

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

THOMAS L. ROBINSON, Publisher
J. R. DOWD, General Manager
B. B. O'NEILL, Executive Editor
O. A. McKEIGHT, Editor

BATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1949

STATE POLITICAL POWER SHIFTS TO THE LEFT

(Editorial Correspondence)

RALEIGH—It is becoming increasingly clear in the closing days of this embattled 1949 legislative session that the stage has been set for a swift, decisive coup by means of which the so-called "liberal" forces in North Carolina will be able to seize control of state politics and hold it for a long time.

If the coup succeeds—and it will receive its major test in the 1950 elections—the days of steady, conservative state progress will be over and North Carolina will be on the way to a small-scale Far Deal all of its own.

To understand what is happening—how, in a period of a few months, control of state politics has almost largely passed from the remnants of the Old Guard to an aggressive, dynamic new group personified by such leaders as Governor W. Kerr Scott, National Committeeman Jonathan Daniels, and Senator Frank Porter Graham—it is necessary to look backward a few years.

THERE are in North Carolina several large blocs of voters who are becoming increasingly conscious of their power at the polls when they vote. These are the labor, school teachers, Negroes, white collar workers. One of the main reasons for the long success of the so-called "liberal" bloc—which in 1948 was more an economic class control than was its geographical designation—was its ability to keep these groups from uniting behind some intruder from the outside.

The power of the old "liberal" bloc was seriously challenged only twice between the end of the Max Gardner regime in 1932 and the Scott victory last fall—both times by a professional editor. Dr. Ralph Macdonald, who succeeded in attracting to his cause many of the school teachers, laborers, Negroes and farmers of the state. The fact that Ralph Macdonald, who was not known in the state, had come to North Carolina, came within a few thousand votes of beating the Old Guard at the time of its maximum power, served vivid notice that another candidate would some day succeed where Macdonald failed.

That candidate was W. Kerr Scott, the burly, blunt, hard-headed dayrman who today is the most potent vote-getter in North Carolina and, at the same time, the greatest political engine.

Upon the death of the late Senator Josiah W. Bailey, there was a move to take over control of the state Democratic Party, and thus the State Government, involving several outstanding leaders. A series of articles which was published in *The News* in January 1947, described the maneuver. William Umstead, state chairman of the party after having managed Gregg Cherry's campaign in 1944, had planned to run for Governor in 1948. Charles M. Johnson, who had had his eye on the Governorship. Upon Scott's death, Governor Cherry persuaded Umstead to accept the Senatorial vacancy, thus clearing the way for Johnson to seek the Governorship. Umstead, however, was looking forward to 1950 in the chance that Senator Clyde R. Hoey would not seek re-election.

TWO things contributed to a debacle at the polls in 1948 which completely shattered that scheme.

The first was the demoralizing effect of the campaign between the late J. M. Brantley, former state chairman, and Umstead, who had expected to be appointed to the Bailey post. He was rather bitter at being passed over, and began making his party for a strong campaign against Benjamin M. Cherry, Jr. as state chairman. Brantley's own strong appeal to all groups of voters in the state, and (2) his long friendship and association with party leaders throughout the state. Many of these who would ordinarily have supported Umstead broke ranks and worked for Brantley.

Simultaneously, the rumpmaking Scott was hunting up and down the state doing the "machine," promising to get the farmers out of the mud, to raise teachers' salaries, to loosen up the tight anti-clubbed shop law, to force the utilities to expand their services, and generally bring in a dynamic "Go Forward" program which would benefit all the people.

Johnson who simply was not a strong contender, but who had the support of Umstead. Coupled with the defeat of Umstead, Johnson's defeat brought the

ADD: SONS OF BROTHERHOOD

THE court was hearing the appeal of Senator Glen E. Taylor's conviction on a charge of disorderly conduct in Birmingham during the Presidential campaign last year. A witness, one T. V. Weaver, testified that Taylor sometimes took a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress through the entrance reserved for Negroes, thus putting a sort of reverse emphasis on anti-segregation, and that the cops sought to restrain them. He showed and pushed and bested on all and sundry a few expressions—O—O—B.

The prosecuting attorney, suspecting an alibi that Taylor's language was no worse than President Truman's, bore in with further questions. Did the Senator use the initials only, he asked the witness?

squeaking machine to a sudden, grinding halt.

Perhaps Governor Scott realized then that he was the unchallenged boss of North Carolina politics. Probably he did not. For of more immediate concern to him was the very great problem of getting his program re-elected. He is commonly known largely with Johnson supporters who were cool, if not plain hostile, to Scott and to everything he stood for.

He plunged into the fray without hesitation. His inaugural address was courageous, forthright, clear-cut statement of his principles and of the objectives of his "Go Forward" program. He was not, at first, the bestor best chance to succeed, for it appeared the conservatives were in the saddle in the General Assembly.

THEN two things happened which changed the situation materially. The first was the death of Joe Blythe of Charlotte, national committeeman from North Carolina, and an influential man here in Raleigh and Winston. He could have insisted on an on-line party leader for the vacancy. Instead he supported Jonathan Daniels, liberal editor of the *Raleigh News & Observer*. It is not known how much of a role he played in the idea, or whether Mr. Daniels sought the job. In either event, he got it.

The next was the death of Senator Brantley. The implications of that appointment hit Raleigh with a tremendous blow. Not since the beginning of the session had Scott been in such a favorable position to bargain with the Legislature. He could have done so with the aid of individual members of the General Assembly who had been fighting Scott at every turn suddenly changed their tune.

But once again the unpredictable Scott passed the podium by and, with the advice and consent of President Truman, appointed the most famous liberal in North Carolina, Dr. Frank Graham, to the position.

As soon as General Assembly members stopped stuttering, they began cursing. And for two or three days after the appointment was announced, it appeared that the Government would be out of his legislative program. Then the word started coming in from over the state, and it was largely favorable. Gradually the word came in from the South and West. He had never intended to place them, had greatly strengthened his hand for a liberal coup by the Graham appointment.

His opponent in the situation materially. The first was the death of Joe Blythe of Charlotte, national committeeman from North Carolina, and an influential man here in Raleigh and Winston. He could have insisted on an on-line party leader for the vacancy. Instead he supported Jonathan Daniels, liberal editor of the *Raleigh News & Observer*. It is not known how much of a role he played in the idea, or whether Mr. Daniels sought the job. In either event, he got it.

The next was the death of Senator Brantley. The implications of that appointment hit Raleigh with a tremendous blow. Not since the beginning of the session had Scott been in such a favorable position to bargain with the Legislature. He could have done so with the aid of individual members of the General Assembly who had been fighting Scott at every turn suddenly changed their tune.

But once again the unpredictable Scott passed the podium by and, with the advice and consent of President Truman, appointed the most famous liberal in North Carolina, Dr. Frank Graham, to the position.

As soon as General Assembly members stopped stuttering, they began cursing. And for two or three days after the appointment was announced, it appeared that the Government would be out of his legislative program. Then the word started coming in from over the state, and it was largely favorable. Gradually the word came in from the South and West. He had never intended to place them, had greatly strengthened his hand for a liberal coup by the Graham appointment.



'Might Do 'Til Your House Is Finished, John'

Hard And Realistic Attitude

Mr. Churchill Changes His Tune

By JAMES MARLOW

WINSTON CHURCHILL, who only three years ago thought Russia didn't want war, has changed his mind.

In a speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946 he said: "Do not believe Soviet Russia desires war." He said in a speech at Boston he said: "It is certain that Europe would have been communized and London under bombardment some time ago but for the deterring of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States."

"Three years ago he said war with Russia is not inevitable. Thursday night he said war with Russia is not inevitable."

Why does he say that now? In the same speech, he says Russia would have attacked already if it were not for our atomic bomb.

You have to peel the delicate skin of Churchill's opinion to find the answer. There are two main points: 1. If the Western powers are militarily strong Russia will not attack. 2. And the death of Joseph Stalin may some day split the Russian Communists or leave them without real leaders.

Churchill never mentioned Stalin's name but he made clear what he had in mind by saying: "War is inevitable... often something happens to turn or mitigate the course of events. Four or five hundred years ago Europe seemed about to be converted by the Mongols... a great nothing could avert the doom of the famous continent... But at the critical moment the great Khan died."

"The succession was vacant and the Mongol armies and their leaders trooped back on their ponies carrying 1,000 miles separating them from their capital in order to choose a successor. They never returned till now."

Except for these things, Churchill's speech was milder than the one he made at Fulton three years ago. In the Fulton talk he called Russia a menace. And he urged the Western nations to form a united front against their biggest Communist neighbor.

His speech startled a lot of people. It came right after the war, at a time when there was still hope of getting along with Russia. He now says things Churchill called for three years ago have come to pass.

For in those three years this country, to solidify the West and keep allies, has set up the Marshall Plan and is entering the Atlantic Pact. The spirit of the whole West turned towards Russia in three years has grown as hard as Winston Churchill's feelings in 1943.

So with the things he called for three years ago already done, he has changed his mind. He is now saying to the nations: "Do not believe Soviet Russia desires war."

But he warned against "appeasement of tyranny and wronging in any form."

Churchill's Brandy
WHEN Winston Churchill visited Washington during his last trip here he was not without his favorite brand of brandy. He was not without his favorite brand of brandy. He was not without his favorite brand of brandy. He was not without his favorite brand of brandy.

NOTE—Churchill had the Duke of Windsor to thank for

Marquis Childs

Open Secret

WASHINGTON
ANYONE in doubt as to the responsibility for the United States in the Atlantic Pact could get enlightenment from the Marquis Childs. The general has a way of putting things that are not in the minds of other statesmen and politicians.

In his recent press conference he demanded priority for American arms for France. Then he went on to say that it would be a grave mistake to have the defense of Europe in the hands of the British and the occupation of Western Europe and other liberation would reduce the continent to a vast, unproductive physical ruin, de Gaulle said.

The doubt thus expressed by the Marquis Childs is one that has gnawed at the vitals of a number of Europeans in the past. They know a secret that is in fact pretty much an open secret. The secret has to do with the war plan conditionally agreed to by the U. S. and Joseph Stalin.

Many of America's own military strategists are privy to the assumptions on which the war plan was based. The plan was based on the broad assumption that the continent must be taken after it has been occupied by the Russian invader.

The Russian occupation would hardly be less rigorous. It might be in the Indian subcontinent and all of those with even any faint glimmer of dilatory would come to a similar end.

Liberation would almost certainly mean the destruction of the continent or any extensive underground could be counted on in a questionably debatable.

Joseph and Stewart Alsop
The Drama Unfolds

WASHINGTON
THERE are only two or three other men in the world whose beams of light ever penetrate the dark, mysterious recesses of the Kremlin. One of these men is Joseph Alsop, and given broad directing responsibilities in the same policy.

He is known in Moscow as a fair, protracted, Moscow visit in the winter of 1947. His report to the other members of the press corps is that the world had been wrong in assuming Molotov was sure to succeed.

It is a hard attitude but a realistic one for Churchill has never been a man of pleasant words in time of danger.

People's Platform
The Indians Of Robeson

WASHINGTON
ON Jan. 7 last my husband and I traveled our trailer on the Indian Chophouse grounds at Pembroke and thereby opened one of the lowest and most interesting chapters of our lives.

It is a hard attitude but a realistic one for Churchill has never been a man of pleasant words in time of danger.

Quote, Unquote

WASHINGTON
Farmer Orines of Vinegar Bend says that the 80th Congress may have been the worst Congress in history, but the refund check on his income tax payments that came in the last month of the session of its kind he ever received or ever saw.

Johnson Unofficially Reprimands Brass

WASHINGTON
EVEN before he officially became Secretary of National Defense, Louis Johnson started cracking his heels.

Power Lobby Nearly Wins

WASHINGTON
An interesting, private party was thrown by Congressman Harry Sheppard of California the other day, following the announcement that the House would vote on other transmission lines.

Churchill's Brandy

WASHINGTON
WHEN Winston Churchill visited Washington during his last trip here he was not without his favorite brand of brandy.

NOTE—Churchill had the Duke of Windsor to thank for