

DEWEY'S PATRIOTISM!

Editorial in The Christian Century, October 11, 1944

Presidential campaign has taken an unexpected turn. By his speeches Governor Dewey has all but washed out both foreign and domestic issues on which it was generally expected a contest would be fought. He returns from his first campaign trip across the nation having greatly narrowed the range of issues on which he invites the electorate to make a change in administration. How he will define the remaining issues will be in his subsequent addresses.

Dewey opened his campaign by lifting the subject of foreign policy above partisan politics. Seldom has a candidate for the presidency acted more courageously or patriotically. His course in respect stands in sharp contrast to that followed by Mr. Roosevelt in the crisis of 1932. Then, it will be remembered, President Roosevelt, defeated for re-election, appealed to Mr. Roosevelt, the winning candidate, to collaborate with him during the "lame duck" interval, attempting to deal with the forces which were swiftly driving the nation toward economic disaster. But Mr. Roosevelt rejected Dewey's patriotism, preferring to allow the catastrophe to rather than to share with the then President any of the credit of averting it.

Dewey has taken precisely the opposite course. As the campaign opened, it had become evident that the approach of the end of the war, at least in Europe, rendered imperative a firm formulation of American policy on issues of postwar world organization. There was a partisan political capital in these issues. A large section of the Republican party expected its candidate to exploit it. In the name of national unity and world welfare, Mr. Dewey spurned the temptation. HE SENT HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO CONFER WITH MR. ROOSEVELT'S SECRETARY OF STATE. TOGETHER THEY WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES. Because they did so, both candidates, as well as the parties, are now committed to participation by the United States in a new world organization of nations, grouped in a council of nations, and dedicated to restraining future possible aggression with a world court interpreting a developing body of international law. Whatever disagreements on postwar policy remain are marginal, and of such a nature that they are not likely to be exploited for partisan advantage.

More one thinks about this, the more the act testifies to the greatness of the man who was capable of performing it. Mr. Dewey's patriotism, it should be borne in mind, grew out of his misgivings as to the effect of the rights of small nations in the proposals before the San Francisco conference. Enough is now known of the position taken by the Russian delegation at that conference to show how justified Mr. Dewey's misgivings were. With what ease, at that time, by ignoring or holding suspect Mr. Hull's attempted disavowal, he could have made the welkin ring from then until November with charges of betrayal of the small nations, of the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter—all of them sufficiently true to provide for campaign ammunition!

Mr. Dewey took Mr. Hull's invitation in complete good faith and responded with similar sincerity. Instead of sending a mere politician to confer with Mr. Hull—one who might actually be sent as his representative John Foster Dulles, who has demonstrated that in the field of foreign policy he thinks and on a plane far above petty partisanship. The accord which Mr. Dewey reached with Mr. Hull assured the whole world, at this critical juncture, that the policy of the United States regarding the proposed League of Nations would not be changed by the results of the November election. By that act Mr. Dewey may have deprived himself of certain vote-getting appeals. But he gave what should be for every thoughtful citizen proof of his patriotism and statesmanship.

Some of Mr. Dewey's short-sighted partisans his course in domestic issues by the speeches which he delivered during his recent western trip caused even deeper dismay. At Seattle he was out for the re-election of the National Labor Relations act, for the protection of labor's right to collective bargaining, for the making permanent the Fair Employment Practices Commission. At San Francisco he boldly espoused the principle of government participation in the nation's economic affairs, including the stationing of interest rates, if and when private enterprise falls down, the protection of farm crops against price collapses. At Los Angeles he went further than the New Deal has gone. He advocated the extension of old-age pensions and survivor's insurance to all not protected, assurance of adequate medical service to those who are not able to pay for it and additional forms of aid for the veterans.

At the time Mr. Dewey had finished that series of speeches he had achieved himself fully with those goals and programs which Mr. Dewey achieved in his first term. He made it clear that he accepts the fact that the social legislation upon which the New Deal has based its claim for two additional terms of office, and to it continues to point as a reason for a fourth term. So far as domestic policies are concerned, Mr. Dewey thus places himself in effect, at the end of Mr. Roosevelt's first term and asks, "Should we go on from here?" His speeches leave open for election Mr. Roosevelt's second and third terms in which not only here no substantial advance in social legislation but the administration of the legislation previously enacted and the whole spirit of the government present a fair field for analysis, innovation and criticism. That Mr. Dewey intends to center his administration on his promise, if elected, to apply a new approach which would sweep through the jungle of proliferating boards, commissions and administrations, reducing them in number, bringing efficiency in operation, and encouraging a much needed spirit of cooperation within the government and between the government and the groups whose interests it might be seeking to aid.

At that point, with both foreign and domestic issues reduced to a minimum, and not much more than the questions of effective and efficient administration left in debate, the President opened his campaign for re-election. We have already characterized his opening in these columns. We believe that there are many of Mr. Dewey's own supporters who now regret that he ever made it. Recently, the Democratic national committee shares this regret. It has decided not to have the speech rebroadcast to the armed forces. It was flippant, contemptuous and utterly lacking in any sense of the tragic situation in which the President-candidate

stood before the audience before which Mr. Roosevelt's speech was delivered and cheered, it manifestly seemed clever. And it was. But the nation listening in was chagrined and shocked at the sight of wisecracks and horseplay of which the President of the United States showed himself insensitively capable in such an hour as an hour so grave that he is asking for the long established tradition of tenure in the office of President to be broken again in his behalf. In his treatment of his opponent, Mr. Roosevelt ignored the fact that Mr. Dewey had done to insure national unity on policy, everything he had done to insure the permanence and extension of social legislation enacted in the New Deal's first term to charge him with fraud and falsehood in his criticisms of administrative shortcomings and to allege that he was taking his campaign from Hitler and Goebbels.

The result, as might have been expected, was Dewey's Oklahoma speech. There were some things in that speech which could have been omitted. But the body of the speech, and especially its national orientation, revealed a man whose instinctive reactions were sound and grave. IN THIS HE PRESENTS A STRIKING CONTRAST TO THE CHARACTERISTIC REACTIONS OF MR. ROOSEVELT WHICH, COUPLED WITH THE SHIFTESSNESS AND OVER-CONFIDENCE OF HIS POLITICAL STRATAGEMS, WE HAVE SINCE COME TO REGARD AS EVIDENCE OF A TRAGIC LACK OF INTEGRITY AT THE CORE OF HIS NATURE. IN COLD BLOOD, MR. DEWEY FOUGHT BACK AGAINST THE PRESIDENT'S ACCUSATIONS OF FRAUD AND FALSHOOD AND THE INSIDIOUS TIE-UP WITH HITLER AND GOEBBELS. WITH MANY AWARENESS THAT HE WAS DOING SO, HE THUS DREW THE NATION'S ATTENTION UPON AN ISSUE WHICH, HIS CRISIS, THOUGHTFUL AND SOBER CITIZENS WILL BE HELPFUL TO HAVE RAISED, NAMELY, THE COMPARATIVE AL STATURE OF THE TWO CANDIDATES.

To regard this issue as one which undercuts all political issues, as it concerns the moral health of the nation. We have seen in these columns directed attention to the extent to which the cynicism is undermining the moral foundations of our democracy. And we have suggested that any searching diagnosis of the numerous sources from which this poisonous infection has spread must have to include the success of a policy of dissimulation by one man who has kept himself at the head of our government for years. From the very beginning Mr. Roosevelt has used deception as a major political stratagem, until today he has lost the confidence of the nation. Even in the ranks of those blocs which represent his followers his support rests, not upon their confidence in his integrity, but upon the cynical assurance that he will do their interests because their votes are necessary to his maintenance in power.

THE NATION, AS WE HAVE SAID BEFORE, DESPERATELY NEEDS AT THIS JUNCTURE A PRESIDENT WHOSE YEA IS YEA WHOSE NAY IS NAY. It needs this more than it needs the "experience" which his party claims as the chief reason why Mr. Roosevelt should again be allowed to flout the two term limit on the presidency. As between this vaunted "experience" and sound moral and intellectual integrity, it is our hope that Mr. Dewey will continue to the nation an unambiguous opportunity to make a clear-cut decision.



Thomas E. Dewey
FOR PRESIDENT



John W. Bricker
FOR VICE PRESIDENT

One Dozen Reasons Why You Should Vote For Tom Dewey

- (1) Tom Dewey looks upon administration as a job of getting the largest results out of the abilities of other men. Hence he seeks the man of ability—not the man with the political pull.
- (2) Tom Dewey has unlimited courage—not merely vote-getting shrewdness.
- (3) Tom Dewey believes in individual freedom—and abhors people and governments which make it their business to push other people around.
- (4) Tom Dewey knows that money comes from work, and that the people's money should be wisely and honestly used—not squandered on dubious experiments.
- (5) Tom Dewey believes in honesty, and he keeps his promises.
- (6) Tom Dewey is far-sighted. One instance: In an interview with the press in January, 1940, almost two years before Pearl Harbor, he announced that he favored a navy capable of defending both American Coasts. (In Washington, spokesmen for the administration commented that Dewey didn't know what he was talking about and that a two-ocean navy was out of the question. Anybody who talked about a two-ocean navy, Mr. Roosevelt told his press conference, was "just plain dumb.")
- (7) Tom Dewey does not believe in one-man government, or government run according to personal favoritism or personal grudge—class favoritism or special privilege.
- (8) Tom Dewey is friendly, and quick with his sympathies and understanding.
- (9) Tom Dewey is a religious man, and since his youth has been a member of the Episcopal Church.
- (10) Tom Dewey believes that there is no room in the Republican Party for communists and their fellow travelers and their ilk; that there is plenty of room for all men of good will—be they liberals, middle-of-the-roads, or conservatives. Tom Dewey himself is as far from the Left-wingers of the New Deal as he is from the stand-pat reactionaries.
- (11) Tom Dewey believes that this country's potentialities for development have by no means reached their limits, and that new frontiers lie ahead for our people.
- (12) Tom Dewey believes that the form of government under which Americans have grown and struggled is the best ever devised, and that within its framework the country can go forward.

A TEST OF DEMOCRACY

This presidential election is providing a test of democracy. All political observers agree that the re-election of President Roosevelt depends on the big city votes and those that can be controlled by the CIO Political Action Committee. The smaller cities and towns and the farm areas, outside the party-bound South, are conceded to Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

The contrast is significant. On the one hand is the herded vote of the big city machines—those of Mayor Hague of Jersey City, Ed Flynn of the Bronx, Mayor Kelly in Chicago, Boss Crump in Memphis and the old Pendergast crowd in Kansas City—and the pressured vote that can be delivered by the Sidney Hillman type of labor leader. There are other supporters of President Roosevelt, sincere men and women, but far too few to elect him without these controlled votes.

AGAINST THESE ARE THE FREEST VOTES IN AMERICA—THE PREPONDERANCE OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS AND ON THE FARMS. THESE ARE MEN AND WOMEN WHO DO THEIR OWN THINKING, FORM THEIR OWN JUDGMENTS AND ANSWER TO NO MAN'S BIDDING AT THE POLLS. This is democracy—government by the people—in its true sense. The other kind was defined by THEODORE ROOSEVELT when he said, "A controlled vote is a vote against free government, no matter for whom and in what name it is cast." Which is to dominate in this election is important to the kind of country this will be in the future. IT IS ALL THE MORE REASON WHY EVERY VOTER IN THE TOWNS AND ON THE FARMS SHOULD CAST A BALLOT ON NOVEMBER SEVENTH.

—Country Gentleman, November 1944.

IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE!

LANE COUNTY REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MRS. CLARA S. CURRY, Vice Chairman

JAMES A. RODMAN, Chairman

ROBERT M. FISCHER, JR., Secretary

Our Candidates

FOR PRESIDENT
THOMAS E. DEWEY

FOR VICE PRESIDENT
JOHN W. BRICKER

FOR U. S. SENATOR
GUY CORDON
WAYNE MORSE

FOR CONGRESSMAN
HARRIS ELLSWORTH

FOR STATE TREASURER
LESLIE M. SCOTT

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL
GEORGE NEUNER

FOR REPRESENTATIVE
TRUMAN A. CHASE
EARL H. HILL
JOHN R. SNELLSTROM

FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY
WILLIAM W. BARTLE

FOR ASSESSOR
A. E. HULEGAARD

FOR COUNTY CLERK
W. B. DILLARD

FOR COUNTY COMMISSIONER
ALLEN P. WHEELER

FOR CORONER
PHIL BARTHOLOMEW

FOR COUNTY JUDGE
CLINTON HURD

FOR SHERIFF
C. A. SWARTS

FOR SURVEYOR
P. M. MORSE