these impractical policymakers would have been swept from their present positions of influence. President Roosevelt's reelection gives them tenure of office for at least another four years.

2—*The trend toward greater and greater government control and direction of our economic system will be continued.* In saying this, of course, we are not thinking primarily of wartime controls. The trend to which we refer did not begin with the war. It started in the early days of this Administration and has been a distinguishing feature of the New Deal ever since.

Back of this trend, and providing never-ending arguments for its continuation, is a definite, clear-cut economic philosophy. That philosophy

was explained at some length in this column last week. In brief it is that America has become a "mature economy," that henceforth there will not be enough opportunities for private investment to absorb the personal savings of our people, that this means that unless government steps in there never again can possibly be enough jobs for all who want to work, that in order to prevent this unemployment government must "siphon off" the excess savings and reinject them back into the economy through a spending program, and, finally, that to keep this "mature economy" in balance government must plan and direct what each segment of our economic system must or must not do.

During the campaign, it is true, this theory was kept well under cover and there was much talk on the part of Administration spokesmen about the great future of the country. The President himself, for example, in his Chicago speech emphasized his belief in individual enterprise and promised that there would be jobs for 60,000,000. And there is no reason to question the sincerity of the President in making such statements. But, as stated above, it is not the President, or even his top-flight officeholders, who work out the details of New Deal policy. That is done by the "think boys" on a lower official level, and there is no basis for assuming that they have changed their views. We must conclude, therefore, that they will continue to formulate policy which is designed gradually to increase government control and direction over our economic system.

Now bringing the two points together, what, specifically, do they mean for all of us? They mean, first, that there will be a continuous undercurrent of resistance by the Administration against removing wartime controls; secondly, that there will be continual efforts to find new arguments which appeal to the public for developing new types of control; and thirdly, which is the most important point of all, that the degree of freedom which we enjoy from here on will depend fundamentally and almost entirely upon the courage and determination with which Congress holds the trend toward "state-ism" in check.



Acme

Hillman's PAC fired the heaviest guns . . .

president, suggested that labor stay within the two-party system. Hillman was the logical choice for leader. In the next six months, Hillman made his plans. They were on a gigantic scale:

☐ The PAC published and distributed more than 90,000,000 pamphlets, fliers, and posters—more, it claimed, than the combined distribution of both Republican and Democratic parties. It also sent out thousands of buttons.

☐ PAC workers carried on in factories and war plants, shipyards and shops, on the street and in the home.

☐ The PAC press department furnished 1,500 labor papers and 275 Negro papers with weekly bulletins.

☐ The PAC radio department distributed phonograph records to regional offices for use on local broadcasting stations. There were pithy spot announcements and five-minute and fifteen-minute programs—dramatic skits, comedy, etc. Like the pamphlets, they were derisive of Republican claims and laudatory of the Roosevelt Administration. They took up current problems of foreign relations, taxation, and inflation; they discussed the difficulties of farmers, Negroes, and skilled and unskilled labor.

**Dollars, Scholars:** Beginning on Nov. 1, the PAC intensified its drive by radio and personal contact to get voters to the polls. The drive continued through Nov. 7 when voting places closed. PAC workers, sitting at telephones, canvassed registrants. Union members formed car pools. In New York City, 20,000 PAC workers were organized for election day: 10,000 on the job; Michigan, 10,000, so did California. The drive was simple: Get people to re-vote; if they were union members, they would vote for Roosevelt.

The question of do-  
a delicate one for

HOW  
KNOWS  
PROGRAM