THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The Cost Of Political Apathy

STUDENTS of Southern voting habits will find ample reason for discouragement in the figures on the second South Carolina primary which nominated (elected) J. Strom Thurmond Governor. The combined vote of the two candidates was slightly in excess of 260,000, but there are, according to *The Charleston News & Courier's* estimate 1,031,000 South Carolinians theoretically eligible to vote.

The 1,031,000 figure is considerably reduced by the fact that 381,000 of the state's adults are Negroes who, regardless of Constitutional theory, are in fact barred from participation in Democratic primaries. However, that still leaves 387,000 eligible white voters who did not bother to go to the polls.

And it should be noted that the poll tax, which South Carolina still maintains as a bar to participation in general elections, had no bearing on the primary. Any white South Carolinian who can sign his name to the registration books can obtain a Democratic ballot and mark his choice. The process is no more complicated than in any other state.

It also should be noted that this election was preceded by a lively campaign in which two strong candidates slugged it out all Summer. There was even a county-to-county joint debate, now unique to the Palmetto State, which, whatever else may be said of it, certainly should have aroused maximum interest. The campaigning, indeed, was so intense and personal it cost Judge Thurmond, the victor, twenty pounds and two sets of automobile tires.

Actually there is nothing peculiarly Southern about this manifestation of public apathy, even though the election was conducted within the one-party framework. Low votes have been reported in all sections of the country in the Summer's primaries; Illinois, for instance, showed the lowest primary votes, both Republican and Democratic, in her modern history.

However, there is still a pertinent moral to be drawn from these figures. It was given voice before the election by South Carolina's Democratic Chairman Pearce who said: "People who don't bother to vote have no right to complain later when the government isn't run to suit them."

The Faith Of Ellis Gibbs Arnall

THE current *Atlantic Monthly* presents a lengthy extract from the forthcoming book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, by Ellis Gibbs Arnall, Governor of Georgia. Both opponents and supporters of the youthful Georgian will find it illuminating, for it deals with his political philosophy and his estimate of the mind of the South.

Those who believe, with John Temple Graves, that Ellis Arnall is a pseudo-liberal who has adopted the philosophy of the late Franklin Roosevelt and employed it for essentially personal ends will find new ammunition in this testament. Mr. Arnall quotes that he was graduated from college and into politics in 1932, the year FDR moved into the White House. The New Deal was an exciting experiment in those days, and it is inevitable that the precocious young Georgia legislator should have been conditioned by it. The argument that the social and economic planning of Franklin Roosevelt is alien to the ancient traditions of Democracy could not be expected to impress a man who grew up, politically, in the years when Franklin Roosevelt was head of his Party.

Certainly there is little originality in Ellis Arnall's platform for the New South. He believes, along with observers of all shades of opinion, that industrialization of the region is an inevitable process, although he is slightly more optimistic than most in forecasting a full-blown industrial revolution within the next two decades. This, he thinks, will make necessary a complete integration of the South's economy with the nation's, and will call for even more economic planning by a strong central government in Washington. The social, racial and political difficulties that concern most Southerners are dismissed lightly by Governor Arnall on the ground that they will take care of themselves once the region ceases to be an exploited economic province. "The enumeration of needs seems to be entirely upon the economic side," he writes of his own evaluation. "There is no specific mention of civil liberties, or of states rights. The answer is that the civil liberties of our people are in no immediate danger of violation; they risk only the erosion incident to poverty and the political weakness that accompanies it."

Governor Arnall's piece is set apart from run-of-the-mill discussions of the South and its problems not by what he has to say but by his manner of saying it. Unless he has a ghost writer hidden away in the stacks of the University of Georgia library, this eminently practical politician has established himself at one stroke as one of the most erudite and polished writers the region has produced.

His work is studded with easy reference to Berkeley, Hume and Locke, to Swift, Pope and Bolingbroke. In describing, with remarkable if tolerant accuracy, the character of the dominant Southern Scotch-Irish he displays an impressive familiarity with the obscure history of the persecuted Ulstermen. And none of this is dragged laboriously into his narrative for effect; the Governor writes like a man whose library includes something more than *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*.

Although he has emerged as a champion of the common man there is something aristocratic in his style, as there is in his possession of three surnames, that sure indication of family pride. And this may, in fact, brand him as alien to the contemporary South, for it takes him back a century to an almost-forgotten Southern tradition that combined politics with scholarship. If *The Atlantic's* extract is a fair sample, Ellis Gibbs Arnall's book may entitle him to a place in the company of those able Southern politicians, Thomas Jefferson, Zebulon Vance, John C. Calhoun and Alexander Stephens.

The Governor is a controversial figure, and *The Shore Dimly Seen* will start more arguments than it will settle. But it seems to us Southerners of all persuasions may take pride in the knowledge that Ellis Arnall is the only practicing politician in the United States who could have written such a book.

Keep An Eye On That Amoeba, Men

WE don't suppose any given group of authorities would agree on the exact size of the City of Charlotte, except to conclude that whatever number of citizens we have at the moment it is too many. Nevertheless the estimates keep on emerging from various sources, each one higher than the last.

Clarence Kuester of the Chamber of Commerce has now made a public estimate that the City and the township is reaching out to annex contain 155,000 souls. Mr. Kuester has not counted noses, of course, but bases his scientific guess on the number of harried citizens who turn up in his office looking for houses, offices, stores, warehouses or space to pitch a small tent.

Well, we're as happy over these sanguine population estimates as the next booster, but we confess that one that turned up the other day disturbed us. We received with mixed emotions the intelligence that the *Los Angeles* Chamber of Commerce now believes Charlotte's population has reached 115,000. Nor was this any haphazard, off-the-cuff business. The estimate was larded with percentages showing that Charlotte ranks 35th in numerical population increase among American cities in the 100,000 bracket.

Why, we keep wondering, should the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce be estimating Charlotte's population? Could it be that the amoeba of the West Coast is considering annexing the city as a new suburb, adding it to Glendale, Hollywood, et al?

We hope Mr. Kuester will keep a sharp eye to the windward. We'd hate to wake up one bright morning and find a new sign standing in The Square reading: Los Angeles City Limits.

Another Voice

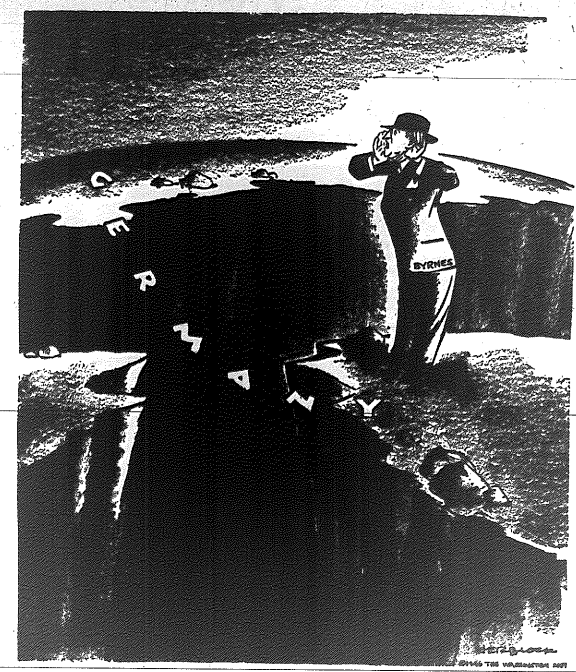
Life Is Real, Life Is Earnest

WE had better tip off *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. They are marked for a purge. The Russians have condemned them *in absentia*. The trouble is, we see by the latest issue of *Pravda*, that the likes of them simply are not ideological. What little Ivan and Ivanovna need are the facts of life; the Russian facts, that is, which tell of the struggle of the socialist fatherland with the problems of politics, economy, science and art.

Art who, you ask? Art for Communism's sake, *Pravda* answers and not any of your capitalist vagaries that a primrose by the river's brim is a primrose and nothing more. It had better be the materialized product of a five-year plan for the greater good of the proletariat, a concoction of ergs and neutrons, or you'll be finding yourself with *Mr. O'Malley* and the leprechauns in Siberia.

This pressure to keep the Russian people's noses to the ideological grindstone has attained to a high pitch—something like a grim frenzy, if you ask us. Somehow, reading of the stern rebukes for newspapers and magazines for giving the people a bit of diversion—the children, for example, "a delirium in the form of a fairy tale," as *Pravda* puts it—we begin to suspect that somebody has been having a little clean bourgeois fun, and it won't do. Could it be that the mystery of Maxim Litvinov's recent dismissal is solved by the fact that he has an English wife and that Ivy Litvinov once was guilty of writing a real whodunit? Such things, we see by *Pravda*, are out of reality. Could it be, also, that somebody is worried, lest a people lift their eyes from their machines and catch an ever so fleeting glimpse of freedom?—*Louisville Courier-Journal.*

"Hallooo"



Barnet Nover

Apple Of Discord

PARIS

THERE was a time when such a sharp conflict of views as that reflected in the speeches of Ivanoe Bonomi of Italy and Ales Bebler of Yugoslavia on the explosive Trieste problem would have given the Peace Conference a new case of jitters. Actually, the latest Italo-Yugoslav flare-up here passed by without incident. It was taken as a matter of course. The fact is that the delegates have got used to living in a continuous atmosphere of crisis so that what in a happier day used to be regarded as abnormal has become normal, and statements that once aroused violent passions are now passed by with no more than a shrug.

MODERATE SPEECH

Bonomi's speech was a good deal more moderate and conciliatory than was the earlier statement of Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi. That did not save him from a fierce castigation by the Yugoslav spokesman. Bebler also took occasion to denounce the United States, Great Britain and France for what he declared to be their stubborn opposition to the Yugoslav plan to make the Trieste area an autonomous republic within the Yugoslav federation.

But it is most unlikely that what either Bebler said or what Bonomi said will have any bearing on the decisions which the conference is likely to reach on the Trieste problem. For better or worse, the die has been cast, so far as the future frontier between Italy and Yugoslavia and between the Trieste area and its hinterland are concerned. On these questions the Big Four did reach agreement at the July meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The one thing which has become clear at this conference is that every such agreement will be, with a varying degree of distaste, supported at the Peace Conference by all four. This fact, too, is realized by the delegates. They are now perfectly well aware that any attempt to change the agreed-on clauses in the settlements with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland can get nowhere without the consent of all members of the Big Four.

Some of the smaller powers have not given up trying, and they deserve credit for their pertinacity, since the draft settlements are full of glaring inequities. But every move that is made by Western nations to recommend the revision of the draft treaties has met with a blast from the Russians that those attempting to do so are out to sabotage the conference by delaying tactics. They have, however, not included in their castigations Byelorussia, Yugoslavia and other delegations that have sought to change the treaties in a pro-Russian direction.

The real question concerning Trieste is no longer whether it should or should not be internationalized or whether its frontiers should or should not be those determined by the Big Four acceptance of the so-called French line. The real question now is whether, once set up, the internationalized territory of Trieste will have any chance to function. It cannot be said that there is much hope of that at the conference.

STRONG REGIME NEEDED

No system can work at Trieste unless not only Italy and Yugoslavia but all the great powers as well are determined to make it work. This means first of all the setting up of a form of government in Trieste that would be strong enough to resist outside pressure and be more than the stooge of some foreign government. There is so far no indication that either Russia as the protector of the Tito regime at Belgrade is ready to permit such a regime to come into being.

Former Premier Bonomi was only expressing a very strong probability when he declared that if the present plan goes into effect Trieste will become an apple of discord between Italy and Yugoslavia. Actually it is that now and a permanent menace to peace. It happens that Trieste is only one of the focal points of conflict between Russia and the Western powers, but it is an important one. The conflict over Trieste was not resolved when the Big Four agreed to internationalize Trieste and fix the borders of the proposed so-called free territory. That only shifted the area of conflict from the territorial to the government-and-economic level.

LOST CAUSE

In fighting over again issues which for better or worse the Big Four settled at the July meeting of the Foreign Ministers Council, the Italians and Yugoslavs and their respective supporters at the Peace Conference are waging a futile battle for a lost cause.

People's Platform

The Drums Are Sounding

CHARLOTTE

Editors, THE NEWS:

AGAIN we are hearing the beat of the war-drums. Again the naval and air fleets are assembled at strategic points in readiness to strike when the fateful hour arrives. Again we are conscripting to rapidly build up and maintain an army of more than a million men. Our war with Russia is so imminent we cannot afford to rely upon voluntary enlistments—even though nearly a million men have voluntarily joined the Army since the fall of Japan.

In Paris the protectors of various financial and religious interest—facetiously called peacemakers—argue over protocol, and dare their opponents to cross a given line. And, like little boys playing robbers and cops, they can't decide upon who are to be the world policemen.

It is time for us to quit building expensive shacks for war veterans and concentrate on building barracks for soldiers and bomb shelters for civilians. (If there is such a thing as an adequate bomb shelter.) It is time for us to begin sounding the old warnings: "It is later than you think," "They are planning to attack us," "Make the world safe for democracy," etc., etc. Or should we use new warnings, such as, "Stalin is stalling for time," "The Communists are coming," "We can't tolerate totalitarianism." (Except in Spain, South America and China.)

I was about to forget "This Is One World." The coiner of this slogan should give credit to Columbus and Magellan. However, it was, and still is, an effective warning to kill your neighbor before he kills you.

In preparing for World War III we can afford to be more realistic. There seems to be a trend toward frankness: World War I was fought to make the world safe for democracy; World War II was to make the world safe; and World War III will be fought to make the world. (As used here "make" is subject to more than one interpretation. We may fight to make the world over according to a political pattern; or to make it behave. In either event, we and our friends will do the waking.)

Just fighting to make the world will save us from embarrassment. We won't have to justify anything. With all of our enemies subdued, we will rule a tranquil world.

But the world will be mostly a graveyard. Probably a billion people will be atomized to dust; and a thousand Hiroshimas proclaim our mastery.

Soon we will demonstrate again that those who predict war, and prepare for war, are always right. Our war-lords and proud statesmen will not be humiliated.

Yes, it seems that the brothers living in one world are to resume the annihilation of one another. (Pardon me for calling a dirty Communist or ruthless capitalist your brother. Only Jesus could do that with sincerity—and he is DEAD.)

The respite we had from wholesale brother-killing has about expired. We spent it valiantly, but vainly, trying to cage the Russian bear. (Who can be brother to a bear?) We failed. The bear has been temporarily thwarted, but not subdued. While he hibernates in his den we must make ready a million boys to kill him lest he kill us.

Our militarists tell us that conscripting these boys for military service will accomplish what our atomic bombs—demonstration did not do, that is, frighten the Russian bear into being good. (Being good consists, in part, in not trying to steal OUR Iranian oil.)

This is a vain hope. The bear is a stupid animal; and, unlike the British, he appropriates honey wherever he finds it.

In view of what is impending, how tragic it is that our animal trainers failed to win the goodwill and confidence of the Russian bear, thus making it necessary to now use the whip!

Perhaps if we had taken our slogans seriously; or had tried other trainers . . . but that is futile thinking now.

—LEWIS AYER SMITH.

A Time To Speak

TAYLORSVILLE

Editors, THE NEWS:

THIS is a time when the common people of America should speak out as we, without doubt, are passing through a crisis which is extremely dangerous. I am not a Communist and could never be, and I truly believe that anyone who advocates the overthrow of our Government should be imprisoned. I do not care what a man's religious beliefs are, whether he be a Protestant, Catholic, or any other kind that does not advocate the overthrow of our Government. I do not think that any one guilty of seditious utterances or conduct should be sent to some other country as it is not fair for us to dump our undesirables on some other defenseless country. We should correct them as we do any other criminal. However, I do not think that we should force our form of government on any other nation as we are now trying to do. If Russia wants communism, then let her have communism. If her people want to drink vodka, let them drink vodka. As for me, I am a teetotaler, but I do not try to regulate the other fellow's life.

We are unfair to Russia. We hook communism and atheism together and prejudice our people against her. We are trying to make it a religious crusade in order to get the people to support our war effort against Russia. We have thousands of atheists in this country who are fine, law-abiding people, but in no sense could they be connected with communism.

Suppose we could defeat Russia, just where would we be? We would have to garrison her for the next thousand years. We tried to whip her in 1919-20 when she was the weakest in her history, but we failed to get it done. The combined forces of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States were forced from that country. We tried to starve them to death which is related by H. G. Wells as one of the blackest pages in all history. We deliberately allowed five million innocent men, women, and children to starve to death at a time when millions of bushels of wheat were stored in near-by France.

We Americans should band ourselves together to save, if possible, our own country from communism, but at the same time fight for a man's right to be a Christian or an atheist, whichever he desires to be. Abraham Lincoln and Thomas A. Edison prove that a person can be a true American without belonging to a church. However, if a man wants to belong to a church, that is his business, not mine.

It is a great pity that Franklin D. Roosevelt was called away at a time when we still needed him. If he had lived I truly believe that we would not now be in this great mental upheaval that is sweeping the country.

I have taken your paper for the last 25 years and I consider it the ablest and most liberal of all our papers.

—V. G. BECKHAM.

The People's Platform is available to any reader who cares to mount it. Communications should be less than 300 words, typewritten if possible, and on only one side of the paper. Libel and obscenity will be deleted—otherwise anything goes. Each letter must be signed, although, in exceptional cases and upon request, we will withhold the writer's name.—Editors, THE NEWS.

Samuel Grafton

The Market Crash

NEW YORK

THE tremor which has shaken the Stock Exchange is of great interest. For it comes after a year and more of solid conservative political victories in every field of our policy, domestic and foreign. Almost everybody agrees that the Republican Party is going to do well this autumn, which makes it most impolite of stocks to fall down. It is a pretty study, to inquire into the reasons why conservative opinion should have become frightened, after having been given its own way.

One of the news weeklies, those strange, know-it-all journals of our time, made a big feature article this Summer of the exodus of the New Deal from Washington; it ran a double-page spread of pictures of once active liberal government officials who have left town, drawling on Union Station in the back and dark night, their talls between their legs. And stocks still fall? It is incredible; and it does seem to know that the real reason why so sharp a stock price collapse as that of this week could have taken place.

REFUGEES BLAMED

As for the reasons being offered in Wall Street itself (which is just three blocks from my office) it can only be said that many of these have an almost disgustingly naive, child-like quality. It is being seriously said that one reason for the decline is that refugees are pulling their money out of the market, being "too close to Europe" and therefore too worried about conditions on the Continent. It seems a hard name to blame refugees for an American stock market collapse, after blaming them for almost everything else; and it is an entrancing study to petulantly to see anti-foreignism cropping out, so neatly, and so on schedule, in this unlikely field.

There is petulance, too, in the Wall Street complaint that stocks have declined because trading on margin is currently forbidden; if men could only buy stocks on margin, it is said, there would be more support for the general list of securities. This complaint, of course, is just standard market comment double-talk. Market commentators on other occasions are quite pleased when the margin player is out of the market; they then announce happily that stocks are in "strong hands." What they can't understand today is why the strong hands should be quivering.

REALITY AVOIDED

One sensed in such explanations a frightened avoidance of reality. American conservative opinion has sold itself on the theory that the only danger we face is that of liberalism in government, leading to "government planning," and it has really come to believe it. It has persuaded itself that this fetish is important, that there is no other evil; and it has actually tried to live according to this primitive, over-simplified formulation, which gives one a crude but plainly-marked "line" to follow during one of the most difficult and complicated periods in history.

The result is that American conservative opinion has won victory after victory against government during this past year. But all of them have been victories for uncertainty. No one knows now where anything stands, or will stand, from one hour to the next; much of price control has been knocked down; production has zoomed, while higher prices have swallowed up purchasing power; the executive side of government has been reduced to helplessness, and the last vestiges of Roosevelt order have departed from both domestic and foreign policy.

All the little uncertainties have merged into one great uncertainty, which now opens like a vast yawning mouth before us; and conservative opinion stares into it, and becomes frightened at last of its own victories and sells its stocks.

It cries pathetically to blame the stock market decline on the fact that a few price controls still remain, but it cannot quite account for the fact that our bull market grew up during a period of complete price control. It tries desperately to cling to its theory, that government must in some way be responsible; it tries to avert its face from the dreadful reality of the fact that there really are other, and worse, problems, in this life than "bureaucracy."

PETULANT CRY

And so it sells, at a time when production is rising; and, like an injured child, raises to heaven the petulant complaint that foreigners must be responsible, and that conditions would be much sounder and healthier if only there were more tinhorns trading in stocks on margin.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Global Tour Shows Isolation Is Dead

(Note—While Drew Pearson is on a brief vacation, his column will be written by several distinguished guest columnists—today's by Stuart Symington, Assistant Secretary of War for Air, who has just returned from a trip around the world.)

WASHINGTON

A TRIP around the world today is a journey of sadness, not only because one thereby has the opportunity to view what strategic bombing has done to the homes and industrial heart of so many countries, but also because, as the trip progresses, one is more and more aware of the mounting tension between great nations.

There are many memories: The sinister beauty of the bomb explosion in Bikini atoll, and the later tour over those twisted wrecks that once were proud ships; the piety and sincerity in the face of His Holiness Pope Pius XI as he spoke so earnestly of his hopes for peace and a better world; Justice Jackson remarking at Nuernberg: "Those 21 men before you, in conjunction with Hitler and Himmler, not only planned, but by their own estimate, actually carried out the extermination of over six million people."

More than any vivid memory, however, is our conviction that the latest developments of science, atomic energy, the airplane of today, the space ship of tomorrow, have made any man-made walls of isolationism forever futile.

What a waste of human effort as well as human thought these walls have been! It is estimated the great Wall of China took hundreds of thousands of people over 1,700 years to build. But all through China and other countries, we saw countless smaller walls, built, it would seem, to keep out any possibility of that mutual understanding which goes with human relationship.

One afternoon we were swimming from a boat on Lake Geneva, in Switzerland, close to the home of the failure that was the League of Nations. The Alps were very beautiful in the Summer haze. We thought of how much their protection had meant to the Swiss in their ability to isolate themselves from two world wars.

Isolation Gone

SUDDENLY two fighter planes shot out from the mountains, and shortly thereafter a great bomber droned its way high overhead. The cloud at Bikini again flashed before us. We thought, "Isolation for these people has gone forever; from here out, all the peoples of the world are in this business together."

In Shanghai, as we moved from the poverty and dirt of the streets through the sentried entrance of the beautiful house of our American host, the latter observed, "Shanghai is a fine town—behind the walls."

And a few days later, as we rode through the streets to the Consul's house in Calcutta, through the sickness and the poverty and the filth, our Vice Consul remarked, "Calcutta is a grand city—behind the walls."

How much farther we would be in our pursuit of world peace and happiness if all the effort utilized in building such structures of clay and stone had been put to breaking down those walls of misunderstanding between peoples which harbor the seeds of future strife!

How much more happiness and security have flown through the homelands to the people from the wall of the Bonneville Dam alone than ever came from all those walls in Asia!

Foreign nations are not the only places where there are barriers to understanding, however. Right here in this country we are developing major walls of disagreement, faction against faction, labor against capital, racial and religious bigotry.

Most of the 17,000,000 veterans in our land today are young men and women who have actually seen these sad conditions in other countries. They know now how much America means to those who believe in the rights of the individual, the right to live one's life in one's own way, and to differ with the rule of the majority.

So they came back cherishing their country more than ever, eager to orient themselves into civilian society, to live under the rules they fought to maintain, to have a job at good wages, a home, a position in the community they left.

Need Production

FOR them and therefore ourselves, let us get the peacetime economy moving, in order that the dreams they dreamed while in the foxholes, on the decks, and during the long patrols, will really come true.

America has its troubles, but surely they are nothing as compared to the agonies of Europe and Asia.

If we all strive for that understanding which comes with teamwork, we will also obtain efficiency; and with efficiency we will get ample production, production in the fields as well as in the factories.

Nothing could be more important to our nation's future; because without ample production our way of life cannot survive.