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Politics: New Suits And Old Patterns

ADVERTISING influence on politics is nowhere more apparent than in the adjective division of the charge and counter-charge department.
Everything's new this year, the speech-writers say.

There is a "new" Stevenson advocating a "new" America, a "new" Eisenhower promising a "new" Republican Party, even a "new" Nixon, whose line hasn't yet been fully explained.

There is, of course, more than rhetoric in the adjectives. Each of these men has donned a new campaign, but if one looks closely he sees all the cloth is cut from an old pattern.

The pattern is circumstance. Though their roles are reversed from four years ago, Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson partake of the same quality of newness—a willingness to play politics and to be identified with it. Both men in 1952, like through inexperience and Adlai through temperament, seemed to draw back from the coarser qualities of the professionals.

This year, Mr. Stevenson has closed the professionals to his bosom and is talking their language. His comments on ending the draft and on farm price supports carry strong partisan overtones, and he has talked about sounder money and lower taxes almost in the same breath. This is new—but only to Stevenson; double-talk on the stump is as old as the outs trying to get in.

He deserves censure for his errors, but hardly the bitter rebuke he has received in some quarters for playing the game.

There has been some rather righteous criticism that his end-the-draft talk will encourage neutralism abroad, which it

Charlotte Youth: Attractive Scenery

THE SCHOOL safety patrol, it's plain to see, has come of age.

There was a time when to be selected as a safety patrolman or as a hall monitor meant to be tagged as teacher's pet and to be ganged upon as soon as teacher was out of sight.

We speak as a voluntarily retired patrolman who once had an altercation with three classmates over whether they could cross the road against our orders.

They could. They did. And since they obviously needed protection less than we did, we turned in our badge, thus restoring our prestige among the majority.

There is plenty of evidence that things have changed. We see the evidence on the way to work every morning in the rather proud bearing of patrol boys and

Make Safety, But Don't Talk About It

AT DEARBORN, Mich., a year ago Ford Motor Co. launched a novel and noble experiment.

After years of expensive research and engineering it had equipped its 1956 cars and trucks with safety devices laboratory tests indicated would substantially reduce accident deaths and injuries.

Having built the safety devices, the experiment was to try to sell them, as during years of ever increasing injuries and deaths, the auto firms had sold power, styling, and luxury features. Accordingly, massive Ford advertising efforts focused on the safety features, subordinating the appeal of increased power and new styling.

The experiment is over. It failed.

Safety, a Ford advertising executive said, "is not an action theme and it does not appear to create an emotional urge to buy." That was the General Motors' thought all along, and GM stuck with conventional advertising on horsepower and style.

From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

TAME, FLEECY AND MECHANICAL, TOO?

EVER devoted to culture and the high arts, we hasten to take a poet's word for the state of poetry—especially since the word is good. Randall Jarrell, whose work you are likely to find in the Kenyon Review edited by John Crowe Ransom, has been named consultant in poetry to the Library of Congress, and he has properly made this the occasion for a pronouncement:

Most modern poetry isn't modern any more. It is as simple and lyrical and romantic as poetry ever was. The new poets seem. They have rhyme and rhythm. The idea that they are wild and woolly is no longer true. Today the young poets are tame and fleecy.

This is fine; and let there be no quibbling as to whether Shelley and Byron were "wild and woolly" or "tame and fleecy." That won't just be dodging Mr. Jarrell's well-made point. But he did say something disturbing. He said that Edna St. Vincent Millay was last poet

may, but no more probably than did Mr. Eisenhower's free-the-satellites proposal in 1952 stir vain hope among Iron Curtain people and fear of a war-like America among European allies.

Withal, Stevenson retains his bent for speaking to the idealism of Americans, and for seeking unity. His position as "out" on his loss in '52 apparently has convinced him that to follow that bent to the exclusion of political appeals will surely lead to loss in '56.

Mr. Eisenhower, being in, is encouraged by that position to appear to be above the hue and cry of politics. It is an attractive appearance, but he nevertheless has learned to play the game and is playing it.

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Despite the truths in Stevenson's speeches and the President's tacit endorsement of those spoken by his lieutenants of rebuttal, both parties are better for having Ike and Adlai as leaders. Both can be counted on, as the battle wears on, to talk straighter than their predecessors, and to appear, even in their new political suits, as Americans first.

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What part that played in Ford sales trailing Chevrolet's is not apparent, but the end result is the same. Appeals to the survival instincts of auto buyers will be played down, and power will be re-emphasized. The public must be satisfied.

Inability to sell safety in no way diminishes, however, the necessity for auto makers to continue heavy emphasis on safety engineering. Because of safety devices on Fords and those undervalued on other makes many accident victims doubtless are alive today. The \$400,000 Ford and Chrysler contributed efforts focused on the safety features, subordinating the appeal of increased power and new styling.

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read by young men to young women in canoes. Contemporary poets are not read; they are heard on gramophone records. Indeed his chief job at the Library of Congress will be to get more of them on records.

Of course poetry always was meant to be heard. It is song. But it also must be written. And we cannot, somehow, separate writing and reading. If you skip reading, we fear, soon you also will skip writing. So we are a bit disturbed by having not a book, but a record-player in that canoe. And if we concede that the machine has an advantage after dark, what happens to the banjo?

If people will not accept \$2 bills because of an old superstition, why not stage a "reduced from \$5 to \$2.98" sale and get them into circulation?—LAUREL (MISS.) LEADER-CALL.

Another reason why health is better than wealth is that nobody can borrow it.—GREENWILL (S.C.) PIEMONT.

Adlai's Optimism Rises As Key Governors Go To Bat

By JOSEPH & STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON
ADLAI Stevenson and his vast entourage have been in and out of Washington during this past week, exuding confidence in every pore. Politicians, to be sure, especially underdog politicians, exude confidence as instinctively as cows give milk. But in this case the confidence seems genuine—at least to the extent that Stevenson and his advisers really do believe that he has a chance to beat Dwight D. Eisenhower, and a pretty good chance at that.

Moreover, they have a shrewdly fashioned formula for generating this David-and-Goliath miracle. The first part of the formula calls for Stevenson to stage, as a historian in his entourage put it, "the most energetic campaign in the history of the American presidency."

From here on out, Stevenson will be here, there, and everywhere, following a staggering schedule of speech-making, hand-shaking, and fence-mending. These days, moreover, Stevenson seems actually to enjoy the man-killing task of campaigning. Whereas in 1952, he was much given to asking plaintively "do I really have to do this?" he is now a bear for punishment, according to his aides.

The purpose of this fierce expenditure of energy is not only to get Stevenson's views to the people. It also to present a contrast between the vigorous Stevenson and the relatively sedentary Eisenhower, thus subtly undermining the health issue. And another purpose is to identify Stevenson to the maximum extent with local Democratic candidates, and thus with the Democratic Party.

For the Stevenson strategists, citing the three-year Democratic trend culminating in the "Maid Victory," are certain that, on a straight party basis, the Democrats will take the White House. "We'll take both houses. I'm dead sure of that," one top Democratic remarked. "The only question is whether Ike can survive his party's defeat."

By the same token, every effort will also be made by Stevenson and the astute Stevenson propagandists to identify the President with the Republican Party. Another part of the Stevenson formula as applied to Eisenhower is to bear down hard on the "part-time President" line, and, of course, to center the attack on Vice President Nixon as the President's potential successor.

The Stevenson formula also calls for making full use of the Democratic Party's ambassadors to special voting groups, in which the Democrats are rich, and the Republicans notably poor. The chief ambassador to the farmers is, of course, Estes Kefauver, whose popularity among farmers is a strikingly if somewhat mysterious phenomenon. Before the campaign ends, Kefauver will have displayed his special brand of folksiness in just about every important farm county in the country.



LAUSCHE, KENNEDY, HARRIMAN AND KEFAUVER Confidence Pops Out Like Perseus

years show a strong tendency to shift their allegiance to the Republicans, is Sen. John Kennedy of Massachusetts. Kennedy's speaking schedule is almost as staggering as Stevenson's. He will be the assist, of course, from such other important Catholic Democrats as Mayor Robert Wagner of New York and Democratic leader Pat Brown of California.

Chief ambassador to the minority groups will be Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, whose popularity among Negroes and other minorities is another remarkable phenomenon. Mrs. Roosevelt will have a series of engagements to speak for Stevenson in a whole series of key areas.

The chief ambassador to the Catholics who have in recent

To counter the immense political advantage which any incumbent Republican enjoys, Stevenson also has the support of a whole series of new Democratic governors—an asset he lacked in 1952. His chief prevention rival, New York's Gov. Averell Harriman, is sticking manfully, and even Ohio's Frank Lausche, who has held himself carefully aloof in the past, is working hard for Stevenson.

Stevenson also has far more enthusiastic and energetic labor support than he had in 1952. Finally, Stevenson himself will key his whole campaign to presenting himself as the "champion of the people." He is well aware, as he was not in 1952, that incomparably the greatest asset of the Democrats is the mass of the party, among important voting groups, as the party of the "little guys sticking out the hind end." If being the champion of the people requires a mile more demagoguing than in 1952, so be it.

Add the inherent advantages which any Democrat enjoys, notably the southern vote, and that would be a formidable force. The popular President is still unquestionably the front runner, but not to the point where the Republicans can afford to sit back happily on their haunches.

It is fair to count a ballot for the opponent of a candidate for whom you and I have expressly indicated as our choice? We all agree, of course, and I for one have decided what I will do about it fully believing that thousands of my fellow Democrats will do the same thing. I am not going to mark in either party circle but you can be sure I will mark the name of Charles Raper Jones. I will also do the same thing beside the name of Charles (Bud) Cora, because I don't believe that when Bud Cora gets to Raleigh he will support any legislation that will deprive any citizen of his God-given right; that of having his vote counted for the candidate that he indicates as his choice.

People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the editors. The News reserves the right to condense.

Does Ike Understand Communist Menace?

Editors, The News:
THE BOOK "Eisenhower: The Inside Story," was evidently intended as an appeal for liberal support of the President in the coming elections. Material for it was supplied by the directors of the Eisenhower administration, and as author-newsmen R. J. Donovan notes: "No quotations, direct or indirect, have been manufactured by the author."

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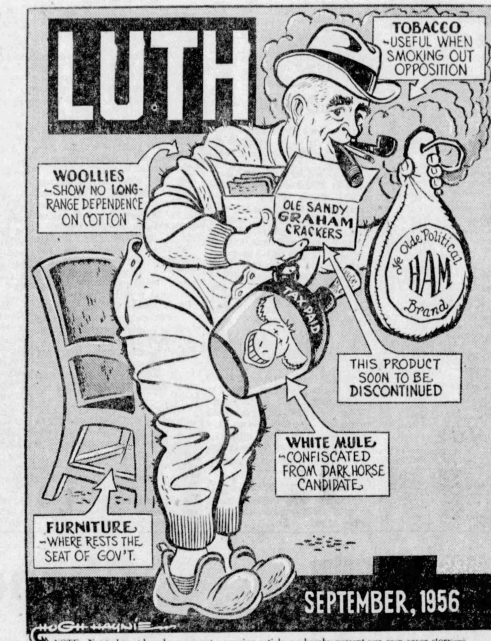
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Before 1955 General Assembly



NOTE: Not to outdone by a current magazine article, we hereby present our own cover story—with Luther the Liar caricaturing demonstrating some other Top Hat products.

A Thrusting Chin And Flashing Smile What Does Dick Nixon Stand For?

By MARQUIS CHILDS

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON STEPPING OFF his chartered plane toward the end of the first day of his nominating campaign tour, Vice President Richard M. Nixon was met by a cheering squad that wildly welcomed the hero home to his native California. He quickly mounted an improvised platform and responded with the eager earnestness that is his hallmark.

Then, in the pattern he has set for this tour, he held a press conference in a room in the airport for local reporters and for newsmen accompanying him. He already had made a full hour talk in Washington and then in Indianapolis and a full-length address opening his campaign ahead of him.

Yet quickly and unhesitatingly he replied to the questions put to him, ignoring the television lights that blazed in his face and the heat that sent sweat pouring down his face. There were the usual questions on the give and take of campaign oratory and then a reporter asked:

HIS RELIEFS
"Can you tell us what Dick Nixon really stands for?"

For a moment Nixon hesitated. He was obviously surprised by the question.

"To answer that," he said "would, I'm afraid, take rather

longer than we have here. As he believes are very close, as it has turned out, to the philosophy of the Eisenhower administration on both foreign and domestic policy.

It is in this question of what the vice president stands for, what he really believes, that is most often raised by those who want to understand the Nixon success story.

To watch him in action even briefly is to sense that the key is action itself. Beliefs, issues, ideas are subordinated to the drive of a very powerful and highly disciplined personality.

In embracing the Eisenhower philosophy and the "New Republicanism," Nixon has gone against his own conservative voting record when he is in the Senate and the House.

ARDOR INTO ACTION
The ardor of his embrace is inextinguishable, demonstrated in his credibly demanding tour and the press he pours out at every opportunity on the Eisenhower program of moderate social reform.

He has translated his ardor, as he has done at every turn in his career of one crowded decade in politics, into furious action.

This is not, it should be added, merely action for the sake of action, a mere flexing of the muscles of a political strong man. For Nixon as an operator understands per-

haps better than anyone in American political life today the techniques of mass communication.

Perfection is another important word in the Nixon lexicon. He drives himself incessantly to perfect this performance. As one of those who has observed him most closely expresses it, "He is almost always 'on stage.'"

Even chatting informally the young man on his way is front and center. He seldom relaxes and his sense of humor is restricted to the limited uses he makes of it in his speeches.

For all the remarkable dedication to his party, to his own career, to the business of communication, Nixon has difficulty communicating.

His critics say that he is still the college debater who could by the flip of a coin take either side of a question and champion it with the same skill. In other words, his skill is a that is to say technique—which comes through instead of conviction.

The mistake that many of his critics and doubters make is to underestimate both the man and the politician. He has extraordinary memory, a keen analytical mind, a retentive memory that never misses a detail, an almost superhuman physical equipment.

But the end to which he will devote these resources, his own career to one side, is still uncertain.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON
THE Agriculture Department apparently underestimated slow-drawling, tobacco-cheating Sen. Kerr (D-NC) and tried to slip him some phony figures on soil bank payments last week.

Buying Votes?

The farm-bred senator suspected that the Eisenhower administration might be trying to buy votes by rushing farmers their soil bank payments before the election. He asked the Agriculture Department how much had been paid out, in

Sen. Scott Finds New Numbers Game

North Carolina, Mississippi, Minnesota and Iowa."
"The latest figures," he specified.

False Figures

The department furnished him figures that turned out to be a few million dollars short. On his own hook, Scott got phostostats of the actual, confidential figures. When he compared the two sets, this is what he found:

The Agriculture Department reported that it had received \$200,000,000. The state showed the actual figure was \$54,515,272. For Minnesota, the department

claimed \$9,973,948; the phostostats showed \$10,813,858. For North Carolina, the announced figure was \$3,752,994; the true figure was \$3,620,000. For Mississippi, the claim was \$609,000 as compared to an actual total of \$749,351.

The phostostats also revealed that farmers in 45 states, so far, have collected a whopping \$29,747 for plowing under crops. Originally their payments were supposed to be mailed from Washington. But in order to squeeze the money out of the soil bank program, the Republicans have been handing the money personally to each

farmer. Note—Sen. Scott, normally a patient man, got his dander up over the phony figures. He had his assistant, Bill Whitney, forming one of the Agriculture Department. Sheepish officials explained they had made a "mistake."

Stassen Taut

Only a few trusted henchmen know it, but a private agent was talking Harold Stassen on behalf of Vice President Nixon during the "top-down" drive to see what could be found out about the map who organized it.

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