

Editorial
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THE FOLLOWING EDITORIAL IS BEING PUBLISHED IN THIS SUNDAY'S EDITIONS OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE:

(EISENHOWER OR STEVENSON?):

AT THIS POINT IN THE CAMPAIGN THE CANDIDATES HAVE A FEW SPEECHES STILL TO DELIVER, BUT FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES THE VOTERS HAVE BEFORE THEM THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH THEY MUST FORM THEIR VERDICT. OUR ADVICE TO THEM, IF THEY WISH IT, IS TO VOTE FOR GEN. EISENHOWER.

WE MAKE THIS RECOMMENDATION WITH RELUCTANCE, AS OUR READERS MUST BE AWARE. AS WE HAVE SAID BEFORE AND SINCE HIS NOMINATION, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GENERAL IS WELL EQUIPPED FOR THE PRESIDENCY. WE DOUBT THAT HIS EXPERIENCE AS A MILITARY LEADER HAS QUALIFIED HIM FOR THE VERY DIFFERENT TASKS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. HE KNOWS AND HAS THOUGHT FAR LESS ABOUT DOMESTIC QUESTIONS THAN A PROSPECTIVE PRESIDENT SHOULD. HIS CONCEPTS OF THE PROPER ROLE OF AMERICA IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS SEEMS TO US TO BE MISTAKE, GENERALLY TO BE INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM THOSE OF THE NEW DEAL, AND TO INVITE WHOLLY AVOIDABLE DIFFICULTIES AND PERHAPS EVEN DISASTERS. THE 21,000 AMERICAN LIVES SNUFFED OUT IN KOREA AND THE SIZE OF YOUR TAX BILL MEASURE THE RISKS OF THE FOREIGN MEDDLING TO WHICH HE IS APPARENTLY COMMITTED.

IN THE COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN GEN. EISENHOWER HAS SHOWN A DISPOSITION TO TRIM AND TO WAVER. HE FOUND IT POSSIBLE TO TELL THE DELEGATES TO THE A.F. OF L. CONVENTION THE UNTRUTH THAT THE TAFT LAW COULD BE USED AS A UNION BUSTING MEASURE, AND HIS DEFENSE OF THE LAW IN OTHER PARTICULARS WAS ABOUT AS WEAK AS IT COULD BE. HE SPOKE THE LANGUAGE OF MIDDLE WESTERN REPUBLICANS WHEN HE WAS TOURING THE MIDDLE WEST, BUT WHEN HE GOT BACK EAST, AT NEWARK, N.J., HE DENOUNCED THE MCCARRAN IMMIGRATION LAW, PASSED OVER MR. TRUMAN'S VETO, AND GAVE VERY MUCH THE KIND OF "ME, TOO" PERFORMANCE THAT MR. DEWEY STAGED FOUR YEARS AGO.

AND EVEN THIS DOES NOT TELL THE WHOLE STORY. IT CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT GEN. EISENHOWER WON THE NOMINATION THRU THE INTRIGUE OF THE DEWEY-LODGE WING OF REPUBLICANS AND IT IS LIKELY THAT HE WILL REMAIN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THIS GROUP IF HE IS ELECTED.

THE REPUBLICAN MINORITY IN CONGRESS HAS BEEN FAIRLY WELL UNITED IN RECENT YEARS IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW DEAL MEASURES AND HAS OFTEN BEEN ABLE, IN COMBINATION WITH CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS, TO DEFEAT OR TEMPER THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS. IF GEN. EISENHOWER AS PRESIDENT SHOULD THROW THE PRESTIGE OF HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP AND HIS POWER OF PATRONAGE INTO THE SCALES ON BEHALF OF NEW DEALISH MEASURES, AS MR. DEWEY AND MR. LODGE WILL SURELY ENCOURAGE HIM TO DO, THE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM WOULD BE WEAKENED.

IT IS RELATIVELY EASY FOR A CONGRESSMAN TO RESIST THE WISHES OF A PRESIDENT OF THE OPPOSING PARTY AND MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO VOTE AGAINST A PRESIDENT OF HIS OWN PARTY.

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WITH ALL THIS IN MIND, IT MIGHT SEEM REASONABLE TO CONCLUDE THAT ALMOST ANYBODY WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO GEN. EISENHOWER. UNFORTUNATELY, ALMOST ANYBODY IS NOT THE OPPOSING CANDIDATE, AND ADLAI STEVENSON IS.

MR. STEVENSON DIFFERS FROM GEN. EISENHOWER IN BEING A HIGHLY ARTICULATE MAN WITH A CONSIDERABLE FLAIR FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING. MANY OF HIS ADMIRERS HAVE JUMPED TO THE CONCLUSION THAT HE HAS A STATESMAN'S FORESIGHT AND THE TALENTS OF A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR.

NEITHER JUDGMENT IS MERITED, MR. STEVENSON, AS GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, HAS DISCLOSED ONLY MEDIOCRE TALENTS. THE CIGARET TAX SCANDAL, THE HORSEMEAT SCANDAL, THE NEW ORIENT MINE DISASTER, ALL MEASURE HIS LIMITATIONS. HIS OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT WAS HIS CAPTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION BY PLAYING HARD TO GET. HE WON NOT BECAUSE HE HAD PROVED HIS FITNESS FOR THE OFFICE BUT BECAUSE HE WAS THE FIRST CHOICE OF THE LABOR AND THE BIG CITY BOSSES AND THE SECOND CHOICE OF THE SOUTHERNERS. HIS POSE OF RELUCTANCE TO BECOME A CANDIDATE SPARED HIM THE NECESSITY OF DECLARING HIMSELF ON ANY ISSUE WHICH MIGHT HAVE EMBARRASSED HIM IN THE CONVENTION.

VERY SOON AFTER HIS NOMINATION HE DECIDED THAT HE COULD HOLD THE SOUTHERN STATES--OR MOST OF THEM--WITHOUT COMMITTING HIMSELF TO ANYTHING THAT MIGHT COST HIM THE SUPPORT OF LABOR. HE KNEW THAT THE CORRUPT BIG CITY MACHINES WOULD GO ALONG WITH HIM BECAUSE THEY HAD NO PLACE ELSE TO GO. TO THE LABOR BOSSES, HOWEVER, HE HAS MADE THE DEEPEST OBEISANCE. HE HAD CLEARLY EXPRESSED HIS OPINION THAT THE TAFT LAW WAS SATISFACTORY IN THE MAIN, BUT ONCE THE NOMINATION WAS IN HIS HANDS HE CAME OUT FOR REPEAL. THE TAFT LAW, HE SAID, MUST GO. THAT WAS WHAT THE LABOR CZARS WANTED HIM TO SAY AND HE BARED NOT OFFEND THEM.

IN THIS, AS IN ALL OTHER SIGNIFICANT MATTERS, HE PROCLAIMED HIMSELF A TRUMANITE. HE HAS FOUND NO FAULT WITH THE TRUMAN RECORD, ON DOMESTIC QUESTIONS HE WILL BE NO BETTER THAN MR. TRUMAN, AND ON FOREIGN POLICY HE WILL BE WORSE BECAUSE HE REALLY BELIEVES IN THE ACHESON GIVEAWAY PROGRAM AND IN THE MULTIPLICATION OF AMERICAN COMMITMENTS TO WAR EVERYWHERE.

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MR. STEVENSON WAS A EUROPE FIRSTER WHEN MR. TRUMAN WAS WHAT IS CALLED A MIDDLE WESTERN ISOLATIONIST. THE GOVERNOR WAS AN ACHESONITE BEFORE ACHESON. HE WENT TO WASHINGTON WITH FRANK KNOX BECAUSE, LIKE KNOX, HE WAS BENT ON INTERVENTION IN THE EUROPEAN WAR. MR. STEVENSON CAN HARDLY BE SO SIMPLE AS TO BE SINCERE IN HIS FANTASTIC CLAIMS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AS THE FOUNTAIN OF PROSPERITY, BUT ON FOREIGN POLICY HE IS WHOLLY SINCERE. WE KNOW THIS BECAUSE ON FOREIGN POLICY HIS RECORD IS ALTOGETHER CONSISTENT.

ACCORDINGLY, UNDER A STEVENSON ADMINISTRATION NOT FEWER KOREAS BUT MORE OF THEM ARE TO BE EXPECTED; NOT FEWER CASUALTIES BUT MORE OF THEM; NOT LOWER TAXES BUT HIGHER TAXES TO PROVIDE THE ARMS FOR HIS WARS AND HIS GIFTS TO UNRELIABLE ALLIES; NOT FEWER COMMITMENTS TO FUTURE WARS BUT MORE COMMITMENTS. NOTHING CAN MAKE HIM SKEPTICAL OF THE THEORY OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY OR OF THE UNITED NATIONS. ON THESE MATTERS HIS MIND IS CLOSED. WE KNOW THIS BECAUSE IF HE WERE CAPABLE OF REEXAMINING HIS OPINIONS ON THESE MATTERS EVENTS LONG AGO WOULD HAVE FORCED HIM TO DO SO.

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GEN. EISENHOWER'S COMMITMENT TO FOLLY IS NOT SO IRREVOCABLE. HE HAS, FROM TIME TO TIME, EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE POLICIES PURSUED IN EUROPE AND ASIA. HE HAS BEEN OPENLY CRITICAL OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND OF THE DECISIONS WHICH TOOK US INTO THE WAR IN KOREA.

GEN. EISENHOWER HAS LEARNED ENOUGH ABOUT THE CRUSHING BURDENS OF TAXES AND ABOUT THE INFLATIONARY THREAT IN GOVERNMENT DEFICITS TO ACCEPT WITHOUT QUALIFICATION MR. TAFT'S FORMULA OF A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL EXPENSES IN HIS FIRST YEAR TO BALANCE THE REVENUE AND A 10 BILLION DOLLAR CUT IN TAXES IN THE SECOND YEAR. TO THAT GEN. EISENHOWER IS COMMITTED AS DEFINITELY AS A MAN CAN BE COMMITTED TO ANYTHING; AND OF THAT MR. STEVENSON HAS ONLY THE SCORN WHICH A ZEALOT FOR UNLIMITED INTERVENTION ABROAD CAN HAVE FOR ANYONE WHO QUESTIONS ITS COST OR IT'S WISDOM.

MR. STEVENSON IS THE LABOR BOSSES' CANDIDATE. IF HE WINS IT WILL BE BECAUSE OF THE MONEY HE HAS GOT FOR HIS CAMPAIGN FROM LABOR SOURCES AND BECAUSE OF THE VOTES THAT THE LABOR BOSSES WERE ABLE TO DELIVER TO HIM. THESE LABOR BOSSES ARE SOCIALISTS. THEY WISH TO HAVE THE POWER OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON THEIR SIDE IN EVERY CONTRACT NEGOTIATION, REGARDLESS OF THE INJURY THIS MAY DO TO THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY; AND, BEYOND THIS, THEY WISH THE GOVERNMENT MORE AND MORE TO CONTROL THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NATION.

GEN. EISENHOWER IS NO SOCIALIST. MR. STEVENSON CAN SEE NO SOCIALISM IN ANYTHING THE NEW DEAL HAS DONE BY WAY OF RIGGING PRICES, SEIZING INDUSTRIAL PLANTS, GOING INTO THE POWER BUSINESS, PROMOTING SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, OR ANYTHING ELSE. MR. STEVENSON, WHO CAN SEE NO SOCIALISM IN THE NEW DEAL, IS THE IDEAL CANDIDATE TO PROMOTE THE DESIGNS OF HIS BACKERS, REUTHER, MURRAY, AND THE OTHER LABOR BOSSES. THEIR AIM IS A LABOR GOVERNMENT, AS SOCIALIST AS THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND UNDER ITS LABOR PARTY.

UNDER NEW DEAL PRESIDENTS, GREAT STEPS TOWARD THE SOCIALIST GOAL HAVE BEEN TAKEN AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN REACHED EXCEPT FOR RESISTANCE IN CONGRESS. PERHAPS THE STRONGEST OF ARGUMENTS FOR GEN. EISENHOWER'S ELECTION IS THE PROBABILITY THAT IT WILL CARRY WITH IT A STRENGTHENING OF THE ANTI-SOCIALIST, REPUBLICAN VOICE IN CONGRESS. THE BIGGER THE VOTE FOR EISENHOWER, THE BETTER THE CHANCES OF ELECTION FOR REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES. CONVERSELY, THE BIGGER THE VOTE FOR STEVENSON, THE WORSE IT WILL BE FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ALONG THE LINE.

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WE HAVE NOT CONCEALED OUR MISGIVINGS ABOUT GEN. EISENHOWER AND THOSE WHO ARE CLOSEST TO HIM POLITICALLY, BUT WHATEVER THEIR FAULTS, THEY CANNOT GIVE THE COUNTRY AS DAMAGING AN ADMINISTRATION AS IS TO BE EXPECTED OF MR. STEVENSON SHOULD HE BE ELECTED. HE HAS ONLY WORDS OF PRAISE FOR MR. TRUMAN. MR. STEVENSON WILL FIND IT HARD TO OUST MR. TRUMAN'S CRONIES AND EVEN HARDER TO MODIFY THE POLICIES OF HIS PARTY THAT HAVE BROUGHT US THREE WARS AND THREE INFLATIONS. GEN. EISENHOWER WILL BE FREE OF THESE CONTAMINATIONS.

IN SHORT, THO GEN. EISENHOWER IS FAR FROM AN IDEAL CANDIDATE AND THO HE IS INDEBTED TO THE UNDESIRABLE ELEMENT IN HIS PARTY, HE IS TO BE PREFERRED TO GOV. STEVENSON WHOSE ATTITUDES ARE FAR MORE PERNICIOUS AND WHOSE DEPENDENCE IS ON EVEN LESS DESIRABLE ELEMENTS IN HIS PARTY.

THE WORST THAT CAN BE SAID OF GEN. EISENHOWER IS THAT IN SOME PARTICULARS HE IS NO IMPROVEMENT ON GOV. STEVENSON. IN NO IMPORTANT RESPECT DOES GOV. STEVENSON APPEAR TO BE THE BETTER MAN OR HIS PARTY THE BETTER PARTY.

(END EDITORIAL) CTPS 635PCST