

The Two Key Groups—Farmers and Negroes—Disappointed by the President's Program

The Chances Are That Eisenhower Will Not Run

Will the President run again? The question is so fascinating that the eager microscopic analyses of the experts tend to overlook the obvious. Mr. Eisenhower said on leaving Key West, "it is not merely . . . what the doctors say to me" and went on to stress the danger of something "untoward" happening when there is an unexpected change in the Presidency. This means that he, rather than the doctors, will make his decision and that he will not run if he fears he cannot survive another term. My guess is that he will not run, and that he will be swayed by the thought that he can still exercise a beneficial influence from outside the White House in the cause of peace.

Whom will the Republicans run? There is general agreement here that they can win only with Warren. If Warren cannot be prevailed upon to run, the Eastern seaboard Eisenhower Republicans will pick a "liberal" Republican and garnish him with the name of Eisenhower by putting the President's brother, Milton, into the second place. Among the "dark horse" possibilities, Governor Knight of California has the advantage of labor support, of being in the Warren image, and of undercutting Knowland. Governor Stratton of Illinois might draw votes in that key state from Adlai Stevenson. Herter of Massachusetts and Stassen are also hopeful. As for Nixon, it is recognized that his nomination would be a party disaster.

How does the State of the Union Message affect the political outlook? Very poorly for the Republicans. The only issues at the moment that count decisively in the political scales are domestic, and both are minority issues—farm relief and Negro rights. The message was disappointing to both the farmers and the Negroes. The best barometer of farm opinion was the disappointed reaction of Congressman Hope, Republican, Kansas, former chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, "I am sorry that there is nothing in the message which holds out any hope of increased farm income for 1956 when farmers need it so badly."

What of the Negro? Like every other minority trying to change its status, he finds both parties playing to the (white) majority. (In this respect his position is like that of Israel, which finds both East and West playing for the favor of the Arab majority). All Eisenhower offered to meet the situation "in some [localities] where allegations persist" (Are the Mississippi murders mere allegations?) that Negro rights are being violated is a commission of inquiry to be "created by the Congress." This is double buck-passing, (1) to a commission and (2) to Congress. The Republicans, if they were willing to drop the new millionaires of Texas, might win an election by a bold civil rights program, for the Negro vote holds

Toynbee on the German Problem

Even Senator George on "Reporters' Roundup" (MBS) last Monday night parroted the State Department nonsense about Geneva having "proved" that there could be no reunification of Germany "except on Russian terms." Compare this American "party line" rubbish with the considered opinion of the conservative historian Toynbee in *Colliers* (Jan. 20):

"Germany can be reunited only by the common consent of Russia and the West, and surely it is evident now that the only condition on which we shall be able to agree on the reestablishment of a power that is potentially so formidable is a self-denying ordinance by which we give one another a mutual pledge not to admit Germany into either camp. It would allay both Russian and West European fears."

the balance of power in several key States. But there is no sign of such a program.

Where can the Negro turn? The furthest that Adlai Stevenson would venture when asked about the commission idea on "Face The Nation" last Sunday was a sideswipe at Brownell. "I should imagine," Stevenson said, "the agencies at the command of the Attorney General are quite sufficient to determine the facts, if that is all this commission is intended to do." Then he added, "Maybe the commission is intended to investigate the Attorney General. If so, I would say that I would defer to the President's greater wisdom." An essential bipartisan indifference leaves the Negro little choice between the two parties. This means the Democrats will continue to get most of his vote in the North, as the party more favorable to the poorer elements.

Will peace play no role in the election? Only vaguely. The most encouraging poll of the week was Gallup's survey of Republican county chairman (published January 6) which showed that of 2,853 polled and 1,683 who answered, the largest number, 1,170, said "peace" was the strongest argument their party could use against the Democrats. (Only 186 cited "the Republican record" and nobody seems to have cited the supposed "cleaning out of Communists" from the government). But "peace" still seems to mean Korea, for only 70 mentioned "foreign policy" and there is no sign that the Democrats are prepared to exploit the peace sentiment by taking the offensive against the Republicans on foreign policy. The liberal democrats are pressing for higher military expenditures and the conservative Democrats for lower foreign aid. And nobody, but nobody, criticizes H-bomb policy. The Bomb is our national totem, and talk of it is taboo.

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1/16/56

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