

WSM, OCTOBER 3, 1948  
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Good Morning, Friends:

With President Truman back in Washington after a strenuous <sup>cross-country</sup> campaign swing to the West and back, and with the Republican nominee for President, Governor Dewey, on the last laps of a similar campaign tour to the Pacific and back, political observers, <sup>and the people</sup> politicians, and candidates ~~in Washington, as well as elsewhere~~, are taking stock, sizing up the candidates, the issues and the contest.

~~Let us pull the curtain back, and I hope I can justify your attention for a few moments.~~

~~Take~~ an over-all, unbiased view of the Presidential and Congressional campaign. First, let us look at the performances of the candidates themselves on their cross country tours and see what we see.

Take Governor Dewey first. We see his 1948 campaign tactics differing from those of 1944. For one thing, he is making more impromptu, rear platform talks, shaking hands with more people along side the railroad tracks and in other ways attempting to ~~more~~ humanize his campaign; and, thereby, mitigate, if not remove, what observers have considered coldness or starchiness in Governor Dewey as a candidate.

Another difference in the 1944 and 1948 campaign is that this time Governor Dewey seems more reserved and cautious in his prepared speeches. Perhaps this arises out of Governor Dewey's <sup>his</sup> seeming confidence that he will be the next President. He appears to be more self-assured, composed and relaxed. In fact, he is

<sup>much</sup>  
more of a smiling, easy going, yet more careful campaigner than  
the Dewey of 1944.

Governor Dewey is also giving far more attention to  
Senatorial contests than in 1944. I think this arises out of two  
things: (1) His Governor Dewey's expectation that he will win in  
November and, (2) a very real apprehension that the Democrats might  
at the same time gain control of the U. S. Senate.

The reason why there is such a real possibility and, therefore, Republican apprehension, that the Democrats may win control of the Senate is that eleven of the thirty-three senatorial seats up for election next month are in the solid south. This means that one-third of the seats up for election are not seriously contested and sure to go Democratic. It means <sup>also</sup> that two-thirds of the seats up for election are in contested territory and several of them are in doubtful Republican territory.

What is the situation now? The Republicans now hold the Senate by the thin majority of <sup>four</sup> three seats. The Republicans have 51 senators and the Democrats 45. So you see, the loss of four Republican Senators would give the Democrats control, 49 being necessary for a majority when the full 96 seats are filled.

Now it is customary for the House and Senate to be captured by the same party which captures the Presidency. Ordinarily therefore, there would be no doubt that Governor Dewey's election

to the Presidency would assure Republican control of both Houses of Congress. But it happens that this year the Democrats are forced to defend Senate seats in only four doubtful states -- Montana, New Mexico, Colorado, and Rhode Island. On the other hand, the Republicans find themselves forced to defend senate seats in eight doubtful seats -- Minnesota, Iowa, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Illinois, West Virginia, Kentucky and Idaho. It is apparent that Governor Dewey and his advisors have recognized this as a significant threat and on the current cross country campaign trip, Governor Dewey is undertaking to give every assistance possible to Republican candidates for the Senate. In doing so, ~~Governor Dewey~~ <sup>he</sup> has faced an unhappy dilemma in some cases. The dilemma of whether to help or not to help reelect Republican Senators whose records are clearly antagonistic to his own expressed views and principals. For instance, I noticed the other day <sup>that</sup> he gave a boost to Senator Henry Dworshak of Idaho who has a strong contest. I know Senator Dworshak quite well. He and I took the oath of office in Congress the same day and served on the same committee while he remained in the House of Representatives and I have served on conference committees/in recent months since <sup>with him</sup> he has been a Senator. I think it is entirely ~~fair~~ <sup>fair</sup> to say that Senator Dworshak has been an extreme isolationist. In fact, his record differs in almost every respect with Governor Dewey's position on foreign policy and

domestic policy. Practically the same thing can be said of Senator Robertson of Wyoming, Senator Curly Brooks of Illinois and others.

Despite these sharp differences, Governor Dewey has chosen complete party regularity; he has chosen to try to elect men who stand for nearly everything he is against. I imagine he has made this decision because he realizes that if he goes about the country picking and choosing Republican Senators ~~expresses~~  
~~who he will support and who he will not support, it will~~  
encourage the possibility that the Democrats may capture control of the Senate. I think most men in Governor Dewey's position would have made the same choice, because Governor Dewey must have recognized, as any <sup>presidential</sup> candidate must recognize, the danger not only to his own program but to the unity of the country in having a divided <sup>and antagonistic</sup> Congress, <sup>and an antagonist</sup> and at least one branch of which is in political division with the White House.

Thus, when we sum up we see that Governor Dewey is making a vigorous campaign, that he is not allowing either himself ~~nor~~ his party to take the November election for granted.

The objectives of Governor Dewey and his advisors seem to be not only to elect Governor Dewey but <sup>to</sup> elect him decisively. Also, they want to make certain that everything has been done to insure Republican control of the Senate.

Now let us turn to the Democratic candidate, President Truman, and examine his cross country campaign swing. Swing, swinging and swinging hard are fitting words in this race. Far from being on the defensive, President Truman has unmistakably seized the offensive ~~through the expediency of attacking~~ <sup>by</sup> the record of the Republican Congress. I do not recall any President who as a candidate for reelection has conducted such a strenuous campaign trip. Seemingly no town is too small, no crowd too few for a wave of the Presidential hand or perhaps an impromptu address. President Truman gave tacit recognition to the fact that he is trailing in public opinion polls. When in Kentucky the other day he said that it didn't matter which horse was ahead at various stages of a horse race since the thing that counted was which one was ahead at the finish line. With this realization, the President has effectively seized the offensive which in itself has some advantage.

He forced Governor Dewey to come to the defense of the 80th Congress and once Governor Dewey had taken the role of defense of the Congress, President Truman began to hit it harder and harder. Instead of Governor Dewey being the challenger of the President, the campaign has taken <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ peculiar turn in that Mr. Truman is conducting a campaign more like a challenger for the Presidency than as the President who is seeking to retain the Presidency.

Observers in Washington with whom I have talked seem to think Mr. Truman has made some headway on his campaign trip, that he has hit the <sup>Republican</sup> Congress hard at the vulnerable spots; but that he still has an uphill battle.

What are the issues that have developed as a result of the cross country swing of both candidates? Number one is inflation and deflation. President Truman charges that the Republican Congress is responsible for inflation and that a Republican election would head us straight into another ~~boom and burst~~ depression cycle such as we had under former President Hoover. Governor Dewey <sup>replies</sup> says that the real way to control inflation is to cut out unnecessary government spending and ~~that~~ <sup>ad to</sup> the <sup>alleged</sup> danger of a Republican depression, he indirectly accuses President Truman of conducting a campaign of fear.

President Truman charges that the Taft-Hartley law is a dangerous weapon in the hands of big corporations and that it <sup>rids</sup> impeis our democratic form of free labor. Governor Dewey himself has said little in defense of the Taft-Hartley law, but with his approval former Governor Stassen has stoutly defended the law.

President Truman has charged that the Republicans <sup>have</sup> special interests and big business, that the 80<sup>th</sup> Congress passed an unsound tax bill which gives undue relief to the rich and promises to balance the budget this year. Governor Dewey has not

specifically defended the Knutson tax bill but he has talked of sound government finance and a realistic fiscal policy, and of the fair treatment of all.

Now, I think it is extremely fortunate that both candidates, both President Truman and Governor Dewey, have refrained from taking any undue partisan advantage over the conduct of our foreign affairs. In the midst of a world crisis, particularly in view of the grave crisis over Berlin and Western Europe now under discussion in the United Nations Security Council meeting in Paris, it is, indeed, risky business to bring the subject of foreign policy into a domestic contest. <sup>However,</sup> A discussion of a matter so important and vital as foreign affairs cannot safely be omitted from a campaign. This is true because world peace is the greatest issue facing our country. American voters have a right to know the views of both candidates for President upon this vital subject. We can take heart that both candidates have spoken upon this subject on a high level of statesmanship. ~~It, of course, is more difficult for Governor Dewey to do so than it is for President Truman whose responsibility it is now to make the policy.~~ Nevertheless, Governor Dewey measured up in this respect in his foreign affairs speech in Salt Lake City a few nights ago.