TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1947

Notes On An 'Impending Revolution'

CARY McWILLIAMS, writing in The Nation, winds up a review of Stetson Kennedy's new book on the South, with the line: "Southern Exposure is must reading for all who wish to understand the revolution that impends for the South."

This, we think, is a good deal more than the usual cliche, employed by a tired book reviewer trying to put punch in the ending of his critical essay. Outland liberals. Lord love 'em, do seem to be convinced that a revolution impends hereablust. Max Lerner of PM went home from Atlanta a few months ago with the same impression. Walter Davenpogle of Colliers summed up the latest of his quick tours with the observation that the South stands on the Units of a new era.

latest of his quick tours with the observa-tion that the South stands on 4th britis of a new era.

None of these genlemen, we gather, in-tends to imply that the harricades are about event. The revolution they have in mind varies in accordance with their ide-ological predelictions, but in every case it appears to be a rathef orderly business, involving nothing more radical than a great political awakening. The downtrod-ien, white and black alike, will not arise and selice power, but they will exercise the franchies which has been so long denied them; this alone will make possible a great resurgence of the liberal spirit and the manners and mores of the region will change overnight. If there is revolution, bloodless or chervise, impending it seems

Chainge evernight.
Well, maybe. But If there is revolution, bloodless or otherwise, impending it seems strange that it is the control of the

ONE of the explanations of this di-vergence between Southern and non-Southern liberal viewpoints, we think, lies in the fact that the Southern liberal us-ually has better in the fact that the Southern liberal us-ually has a better grasp of the region's history. He is more likely to remember that the South has already had one genuhastory. He is more likely to remember that the South has already had one genuichart the South has already had one genuiful neo-Populist uprising led by such
worthles as Tom Watson of Georgia and
Ben Tillman of South Carolina toward
the end of the last century. These leaders
rebelled against the aristocratic tradition
of "government by gentlemen" which had
prevailed in their states from their foundling. It is true that they, with immediate
and painful memories of Reconstruction
grawing at them, left the Negro out of
their calculations and came as expect to
the continuous lines of the continuous
the continuous properties of the
the common white man to his political
power to shape government to meet his
needs.

The great and tragic irony is that the

The great and tragic irony is that the enuinely liberal movement launched by genuinely liberal movement launched by Watson, Tiliman and their contempo-raries so rapidly degenerated into a reac-tionary movement. The awakened common white man of that era quickly recognized the power of his ballot, but the professional political also learned how to employ it for his own ends. The revolution, in a single generation, became the exclusive property of the Gene Talmadges, Cole Bleases, and Theodore Bilbos. The ultimate effect was to block out that have its rooks, making it instead a preserve from which demagogues, with conservative and respectable backing, go forth to successfully defend the status quo. North Carolina provides the best evidence

servative and respectable backing, go forth to successfully defend the status quo. North Carolina provides the best evidence that revolution does not necessarily guarantee progress. For this state is today the most progressive in the South because she largely escaped the Populist revolt of the late Nineteenth Century. She had her Populist leaders, it is true, but here in a "vale of humility" they had no ancient and highfalutin tradition to rebel against. In South Carolina, Ben Tillman found a convenient symbol of aristocratic rule in Convenient symbol of aristocratic rule in Convenient Sangest land-owner before the war; in North Carolina the great Civil War hero was Zeb Vance, a mountain man. The result was that no politically-aroused class prejudices were not aroused and class lines, such as they were, gradually disappeared in North Carolina while they were desired with the convenience of later demacagues. Class prejudices were not aroused and class lines, such as they were, gradually disappeared in North Carolina while they were being deliberately, cynically comphasized in being deliberately, cynically comphasized in being deliberately, cynically emphasized in South Carolina and Georgia.

South Carolina and Georgia.

THE idea that some bort of revolution is required to awaken the mass of white voters of the South to their great political pofential is a basic fallacy of the liberal doctrine. The 'wool-hat' boys know what their votes can do; if they need any further reassurance they feed but consult the record of the last elections in Mississippl, Alabama ahd Georgia. But they do not understand how the power generated by their aroused political- and class-consciousness is being systematically used against them. No revolution can awake them overnight to the facts of their political life—that obviously is an evolution-ary problem, for, as Ellis Arnali can testify, the more they are crowded the more violently they react against their would-be-saviors.

Moreover, it must be recognized that

saviors. Moreover, it must be recognized that all the factors that apply in the case of the 'wool-haff boys' also exist as potentials in the case of the Negroes, now gradually being enfranchised throughout the resion. Certainly it would be far easier to cement the race-consciousness of the Negro, with his many real grievances against the existing order in the South, than it was to arouse the class-consciousness of days of the systematic political exploitation of the systematic political exploitation of the under-educated Negro is too obvious for the most starty-eyed liberal to ignore.

under-educated Negro is too obvious for the most starsy-egol liberal to ignore.

This is not to argue against broadening the base of representative government in the South—that can and must be done with all practicable speed But is to defend the theory of gradualism, of evolution as opposed to revolution. In the ideal state every man voles, but every voter is informed. As the South has learned from bitter experience, one condition cannot be met without the other. A revolution that miscarries can make the franchise an instrument of exploitation rather than a safeguard of liberty.

USO Takes Up Its Final Task

THIS is the last round-up for the United Service Organizations, the trouble wartime agency that took upon itself the task of boosting the moral of millions of American soldiers and saliors all around the control of the pass of the pas

task."

The showgirls and the movie stars are still making their pilgrimages to far places on the USO Camp Show Circuit. USO service centers still-function in various military centers, in this country and overseas. But this aspect of USO's operation, vital as

Another Voice

it was in the days when fighting men, needed every possible reminder of home, is secondary row. The soldiers in far places are not lighting these days, and there is even reason to believe that additional en-tertainment is the last thing some of them

uso's main effort is now directed at the USO's main effort is now directed at the hospitalized veterans of World War II, the bed-ridden to whom boredom can be a physical barrier against recovery. These funds," writes Mr. Henderson, "are used for recreation and entertainment; principally for the men who are disabled. You will know as I do that in some cases it cases to force the war and its results. You will know as I do that in some cases it is easy to forget the war and its results and you will also know that in other cases it never will be forgothen. In making your contribution to the USO, remember those cases."

Certainly the "final task" is worthy. Charlotte, we are confident, will meet her obligation as she always has.

I 'Okay, Kid-Now All You've Got To Do Is Make Good'



Progress Report

We've Come A Long Way

Ores entury ago that was the light and soofing parior joke of an aristocratic society enaconced in
mashions along the James and Ashley.

Traditionally a state of small landsolders, North
Carolina's tragedy in the formative years, historians
say, was the existence of two geographical features.

That handful of achool cliniters still exposed
Tar. Heel progress as the treacherous Outer Banks
centering on Cape Hatterss which almost cut his
state off from access to the sea' and—some 400 miles
to the west—the great geological formations of the
Appulachians and Senotics (which effectively sealed
of from the senotics of these areas of fool."

considering the imposition of these "acts of God," considering the imposition of these "acts of God," considering the imposition of these "acts of God," considering the imposition of the first, although abortive, landing place of the white man on American soil, abe never the great, westward migrations. Cut, off from the bunites of a steadle commercial port, sheltered from the Middlewest by her majestic peaks, she, more than any Southern state, should have been stricken with the rasping death rattles in the calamitous winds of 1800.

A ND yet, as the years stretched away from that tholocaust, she showed signs of quicker revival than her stricken sisters. In a South that was admittedly a "poor relation" of the nation, she led what is kiftown as the "enlightened upper tier" in the elimination of many things that have been the whole South's shame.

South's shame. South's shame the whole For this the Old North State can be thankful. Ferhaps it was done in great part by her sturdy, industrious small handholders who never had much use for slavery, even in it sheyder. Ferhaps they adjusted themselves more quickly to the industrial SE.

age.

Perhaps she had less of the grand old illusions of white columns and moonlight, less of the veils and dust of the shattered Golden Age.

As her wiser clittens well know, she has something—but still precious little—she can look down her nose over in the residess chumings of the postwar

thing—but still precious intermediate processor in the resiless churnings of the postwar food processor in the resiless churnings of the postwar food processor in the resiles that the still st

If drait rejection rate in the nation.

THESE are not terribly discreteful things because

at the same time North Carolina has been relations the same time North Carolina has been relasame and intelligent and she has managed to pull

some same and intelligent same in the poerry better than any

other Southern state in the property better than any

other Southern state.

But these things—especially the recent statistics—

are a warning.

She has no priority on the Iront row seat among poor relations.

She must have vision and apend her sorely-won wealth with windom.

She must especially remember that her children can never have the opportunity to do important because the proportion of the proporti

A.L. newspaper men have troubles. I suppose Last week at the Press Association meeting in Columbia and the Columbia of the Col

content to the content of the paper, but usually wanted to flight the editor about.

Another editor was telling me about a series of mixed ads and typocraphical errors that have been plaquemen him lately and the content of the cont

Senator Soaper Says:

MacArthur's latest character-builder for the Japs is an order that they solve their own problems. Fa-thers who have become hary as to algebra in the years between will understand.

Adding always to the confusion of our thinking the question has been an unconscious assumpni that any seat held by Bilbo was a vacancy.

The helicopter letter-carrier who hits the in-cinerator with the mailed propaganda marked "im-portant!" on the wrapper will be forgiven.

A veteran with a wife and a new set of quad-ruplets, but no home, "never worries." Everything has happened.

In New York an accused who recited eight verses of Doggerel in his own defense was fined \$2, but on another charge

Marquis Childs 🔻

Department Of Peace

It dwarfs the \$178,000,000 which the Department of State has asked for. Yet our chances for peace in the world depend, in part at least, on the kind of understanding which the State Department can foster.

which the State Department can foster.

In the State Department's budrest association of the state for act, as Assistant Secretary of State william Benton pointed out in a recent appech, is it so necessary to a state of the state of the

instance, as base and selfish. DIFFICULT MYTH

In some areas of the world—
conspicuously Soviet Russia and her saf Bures, in eastern Europe—
in the safety of the safety o

work of intervals, something is a contenting in the property of the civil and cultural projects that every tij is proud of—the symphony or-chestras, the little threaters, the property of the civil and cultural projects and the cut of doors. Even less is known of the practical papers and the cut of doors. Even less is known of the practical publishing the cut of the cut of

not be adequate, but at least the intention is there and the world about the All through the 30s, both inside Germany and throughout Europe, the country was the raisehood that this country and the country faint war. America

determination of the American People, Muric War II might never heads to provide the property of the property o

the world by using the proper form of words.

MADOR ASSET
The State Department can befree the state Department of the state of the st

Samuel Grafton

Labor Party's Woes

A GLOOMY fate seems to compel to bum the Labor. Government to bum the Labor Government to but the Labor Government obtained the American loan. Largely for food, then we American waded gavly into our price rise, which has been paper, in a farle. To a Labor covernment which counts every matching the Labor Government which counts every matching the Labor Government which counts every matching and penny this has been a near disaster.

LOVE AND FEAR

times her own size.

One result has been the recent left wing Labor Party revolt against Bevin's foreign policy. This followed our November elections. It was not based on pro-Russianism but on a fear that American conservatism may be more effective

TORY COMPLAINT

Cherriman it is the friend of the trust.

In the same frustrating way, there is the matter of the Labor Government of the Gove

WALL TO WALL

Drew Pearson's: Austin Believes Atom War Can Be Averted

NOT all of what ex-Senator Austin told the Senate and because Armed Forces Committee leaked to the press when the Mouse Armed Forces Committee leaked to the press when delegate to the United Nations.

Most important thing Austin said was that he was highly optimistic that an atomic world was can be averted, must do to keep the world at peac. Three major policies must be followed to avoid what he called "Old Man War":

1. Keep the atomic-bomb secret until we have complete. The Maintain a strong military forces through universal training.

2. Maintain a strong military forces through universal training.

Training are corner of Pacific Island base we.

The former Vermont Senator told the two Armed Service Committees that unless we are strong ourselves and safe from attack, we cannot effectively prosecute and enforce incremational amily. He also warned that Congress of the control of the committee of the control of the contr

Our Ace Trading Point
A USTIN described the atomic-bomb JSTIN described the atomic-bomb secret as our ace "trading" advantage at the peace table. "It would be most unwise to give it up at this time," he lared. "Nobody would pay any attention to us afterward

"We must remember that the attack that plunged us into the last war stemmed from those blands." Austin told the third that the state of the state of

force until we have safely closed the coor on liture wats.

"It is the responsibility of Congress, not our United parts."

The safe of the confidence of the

Jim Farley Refuses GOP

SOME time ago Bob Hannegan's Democratic National Committee was ribbed for sending out the wrong letters to the wrong people. That, however, was nothing compared with the letter which Republican National Treasurer, James S. Kemper, has sent to Jim Fattey, asking him for

including you as a contributing member to the Republican National Committee. We need \$500,000.

"Your sympathetic and favorable consideration will be deeply appreciated, and I shall await your reply with much increase the property of the

similate seems and odd not measure up to the responsibilities entirested out of November 5th, may I say to you.

Mr. Eemper, that more beneficial jegislation in the interest of our great nation has been enacted during Democratic administrations than has been enacted during Democratic administrations than has been will serve with me that the Democratic-controlled Congress under the leadership of the late President Rossewich possed more beneficial legislation during those and Congress under the leadership of the late President Rossewich possed more beneficial legislation during those more president to the late of the late of

A Martyr Of Bureaucracy

HAROLD D. SMITH, who died in Culpopper, Vas. Thursday night was a quiet fittle man, inconspicuous and unobtrudys. In recent years he looked like the farmer he aspired to be. One would never have thought, passing him on the street, or sitting next to him in a train, that he was Director of the Budget of the United States during the greatest war in history, and for several years before. More than his title implied, he was really the President's chief of staff on matters related to the vast bureaucratic jumple which spreads out over the District of Columbia in all directions from the nerve center at the White House. Harold Smith was a victim of the public service to which he devoted the greater fair of his life. An expert on Government, administration, he served as Budget Director of the State of Michigan from 1937 until 1939 when President Roosevelt made him Yederal Budget Director. He can be seen to private business organization of the staff was paid \$10,000 a year. He confessed when he resigned as Budget Director of the State of Michigan from 1937 until 1939 when President Roosevelt made him Yederal Budget Director. He can be sufficiently supported to the work of the State of Michigan from 1937 until 1939 when President Roosevelt made him Yederal Budget Director. He can be sufficiently supported to the work of the State of Michigan from 1937 until 1939 when President Roosevelt made him Yederal Budget Director. He confessed when the resigned as Budget Director. The support of the Prederal Government. This is the story of the crucifision of a fine public servary which serious citizens might well propose.