

WARREN TACTIC: 'UNPARTISANSHIP'

As Politician, He Looked on
Himself as Independent

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When Earl Warren was waging his campaigns for Governor of California, the word in the West was that nobody was for him except the voters.

President Truman said of Mr. Warren in 1948, the year he was the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, that he "is really a Democrat and doesn't know it."

As a politician and office seeker, he practiced a brand of politics that won the governorship of California three times, a record, despite discord in his own party and the rumblings of Democratic leaders that he often stole their programs.

A clue to what some of his party leaders called "unpartisanship" may be found in his announcement of his candidacy for governor in 1942.

"I am a Republican," he said, "But I shall seek the support of both parties. I can do this honorably because I am an independent, and therefore in a position to serve the people fairly, regardless of their politics or mine."

Mr. Warren followed the bipartisan pattern laid down early by California's Governor and Senator, Hiram Johnson, who laid out bipartisanship as an answer to the state's chronic political eccentricities.

Gladwin Hill, chief of the Los Angeles bureau of The New York Times, pointed up Mr. Warren's use of the Johnson approach in a new book "Dancing Bear," on California's political waywardness.

"In exploiting and cultivating California's tendencies toward 'independent' voting, he [Mr. Warren] gave nonpartisanship a new dimension and he set a pattern to which succeeding eras of both politicians and voters were impelled to pay tacit if not explicit homage," Mr. Hill wrote.

Mr. Warren won a first term as governor in 1942 by carrying every county to defeat the incumbent, Culbert Olson, a Democrat, by 342,000 votes. He won re-election in 1942 and 1946. Previously, he had served as state attorney general, winning election with the same bipartisan appeal and his war on racketeering.

Kept Campaign Promises

As governor, he kept his campaign promises of independence and reached into both parties for appointees to state offices and even into the non-political ranks of Civil Service.

Among his first acts was elimination of the spoils system from the Department of Public Works. He reorganized the Department of Industrial Claims to speed disposition of Workmen's Compensation accident claims. He reduced the state sales tax and raised old age pensions.

He also widened the coverage of unemployment insurance and got money for child care centers. He anticipated the post-World War II spasm of population growth and set up special funds for more schools, highways and other needs.

Mr. Warren suffered some defeats as governor, however, on social betterment programs. The Legislature repeatedly blocked his old-age medical care program. He also ran into repeated opposition from conservative Republicans who cried "welfare statism" as the governor sought to keep unemployment, pension and welfare benefits abreast of rising living costs.

He also lost on getting a fair employment practices commission. These defeats served to emphasize his cleavage with the Old Guard of the party and to promote what he labeled "progressive conservatism."

Defended Internment Camps

As State Attorney General at the outbreak of World War II, he was the principal author of the Sabotage Prevention Act and defended the constitutionality of the military in sending Japanese-Americans and Japanese in the state to detention camps. He held that the state had no power of internment, but that the military could exert such power.

His position drew widespread criticism, but he enjoyed greater support and continued to warn against sabotage and treachery after being elected governor.

The Chief Justice has never said publicly how he now feels about his part in the Japanese evacuation, but he has been quoted as telling one state official, "How can I say it was wrong when we were all for it when it took place?"

In June 1944 Mr. Warren was temporary chairman of the Republican convention and its keynoter. He headed the California delegation as a "favorite son" but released the delegation to former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, who was nominated for President.

Mr. Dewey urged Mr. Warren to seek the Vice-Presidential nomination but he declined the offer he was to accept in 1948. The defeat of the Dewey-Warren ticket by President Truman in 1948 sorely hurt Mr. Warren, but even within his own family he refused to criticize Mr. Dewey's campaign direction. However, late in the campaign, he told a friend that "Mr. Truman appears to be getting through to the people."

Mr. Warren was an active candidate for the Presidency in

1952 but lost out in the struggle between President Eisenhower and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

He held the California delegation despite maneuvering by Richard M. Nixon and his followers to break the delegation and assure Mr. Nixon of the Vice-Presidential nod, which he

eventually got from General Eisenhower.

Again, Mr. Warren was sorely disappointed, but he never publicly said what he thought about Mr. Nixon and his infighting. Once, however, he commented to a friend that "Nixon plays for keeps but his keeps are for himself."