

TWO WEEKS from Tuesday we Americans go to the voting places to give our decision between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie. By this choice we shall further determine the destiny of our nation. From this choice there will be no appeal—save again, in due time, to us, the people. For this imperishable sovereignty, which is our great heritage and will be our great bequest to those who come after us, is the *only* American Way.

It happens in 1940, as in 1936 and the years between, the numerical preponderance of the press, with untrammelled freedom of utterance which has never been challenged and for reasons of conscience and conviction sufficient to its several owners, is aligned against Mr. Roosevelt. So for the most part it happens, and with similar franchise, are our great concentrations of wealth. From this coincidence it follows that the opponents of Mr. Roosevelt and of his political policies and actions, which we know as the New Deal, are able to be inordinately vocal.

Thus the clamor for Mr. Willkie, the Republican candidate, and the criticisms of Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal, add up to a towering volume—a volume that will be increased from now till election day by all the means of expression money can buy and partisanship recruit. No effort or expense will be spared in publicizing Republican attacks on the New Deal, and in celebrating the personality and views of Mr. Willkie.

All of which is fair enough, as our customs and privileges go, but the ends of democracy require something more—that, not merely a part, but the whole of the picture be placed before the people; that the argument shall not be one-sided in the press, in short, *that the case for Mr. Roosevelt also be stated.*

It is a splendid case. The Nashville Tennessean, the only major city newspaper in Tennessee supporting Mr. Roosevelt, is glad to state it before all the people of Tennessee.

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We were for Mr. Roosevelt in 1932, and in 1936, and we are for him now for a third term. Let us now have our say regarding the Third Term.

We have no affection for it and we have no fear of it. To us it is sufficient that in this country there can be no third term, just as there can be no first term or second term, unless the people will it; and we are not inclined to question that authority. We are a Democratic newspaper and we understand the term "democracy" to mean majority rule. Majority rule is a principle. We will take the principle and let those have the tradition who are inclined to put second things first.

We were for Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 because cotton was 5 cents a bushel, corn 25 cents a bushel, the banks were putting up their shutters, the people were disillusioned and facing hunger. It was obvious the people would not suffer bitter want with abundance all about them, that they would not and could not wait for our broken down economic machine to mend itself in its own sweet time. The issue was one of violent change or national debt. The New Deal stepped into the breach with Federal relief—and saved the capitalist system in America in which we have deepest confidence and which we believe must be preserved. It instituted long-overdue reforms which restored the faith of the people in that system. It moved boldly to strengthen the Federal government, when the people cried for a leadership it could call its own.

We supported Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 because his administration definitely had advanced the public welfare; because its measures had enabled the banks to take down their shutters and the wheels of American industry to turn again; because its conservation policies had given new hope to American agriculture and to this nation's economic future; because we had seen the first fruits of TVA and found them good; because labor had been affirmed in its rights; because the Social Security Law had answered the most urgent demand of our people, upon whom the scars of the Depression still were fresh—for a basic economic security.

And we supported him because the opposition, led by Mr. Landon, had nothing better to offer than a weakly diluted Old Deal, without inspiration or intelligent design.

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In 1940, from the start, we have supported Mr. Roosevelt for these reasons we have from experience, and because so plainly his now is the most trusted and trustworthy hand to guide this nation in the ugly pass to which the affairs of our world have come. This crisis began long before the armies began to march, before the squadrons of death were loosed in the skies. Mr. Roosevelt perceived and proclaimed it, rightly read its significance, its threat to all nations. Yet because he appealed, at Chicago, in 1937, for preparation in time, for a "quarantine" of the aggressor nations, he was assailed as a "war-monger" by those whose tongues still savored the sweet and deadly folly of appeasement.

The epithet is still heard, as scurrilous in its application now as then. It rolls loosely from the mouths of men who shouted down the warnings of Mr. Roosevelt in the beginning—

The Other Side

and who, in another breath, with shameless gall attempt to return it upon the President that our armaments are not instantly complete to the last firing pin.

We support Mr. Roosevelt because his grasp of these dire trends in the world has been accurate, because his sagacity has been shown, because, both before the outbreak of the conflagration and as long as a single hope of curbing its scope remained, he made every possible effort to preserve the peace—and because now he is making every possible effort to build high the defenses which alone can protect the peace in our nation and in the Western World.

This is not a time to confide the destiny of America to a tyro, to an unknown and unpredictable leadership. It is not a time when we can afford to depart from a national leadership which has proven its prescience, its deep understanding, its ability to move with firmness and decision in a shaken world—a rejection which could not but comfort Hitler.

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We support Mr. Roosevelt because of Mr. Cordell Hull; because of the mutual trust and the joint accomplishment of two such enlightened statesmen; because together they have known how to win and hold the friendship and respect of the other nations in our hemisphere, and thereby vastly strengthen all the portals of the West. And because of Mr. Jesse H. Jones, whose business acumen and solid judgment have been beside the President throughout his two administrations, and whose devotion and unselfishness in the service of the nation, with ever-increasing responsibilities, are fully recognized by the Congress and by the people.

We support Mr. Roosevelt because, with democratic freedom at stake, submerging all minor considerations, he has placed in charge of the national defense program two of the foremost American geniuses of industrial production, Mr. William S. Knudsen, former president of General Motors, and Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the board, U. S. Steel Corporation, who have brought together men of like capacity to aid them in their vital task; because he has chosen heads for both arms of the American defense forces with the absolute nonpartisanship a national emergency requires—placing the War Department under Mr. Henry L. Stimson, twice a cabinet member in Republican administrations, and the Navy Department under Colonel Frank Knox, Republican nominee for Vice-President in 1936; because at the same time he has taken steps to guard the interests of workers and consumers; and because his continuance in the Presidency is the best assurance we can have that the essential social reforms of the past decade, now being perfected in interpretation and administration, shall not be sabotaged in the name of national emergency:

Because, in striving ceaselessly to "make democracy work," Mr. Roosevelt has enabled democracy to hold its head high and proud in an era of totalitarian arrogance and totalitarian presumption; and because, after eight years of strenuous service of the American people, during which time he has been the target of every detraction the ingenuity of powerful enemies at home and slaving dictators abroad could invent, he continues to hold the confidence and the affection of the masses of the American people.

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We doubly mark the importance of this last, because the people of our nation are not for Mr. Roosevelt irrationally. They have witnessed and experienced the works of his administration. We respect their perceptions and their judgment.

In the popular support of Mr. Roosevelt there is comparatively little of the idolatry some profess to discern everywhere. There is no considerable fanaticism for the New Deal. Rather there is an eager partisanship based on admiration and approval of intelligent social effort, an effort which has not been faultless, but which has been dynamic, humane, constructive and inspirational.

The great masses of our people have been conscious of active participation in this effort. They have been able to appre-

ciate its purpose for the general welfare. They have been able to watch—and to be—democracy at work.

They wish to assure themselves that this effort shall continue. They have the blessed arrogance to presume they know best who best will serve that end.

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The alternative to Mr. Roosevelt is Mr. Willkie.

Mr. Willkie is a good American. A patriot; a sincere and able man. As the policy-head of a far-flung electric power business he was successful. He made his mark upon the times.

He made himself the darling of the great utility interests by fighting TVA from Dan even to Beersheba. In many salient things the TVA is the finest of all the conservation works ever launched by the American people. Yet its enemies are potent and persistent, biding their time; and none can doubt that Mr. Willkie, who was their champion, is now their hope.

Until his desperate nomination at Philadelphia, his fight upon TVA was Mr. Willkie's single claim to note.

Since that time, as a candidate before the American people for their tremendous, many-sided job of the Presidency, he has failed to reveal real qualities of statesmanship, which previously might have lain dormant in him. His thought, as he has given it to us in platitude after platitude, is not compelling. He has taken the absurd position of commending the New Deal in its works while berating the spirit which informs it. He has chiefly quarrelled about how, and by whom, it was done. Campaigning across the country, in section after section he has sought, artfully but unconvincingly, to be all things to all men; he has not hesitated to promise the moon—with frills; on occasion he has stooped to the most stupid bombast.

Sometimes, hearing and reading his speeches, we have been unable to suppress a feeling that Mr. Willkie is a more capable man than he appears. It has been hard for us to believe our ears; to recognize in the speaker the classic figure his own reputation as a businessman and the lavish tidings of the press agents had created. Sometimes we have wondered if Mr. Willkie himself does not realize how seriously he has been miscast.

We give Mr. Willkie simple credit for trying. When we attempt to compare him, on the basis of his campaign, with the man he seeks to replace, we arrive at a contrast by which Mr. Willkie definitely is not advantaged.

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When Mr. Willkie advocates all aid short of war to the beleaguered democracies, and in the next breath accuses Mr. Roosevelt of leading us into war by that route, we see no light. All Mr. Willkie has handed us is a contradiction.

When Mr. Willkie charges Mr. Roosevelt with a desire to become a "dictator" himself, we hear an echo of the Chicago Tribune's silly trumpeting of four years ago, and nothing more. He is imputing a base motive without evidence or likelihood.

Likewise, when the 1940 Republican candidate wraps himself in another discredited motley of the '36 campaign and proclaims a "crusade to save the American way of life," we marvel at his unoriginality, his blatancy and his confusion. The American Way is the way Americans find it best to live from generation to generation, from era to era.

For eight years, having learned their greatest lesson from their greatest economic collapse, the feet of the American people have been firm in an upward way—the lustrous way charted in our Federal Constitution, of common effort for the general welfare, of adjustments achieved by the will and action of an elected Congress—as all those of the New Deal have been. Mr. Willkie's alarms will not alarm. His heralded jihad will not jell.

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In stating the case for Mr. Roosevelt we realize we can echo only a part of the ample realization that is in the hearts and minds of most of the people. Mr. Roosevelt has proved himself the "friend of the people" in the great historical sense, in the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln, and like them he has never let the people down. In the world today he is the outstanding apostle and defender of democracy, whose everlasting goal is the welfare of the many as opposed to the special privilege of the few.

It has not been our purpose to attempt a cold, clinical analysis of the two major party candidates for the Presidency and dump the results into the technician's scales. Our support of Mr. Roosevelt is positive; our appreciation of him is human. The steadfastness of our partisanship has been reasoned over the years of his leadership of the Democratic party, charged with the responsibility of the Federal government in trying times for our nation and for the world. As we measure him by the yardstick of the democratic ideal he has not been found wanting.

As we view the position of America in the social and political crisis which shakes the world, and consider the guidance to which our national destiny may be confided with greatest security, our reason and our inclination hold us with Roosevelt.

He is our candidate. And he is the certain choice of the American people whose love, when given, is a brevet of faith, and whose reverence, we may be sure, rests only where it has been deserved.

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

SILLIMAN EVANS, President and Publisher

This statement, in space purchased by The Nashville Tennessean, is appearing today in all Sunday newspapers in Tennessee