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Capitol Doubts Ike, With Nixon, Can Now Beat Adlai

The Republicans hope to whip up a bandwagon psychology behind Eisenhower's announcement he will run again. But there is a new air of confidence around Democratic headquarters here in Washington. Privately the Republicans are far from being as sure as they sound in public. Newspaper correspondents and political analysts are beginning to doubt that Eisenhower, if he runs with Nixon, can now defeat Stevenson.

Reactions from home to Congressmen indicate the White House press staff and its medical entourage were too clever in their "better than ever" line. Few people can be expected to believe that Eisenhower's chances of surviving a second term have been improved by a heart attack and an ileitis operation. Silliest journalism of the week was David Lawrence's "third term" boom for Ike; presumably Lawrence expects one more serious illness to make the President "even more fit" by 1960.

The latest Roper poll, the day before the President's announcement, showed 7 percent less inclined to vote for Eisenhower since his operation; many elections have been lost on much less than 7 percent. It was a bad blow for the GOP when *Time's* medicine department (July 16) admitted insurance actuaries figure a heart attack cuts life expectancy at least one-third and that in half the ileitis cases there is a relapse in five years. Add to this the *Newsweek* survey (June 25) which

reported that Eisenhower's illness had tightened the presidential race in 30 States with 309 of the 531 electoral votes, and that "Nixon is the reason in 23 States," including his native California. (*Newsweek* must have leaned over backwards to be fair to Nixon because it listed New York as one State where Nixon's running would not be a factor!)

Those who know Knowland's warm dislike of Nixon guess that what really made him happy at Gettysburg was to be able to tell the reporters that the Vice Presidential nomination was not discussed. Officially the statement of April 26 still stands. Eisenhower was then "delighted" to hear that Nixon was willing to run with him. Nobody has had the temerity to ask whether he would be equally "delighted" if Nixon suddenly decided to take a year off and catch up on some of those good books he hasn't been reading lately. While Hagerty deadpans the Nixon question in public, White House aides in private have fed several newsmen the idea that maybe it would be logical if Sherman Adams—who has been doing most of the work anyway—were put into the No. 2 post, ready to step into Ike's shoes. Others hope all that foreign touring will make Nixon realize how much fun it would be to become Secretary of State, and be a big man like John Foster Dulles. These wistful day-dreams have made Nixon's friends apprehensive.

Bipartisan Pusillanimity

This is going to be a difficult election in which to make up one's mind. The bankruptcy of the better elements in both parties was demonstrated here again last week in the collapse of the Eisenhower forces and the Democratic leadership on the loyalty-security issue. The Supreme Court's decision in the Cole case and the report released by the New York Bar Association's special committee offered safe auspices for the beginnings of a return to sanity. The Court, speaking through an Eisenhower appointee, Harlan, and the Bar Association through a most respectable and non-controversial if not downright stuffy group of leading lawyers, would cut the security program down to 1,500,000 employees in sensitive agencies. But though the security mania has gone beyond all bounds and this is a chance to make a stand, neither party leadership has the courage. The Administration has knuckled under to the drive for the Walter bill in the House and the companion Eastland-Mundt-McCarthy measures in the Senate. These would blanket the entire Civil Service under the summary suspension procedure of the 1950 Act.

The rest of the Civil Service would still be subject to legislation which makes it a crime for a Communist to work or to seek employment in the government. The reason for the near-hysterical campaign of misrepresentation indulged in by the Civil Service Commission is that under the Cole decision em-

ployes in non-sensitive positions would have to be given some semblance of a hearing and statement of charges. Passage of the Walter-Eastland legislation would make it possible to fire anyone in the government without telling him why he was being fired. From a practical political point of view in this fetid atmosphere, the easiest way to block the Walter bill would be to support the Rees bill. This would reestablish a system of loyalty boards with some semblance of trial procedure for non-sensitive positions. But the "reactionary" Rees of Kansas has been unable to muster any support from the liberals in either the House or Senate, and the labor movement is too frightened or indifferent to take a hand. The Tennessee Democrat, Murray, who heads the House Post Office and Civil Service Commission is a bush league Eastland. The only hope is that the legislation may get lost in the rush before adjournment.

I read the full text of the Bar Association report in New York, and found it highly overrated and disappointing. Examined carefully the recommendations would still leave the accused employe with no rights of subpoena, defense or confrontation except those the hearing boards and the FBI choose to give him. The investigation made by the bar committee was cautious and superficial. This whole novel area of quasi-crime, dealing with the probability of future misconduct, a kind of

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How Sherman Adams Set Up Clio in A White House Hideaway . . .

I

Robert J. Donovan's "Eisenhower: The Inside Story" resembles those reports on the loyalty of Federal employees turned in by the FBI. It throws together the trivial and the momentous, the dubious and the true, without evaluation or perspective, in the prose style of an overworked investigator slapping it all down before he can be interrupted by a bank robbery. The Donovan report differs, however, in one respect from Washington's most famous cold war literary form. It contains no derogatory information.

The jacket blurb says that for the first time in history "an administration while still in office has permitted a distinguished journalist to compile an authentic, independent account of its conduct of affairs of state." But the closest Donovan ever comes to criticism of Eisenhower is when Senator Lister Hill discovers that Adolphe H. Wenzell of First Boston Corporation, financial agent for Dixon-Yates, had also been acting secretly as consultant to the Budget Bureau in preparing the government contract with his clients.

On the heels of this discovery, Eisenhower told the press Wenzell had "no connection at all with Dixon-Yates"; Haggerty had to "amplify" this blooper by saying that Wenzell had only given the Budget Bureau "technical advice" on the Dixon-Yates contract; and Budget Director Hughes had to spoil it all by testifying that Eisenhower knew all about Wenzell, "In fact he approved him before we got him down here. . . ." At this point in the story, Donovan's equanimity gives way and he sternly comments, "Things were mixed up for fair."

A Discreet and Cozy Bower

This sample shows Sherman Adams did not act recklessly last summer when he picked the White House correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, the country's leading pro-Eisenhower Republican paper, to prepare an election year account of the Eisenhower Administration. With New England caution, Adams also had him investigated by the FBI, and given a "Q" clearance. Thus certified as free from political impurity, Mr. Donovan was provided by the White House with an office and allowed access to its files, some of them anyway. In this cozy bower the Muse of History could not help becoming Sherman Adams's kept woman.

The by-blow of this summer romance is no Thucydides. But it is revealing. The Cabinet meeting minutes from which Donovan excerpts so fully and incautiously are often gems of

Mrs. Hobby and The Daily Worker

"When the [security] program was next discussed in the Cabinet on November 12, 1953, Mrs. Hobby complained that too much trivia sometimes appeared in the case reports of security officers. . . . In particular she cited statements such as that the person under investigation read the Daily Worker. Many people have to read the Worker as part of their jobs, she said."

—Robert J. Donovan: *The Inside Story*, p. 289.

unconscious humor. Here, for example, is a bit from the discussion which took place after Eisenhower read his Cabinet the first draft of his inaugural address. It deserves extended quotation as an early and intimate glimpse of the Administration's foremost minds at work. It shows Charlie Wilson's enthusiasm, John Foster Dulles's emphasis on the spiritual side of things, and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.'s gift for incisive analysis. The President had just finished:

"You flew the flag" Wilson exclaimed. 'It was wonderful.'

"Dulles expressed his own concern that too much emphasis in the address was placed upon economics.

"But we must remember also today," Eisenhower countered, 'that unless we can put things in the hands of people

Brownell Hints at Secret Evidence on Rosenbergs

"The Attorney General [at a Cabinet meeting called to consider whether clemency should be granted the Rosenbergs] said that information which corroborated the guilt of the Rosenbergs was in possession of the government but that it could not have been used in the trial." —Robert J. Donovan: *The Inside Story*, p. 65.

who are starving to death, we can never lick Communism.'

"A picture he got of China, he said, was one of claws reaching out to grab anyone who looked as though he had five cents.

"I am convinced that we have got to do something about production," he said. 'Maybe I am wrong.'

It's Those Intellectuals Who Cause Trouble

"In India today," Dulles pointed out, 'the great peril of Communism comes from the intellectual centers.'

"The next to express his views was former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., who was to become the chief of the U. S. mission to the United Nations and who would, in that capacity, regularly attend meetings of the Cabinet. He objected to a reference to Moscow in the current draft as having been the center of autocracy and as being presently the center of revolution. Lodge felt that this implied that autocracy no longer reigned in Moscow, and beside, he said, lots of down-trodden people in the world would like to have a revolution.

"Despotism?" the President suggested. 'You are right.'

"If you give us a flip from autocracy to despotism," Wilson told [Emmet] Hughes [former *Life* editor, who had been hired as ghost writer], 'it would be better.'

"Finally, the passage was flipped out of the address altogether."

Even a Hollywood story conference is not more remorseless in its search for *le mot juste*.

II

In dealing with military matters, the President is down to earth but the Cabinet minutes show him starry-eyed in civilian affairs. During the review of the first State of the Union message, "Eisenhower declared that he wanted to work in . . . a strong passage about free enterprise which would help counteract the tendency, he said, of newspaper columnists to regard it as something opposed to humanitarianism and inimical to labor." Donovan's researches did not carry him far enough to discover where Ike learned that the papers were full of columns hostile to free enterprise.

Sometimes this idealism was too much for the President's closest associates. Preparing to address the Future Farmers of America, Eisenhower "wanted to deliver a purely inspirational type of address to the young farmers. That was what most youths would be interested in, he argued. . . . The President was stubborn but they finally persuaded him that young men and women on the farm have a lively interest in government agricultural policies. So he pitched in and defended Benson against his critics. . . ." It may be that in this case the President should have stuck to the inspirational.

Though the President attacked "creeping socialism," socialists seem to have no difficulty in creeping up on him. After a talk with Walter Reuther, Eisenhower informed the Cabinet he was impressed and "had detected none of the socialistic views he had heard attributed to Mr. Reuther." Norman Thomas was even more successful.

Ike and Dulles Clash

Norman Thomas called to protest Scott McLeod's statement that he would never clear a Socialist for a policy-making job. Eisenhower assured Thomas he had no doubt about the loyalty of Socialists. "Dulles," Donovan relates, "reminded the President that the Socialist Party platform had a