

# Democrats Battle In Backrooms With Presidency In 1960 Their Goal

**Editor's Note:** Do voters prefer performance to attempts to fulfill promises? Differing opinion on this basic question has split Democratic leadership from its helm to the halls of Congress. Here is what the party is doing to effect unity.

**By JACK BELL**  
WASHINGTON — With the presidency as its shimmering goal, a bitter struggle for control is threatening to burst the patched-up seams of the Democratic party.

By mutual consent, the principals in this intricate warfare have agreed to continue the backroom battle over the type of philosophy the party shall present to the voters in its efforts to recapture the White House in 1960.

Under the terms of a truce arrived at between them, there will be no more public criticism—at least for awhile — by National Chairman Paul M. Butler against the middle-of-the-road course taken by the party's congressional leaders.

As they always intended to do in any event, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (D-Tex) and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas will continue to proceed on the theory that it is better to write compromise legislation than none at all.

Butler, on the other hand, believes the Democrats with their overwhelming control of both houses, should pass legislation carrying out their 1956 and 1958 campaign pledges, even if it is killed by President Eisenhower's vetoes.

This fundamental difference of opinion has strained party unity to the breaking point. Along with other differences, it could split the 1960 convention wide open.

Butler believes the promise of future enactment of liberal legislation will attract the voters next year. He is working toward the selection of a liberal as the party's presidential nominee.

Rayburn and Johnson believe the voters react to party accomplishments, not promises. Neither will stray far from the middle of the road.

To back their judgment on this score, the two leaders point to the fact that the Democrats have won three successive congressional elections. Butler replies, in effect, maybe so, but regaining the presidency is a different matter.

Their differences are aptly illustrated by the party's sorest problem, civil rights. For all practical purposes, Butler has told the South to go fry its side meat. He wants the Democrats, as a party, to stand up and be counted in favor of racial integration in the schools and other public places.

When President Eisenhower said the segregation in the economic and political fields is morally wrong, Butler capped this with: "Segregation is morally wrong, period."

Johnson and Rayburn want Congress to pass a moderate civil rights bill they think will take some of the heat off the issue next year. The less specific the Democrats get about civil rights in the 1960 platform, the better Johnson and Rayburn will like it.

Generally speaking, the old pros of the party are on the Johnson-Rayburn side. Despite some criticism of their course, they have almost solid backing from the Democrats in Congress.

Butler has the support of the party's liberals, including Eleanor Roosevelt, and a majority of the national committee. He has control of the machinery which will put the convention in operation, including the choice of the permanent chairman, subject to convention approval.

At this point, Butler is looked upon as something of a busybody by a sizable contingent of the party's members of Congress. They are inclined to measure any man's political capacity by the yardstick of his ability to get elected to public office, and Butler has had no experience in this field.

Committee members are chosen by four different methods—by state primaries, state conventions, state delegations to the national convention, and state committees. They are certified to the national convention for ratification.

Butler has been cultivating the committee members for years. The extent of his support within that group was measured last December in the battle to decide whether Camille F. Gravel Jr. should remain Louisiana's committeeman, despite the attempt of that state's party committee to remove him.

In the fight over the Gravel case, where Butler prevailed, there was a test vote on a motion to remove from a resolution an endorsement of Butler's "forthright utterances on civil rights."

The chairman won that one by a 79-27 roll call vote. While this was outwardly indicative only of how the committee members felt on civil rights, it was interpreted widely as a vote of confidence in

Butler. He would figure to do nearly as well on any move to oust him—even if his critics could get together on a single candidate, as they seem unlikely to do.

Butler has behind him his hand-picked Democratic Advisory Council. Its membership includes former President Harry S. Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, six governors, Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, former New York Gov. W. Averell Harriman, former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, and Mrs. Roosevelt in the role of consultant.

Even within the council, there is not always agreement with Butler's views. Truman, who goes along with the policy statements, has no great political love for the national chairman.

Butler made it an occasion for some hurrahs when Gov. Edmund S. (Pat) Brown of California recently agreed to become a member of the council. But Brown cut the ground out from under the chairman by voicing the same sentiments to which Rayburn and Johnson subscribe.

Rayburn and Johnson pointedly ignore the council's recommenda-

tions while they go skillfully about their business of fashioning the compromises which Johnson says will write a "responsible" record for the party to run on in 1960. Democrats are also likely to remember that, barring unforeseen events, Johnson and Rayburn will be around in 1961 to carry on as usual.

Butler, on the other hand, is by way of becoming a lame duck unless he is lucky enough to climb aboard the bandwagon of the successful contender for the nomination at an early enough stage to indicate that he helped along in

the winning process. Presidential nominees pick their own national chairman and unless Butler guesses right he will be out. And any national chairman who is obviously marked for

**DROP KILLS PASSENGER**  
TAIPEI, Formosa (UPI) — A Chinese student was killed and 13 other persons were injured Thursday night when their plane hit a down draft and suddenly dropped 5,000 feet. The victim, Nygyuan Chin Lien, was said to have fatally injured his head when the sudden drop tossed him out of his seat.

retirement will have difficulty in influencing the course of his party's convention.

### PLAN POLAR TRIP

MOSCOW (UPI) — The All-Union Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute in Leningrad has begun preparations for the Soviet Union's fifth expedition to the Antarctic. Tass reported Thursday night. The Soviet news agency said the expedition ship "Ob" would leave within two or three months to relieve members of the preceding group on the frozen continent.



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