brethren was not solely expediency, although expediency also has its place in politics. It was a recognition that the voters of the states are entitled to have representatives of their own choice. This was most violently asserted in 1938 when President Roosevelt sought to purge the Senate. The recognition, moreover, of the claims of Senator Taft to a part in the making of policy, was a proper appraisal of his eminence in the party. We think it can be assumed that General Eisenhower did not enter the ordeal of politics at the age of sixty-two merely to reform the Republican Party. We can take his word that he did so to reform the government of the United States with the cooperation of the Republican Party.

Why Not See All America?

We can anticipate that correspondents who have been subjected to the foregoing criticism will have two answers that deserve consideration here. One is that some of them did travel widely with the candidates. However, we can say with some experience to justify us that there is almost no place, other than the vicinity of a Presidential candidate, where a reporter is so isolated from the trends of opinion that determine an election. Travel for a political reporter means not only miles covered but contacts with the right people.

Another answer with which we can have some sympathy is that the American news bureaus of these journals are largely one-man affairs. There is austerity in the British newspaper business which we can all understand. The reporters who sent the dispatches quoted in this article had to report many things other than politics.

One important corrective is suggested by a practice of the *Economist* itself. It uses in its American reporting occasionally—all too occasionally—dispatches from its correspondents in places other than Washington, such as Ohio, California and Wisconsin. During the campaign these were immeasurably better than the correspondence from Washington. This practice could be expanded and, better still, the Washington reporters for these papers might well learn to depend more upon local people and less upon their friends among the American correspondents. The use of the telephone, mail and occasional trips would certainly not overstrain the limited budgets of these papers. Such adventitious aids might even make it possible for the present correspondents to do an adequate job.

An officer in the Naval Intelligence of the United States, in commenting on the inadequacy of British reporting of our election, made this pertinent comment:

> This is the more surprising since the British have the best official intelligence service in the world. Men in this service, both military and diplomatic, are known everywhere for their capacity to find the facts and to weigh them wisely. They are a very level-headed group.

There is no good reason why British journalism in America should not meet this test.

Democrats' Dilemma

By LOUIS BROMFIELD

There is something pitiful and even grotesque in the spectacle of two recently repudiated Democratic candidates for President attempting a campaign to reorganize and revitalize the Democratic Party. I say *two* candidates because President Truman, even more than Governor Stevenson, was a candidate in the recent debacle. Not only was Mr. Truman and everything concerned with his Administration repudiated by the nation. The vote reflects the fact that both were repudiated by their own party as well. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the results in the state of Ohio, which General Eisenhower carried by about 380,000 while Governor Lausche, a Democrat, won in the same election by 430,000. The vote was simply a statement of the fact that the people of the state, including perhaps close to a million Democrats, wanted no part of Truman or Stevenson or the foreign policy which both represented, but that they would at the same time vote straight down the line for a Democrat such as Governor Lausche.

The Southern states spoke for themselves. How much repudiation does a man have to have in order to be convinced that neither the people nor his party wants him as a leader? What kind of leadership, if any, can come out of such a situation? What elements within the Democratic Party support either Truman or Stevenson or have any faith in them? Offhand one could say that Stevenson has his small army of "eggheads" who have no place else to go, and a few labor leaders who give him unenthusiastic support and who seem perpetually unable to deliver what they refer to as "the labor vote." Mr. Truman has the support of the more dubious and corrupt elements of the Democratic Party because he has done well in protecting them, and of some of the "eggheads" (who in their hearts hold him in contempt) and a fringe of reds and pinks who have managed to operate under cover while he was President. Mr. Truman makes big talk about the influence he plans to exert in the Democratic Party and the nation generally after January 20, but the chances are that he will quickly become the most thoroughly forgotten President in our history, unless he is called to testify in the various scandals which stand to be investigated and in which he is, even at long range, involved.

A Labor Party's Chances

At Chicago Walter Reuther and a peculiar element of the younger Democrats devoured by ambition, attempted to kidnap the Democratic Party and turn it into a labor party. Not only did they fail calamitously, but a good many of them were defeated in their own campaigns for re-election. This is an element which is still active and will become even more so with Reuther as president of the CIO. It may be that eventually they will be able to kidnap a few remnants of a shattered party, but the bulk of the sturdy traditional Democrats (which is the majority of the party in the north as well as the south) will simply walk out leaving them to stew in their own juice. A good many of them did walk out during the recent election.

Certainly such strong and powerful Democrats as Russell and George of Georgia, Byrd of Virginia, Shivers of Texas, Byrnes of South Carolina and the eternally and wildly popular Governor of Ohio, Lausche, would not go along with such a labor party. They would not go along for two reasons: 1) a moral revulsion against any party dominated by the special interests of a minority; 2) because if they did go along, their power with the bulk of the voters both inside and outside their own party in their areas would dwindle and vanish. Above all, the Democratic Party needs the strong, wise, experienced and *honest* aid of such a tough and real Democrat as Jim Farley.

The truth is that the Democratic Party is suffering from the tactics and policies established long ago by Franklin D. Roosevelt who, in times of despair, set up a program of being all things to all people, of cultivating every minority group and promising each one of them the moon, while setting class against class and encouraging the infiltration of Marxian ideas and Communists within government.

Such a political structure is always a shaky and precarious one. It would have fallen apart at the seams, as it did in November, long before but for the grim fact of war and for the artificially contrived crises which for too long a time deceived the people. Under a less skilful though no less unscrupulous operator, the whole structure came tumbling down eventually into pieces and that is where it is today. Stevenson referred to the "two-headed" Republican Party. Actually the Democratic Party has more heads than Cerberus who (for the benefit of the average college graduate) was the many-headed dog guarding the entrance to the Underworld. (Indeed a neat parallel.)

It is clear that virtually nobody followed Mr. Truman in the recent elections, and a man without followers can scarcely be called a leader. Governor Stevenson clearly demonstrated that he has not the qualities of a leader. Essentially, a leader must be enthusiastic about a cause and inspire men. It is clear that the good Governor, a witty, polished gentleman with a good literary style in his speeches, failed to inspire anyone. If he had been a leader, he would have openly repudiated Mr. Truman's vulgar whistle-stop campaign and said, "Mr. Truman is not speaking for me. I am making my own policy and my own campaign!" If he had done so, he would probably have won two or three million more votes.

A Hesitant Hamlet

Governor Stevenson, indeed, has turned out to be our first American political Hamlet. You may remember that the tragedy of Hamlet is essentially that of a man who could not make up his mind about anything and had so broad-minded an attitude concerning everything that he ended up ready for the madhouse. In a way Hamlet was the perfect example of an "egghead." The writer was the first to utter the belief that Governor Stevenson's hesitancy over becoming a candidate arose from his reluctance to have Truman's label placed upon him. It now turns out that this was giving Mr. Stevenson credit for more political astuteness than he revealed later on in the campaign. He simply couldn't make up his mind. Period! The prospect of having Hamlet as President in time of such crisis now appears each day more appalling.

So where does the Democratic Party go from here? The strongest potential leadership lies with the Southern Democrats and with men like Governor Lausche and Jim Farley. They have popular support, immense political experience, and they are not hampered by the support of pinks or eggheads or corruptionists. Next in strength comes the ability and vitality of Reuther and his radicals and scalawag friends like F.D.R. Jr. and Mennen Williams; but if this group came into leadership hundreds of thousands, possibly even a couple of million Democrats, would simply leave the party, probably for good. Reuther and his friends can not bring one new recruit into the party to make up for this loss. They have already recruited to the maximum of their potential strength if they can not create a labor party of their own.

Meanwhile the corrupt city machines which contributed so much support to Roosevelt and Truman have lost their strength and are disorganized, and the present and coming wholesale grand jury investigations into their corruption will not help them. Otherwise there are still a dozen minority groups by now somewhat disillusioned and even disgusted at the failure of the Truman Democrats to deliver on their promises. There were rumors about the Democratic Party being splintered in 1948. By comparison with the present situation, the party of 1948 was a whole, perfectly working machine.

Refresher Course

Mighty in pomp the People's Commissar
Passed arrogant still between the gates of death
(Though, confidentially, he felt a jar
To find he still could breathe without his breath).
His hammer and sickle upon Heaven's gate
Beat out a blatant summons: "Comrades, I
Have come to purge the Angels, liquidate
God, the last Big Shot!" Quietly, by-and-by,
Saint Peter came . . . then shook his mitered head,
Saying, "Tut, tut! I thought the Party Line
Brushed Heaven aside and proved that God is dead:
A Deviationist, I must opine!
Go, comrade, go—refresh your dialectic
In regions where the climate is more hectic."

E. MERRILL ROOT