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SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1952

Taft, ke And Arithmetic

Marquis Childs

(Reprinted From Time)

HOW can the Republicans, after 20 years in the wilderness, go about estimating whether Taft or Eisenhower will be the party to pit against the Democrats? In the long history of popular politics, the country where the Taft-Eisenhower two ways of lacking this problem have been devised: 1) the polls, and 2) the polls.

Last week the Gallup poll issued the latest and most significant of many samplings, all showing that Taft will draw more votes than Taft. Gallup matched Taft and Eisenhower separately against Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. Results:

Stevenson 45%
Taft 11%
No opinion 11%

Eisenhower 50%
Taft 5%
No opinion 9%

Eisenhower 55%
Stevenson 31%
No opinion 10%

Eisenhower 55%
Stevenson 31%
No opinion 10%

At the polls well known, polls have been wrong. But they have been right in the past. Most of the Gallup poll has never been as wrong as this one would be if Taft were, in fact, as strong a Republican figure as Ike.

Job Taft derides the polls. A delegate who agrees with him must fall back on the only other chance for defeat of Eisenhower's campaign strength. That method is to add up the opinions of the polls, the practical politicians in their localities.

At this moment, Taft seems to have more delegates, but a far different picture emerges from a closer study of where Taft delegates are than where Eisenhower's come from.

In the doubtful states where the election will be decided, far more delegates (most of them practical politicians) have gone for Taft than for Taft. Most of Taft's convention strength lies either in 1) states where the G.O.P. has little or no strength, or 2) states where the Republicans are almost sure to win, if any Republican has a chance to carry the state.

In 1952, Taft is strong in the states that are already converted and the states that are unconverted. Ike is especially strong in the states that can be converted.

If Taft's delegates are divided into categories, the real Ike-Taft picture becomes clearer. Group I, the four states which have not gone Republican in the last four presidential elections and which have no Republican in the Republican congressional upsurge of 1950. Group I states, with delegates listed, line up thus:

GROUP I
State Vote Taft Ike
Ala. 11 9 4
Ark. 4 10 2
Calif. 12 16 1
Ga. 12 16 1
Ky. 10 10 1
La. 10 10 1
Miss. 13 4 20
Mont. 3 7 2
N.M. 3 7 2
N.C. 14 14 11
N.D. 8 7 4
R.I. 4 0 0
Tenn. 11 20 0
Tex. 24 20 1
Utah 0 1 1
W.Va. 8 15 1

190 176 62
In this group, Taft outdraws Ike by nearly two to one, yet his body, including Taftmen, knows that Taft has practically no chance of carrying these states in November. By contrast, Ike's strength in Democratic states comes largely from those with normal Democratic majorities of less than 60 per cent, e.g., Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, the more it is likely to be pro-Taft.

One thing is certain, and it is certain: the Veep, with Stars, would be no mere Throtheadbottom. He's full-throated or none.

The government system of checks and balances has been complicated for many years by overdrifts—Kingdom (Tenn.) News-Press.

A Seminole has succumbed after a green corn dance. Maybe that's news to you. —Fort Myers (Fla.) News-Press.

Telegraph Firm Asks Rate Boost. All we have to say is that, Stop-Little Rock Arkansas Gazette.

come from areas that in November will be barren, or almost barren, of practical results. If Taft were to carry the election, he would have to carry the country where the G.O.P. either has the lead or a good chance of getting it. Eisenhower has 63 votes including one Virgin Islands delegate) from areas of little or no Republican hope. If these votes form the bulk of Taft's convention strength of 389, Ike has 326 votes outside the Democratic caudal. That leaves the present score of votes in the effective area:

Eisenhower 326
Taft 277
Hard-core states 57

In the past 16 years, there has been a large group of states where the Republican state comparable to the solid Democratic states. However, there are a few states which have been consistently Republican since 1858, and many more which have shown definite Republican leanings since 1900.

Of the twelve states in the Midwest, all except Missouri went Republican in the congressional election of 1950. With the three northern New England states, the Republican hard core, which is lined up thus:

GROUP II
State Vote Taft Ike
Ill. 13 30 2
Ind. 13 30 2
Iowa 10 8 1
Kans. 8 2 19
Mich. 5 5 9
Minn. 11 10 10
Neb. 6 15 1
N.H. 10 14 1
N.D. 4 8 14
Ohio 25 56 6
S.D. 4 14 1
Tenn. 11 20 0
Wis. 12 24 0

152 232 88
(The bulk of Michigan's 88-vote delegation is uncommitted.)

Of the four states of Minnesota's delegates are committed to Eisenhower. Taft is comparatively weak in these states.

In the hard-core Republican states, as in the hard-core Democratic states, the Republican delegates outnumber Ike's almost three to one.

The Democrats get all the Group I states and the Republicans all the Group II states, the election will be decided between these two groups will stand:

Democrats 190
Republicans 176
There are 531 votes in the electoral college; 266 are necessary for election. Taft is assured of 152 from the New England hard core, the Republicans in convention face these questions:

Where will the other 114 votes go? Which candidate—Taft or Eisenhower—can do better in the doubtful states which carry 114 votes? Which can carry 114 votes? Central Valley and wins votes in the background states of the East and West Coast and the Rocky Mountain area?

Among the practical politicians of the background states, Eisenhower has few, if any, old friends, and Taft has many. But the desire for a Republican victory is stronger than friendship. Here is how committed delegates from the states of this group line up:

GROUP III
State Vote Taft Ike
Calif. 20 15 5
Colo. 6 2 15
Conn. 8 0 21
Del. 7 4 1
Idaho 4 14 0
Md. 9 16 6
N.J. 16 6 31
N.Y. 45 1 85
Pa. 32 2 13
Wash. 9 4 20
Wyo. 2 6 2

189 55 238
(The Maryland and Pennsylvania's 70 delegates are uncommitted.)

The polls, the men who know the doubtful states best, it is Eisenhower 5 to 1. Of Ike's present committed convention strength of 389 votes, 194 comes from the background states. Only 10 per cent of Taft's present convention strength comes from these areas.

Moreover, Maryland's favorite son, Governor Theodore McKeldin, has announced that he prefers Ike to Taft, and at least 18 members of his delegation are ready to go to Ike when McKeldin releases them. California's favorite son, Governor Earl Warren, is known to favor Ike over Taft. A careful canvass of the 70 delegates shows that those favoring Ike outnumber those favoring Taft at least three to one.

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The Lattimore Case

WASHINGTON

FROM the arbitrary power of the bureaucrat to the secret police is a shorter distance than we have been led to believe. Furthermore, there are steps along this way which once taken are hard to retrace.

It is a sign of danger when the bureaucrat entrenches himself behind powers which are not subject to appeal. His natural tendency is to try to enlarge what he calls administrative law. Thus he is shielded from the right of appeal and judicial review.

In the newest development in the case of Professor Owen Lattimore we are seeing how arbitrary this power can be. Lattimore has never been charged with any crime. He has repeatedly under oath before at least two Congressional committees denied the accusations made with the privilege of immunity on the Senate floor, of being a Communist agent or a pro-Communist.

Yet the House of the State Department on the basis of a wholly unverified report put his name on a passport "watch list" to prevent his leaving the country. The report, gathered by the Central Intelligence Agency, has now been established by the thorough reporting of Alfred P. Southam in the Washington Post. The report, which was without foundation. The CIA is, incidentally, required by law to leave internal security to the FBI which has sole responsibility.

Supposedly, the action against Lattimore was a routine one taken on a fairly low level. But when the State Department has used the word of the action was bound to leak. In this fashion, serious harm has been done to a private citizen already subjected to a prolonged trial and Senate investigation.

At times Lattimore has been the victim of a plan, concocted by the State Department, Director of the Walter Hines Page School of Internal Relations at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It is an effort to use the Far East, specializing in Mongolia, Sinkiang and other little-known parts of Asia. Everything he has written is published by the McClure-Naughton Committee in an effort to show a bias motivated by pro-Communism.

Now Lattimore's views may have been muddled, woolly, naive, or they may have been sound. That is a matter of opinion. But nothing has ever

been turned up to show that he was motivated by anything other than honest conviction based on the best of the available evidence of prejudice in each human mind.

If Lattimore can be destroyed for one set of views, the door is open to the destruction of any political climate, those who hold quite different views can be brought down for what they believe. This weakens considerably the core of individual freedom, an ideal despised, scorned, stamped out under Communist totalitarianism, which holds that any means is justified to the end of the theoretical "perfect."

Unfortunately, among us are some who seem to have accepted the anti-Communist conspiracy technique with its disregard for the individual.

Individual's Fate At Stake

It is, above all, the fate of the individual—the soul of the individual and its sanctity—that is at stake. Unless we overcome our fears and suspicions and divisions to understand this, we shall destroy the heritage that is central to the modern-Christian tradition.

While this dwells every other consideration, there is another aspect to this latest development in the Lattimore case. When the matter of the passport "watch list" came to light, Professor Lattimore, in denying he contemplated any trip, said that he had considered an offer to go to the University of Delhi, India, to lecture there for a year. That offer came a year ago, prompted, it is understood, by Prime Minister Nehru, who has a high regard for Lattimore's scholarly work.

Recently, tentative overtures were made to Nehru, suggesting that he, along with other Asian scholars, might be invited to the President's repatriation on which the Korean truce negotiations have been stuck. There have been hints from New Delhi that the offer might be made. It might be willing to undertake such an assignment. This latest demonstration of the United States' paragon of arbitrary action against a scholar, is not likely to induce Nehru to attempt such a difficult attraction.

It is a good reason for the President's veto of the McCarran-Water Immigration Bill that it gave more arbitrary power to the bureaucracy by expanding the field of administrative law both in the State Department and the State Department. That step occurs is the end of individual freedom.

People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the Editors. The News reserves the right to condense.

School Board Representation
CHARLOTTE

Editors, The News: I'm writing Thursday, the Mayors of Huntersville and Cornelius stated that should Lacy Ransom fail to be nominated that there would be no school board representation in the county. Lemly and last through Mallard Creek and Creek, and that "the entire membership of the Board would be concentrated in the southern and eastern section."

It is presumed that the above statement was made through ignorance, and not for the purpose of making a point. Most people who have been interested at all in the public schools of our county are aware of the fact that Fred A. Cockran is a member of the Board. He is a member of the Board, and he is a member of the Board.

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Presser does himself, his candidate, and his party no service when he attempts in any degree to up-end the selection of delegates arbitrate a prior repatriation on which the Korean truce negotiations have been stuck. There have been hints from New Delhi that the offer might be made. It might be willing to undertake such an assignment. This latest demonstration of the United States' paragon of arbitrary action against a scholar, is not likely to induce Nehru to attempt such a difficult attraction.

It is a good reason for the President's veto of the McCarran-Water Immigration Bill that it gave more arbitrary power to the bureaucracy by expanding the field of administrative law both in the State Department and the State Department. That step occurs is the end of individual freedom.

As for the charge that small groups of Republicans and elsewhere in the South, seek to keep close control of the party's nomination process, there is no question that many local Republicans have only to recall that in 1940, when the Republican women's caucus in North Carolina, in an effort to keep activity, the late Mrs. Walter H. Paine had a very uphill battle to prevent its being made a mere matter of men's organization.

So far as Mr. Taft's being the popular local candidate that he is supposed to be is concerned, I cannot count the people who have said that. Though they have always voted the Democratic ticket, as help them if they won't vote for Eisenhower, but likewise so help them if they'll vote for Taft, even if Truman is drafted to run again.

GERTRUDE S. SMITH

Then And Now
(Harris County News)

Oldsters can recall the time when crowds flocked to the station to see the trains come. Now the train is the only one that carries passengers who must look for a taxi or other means of getting home.

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WHERE TAFT'S 'STRENGTH' LIES

TIME MAGAZINE, in a lead article reprinted elsewhere in this page, proves rather convincingly that Dwight Eisenhower has more than personal popularity among the average voters; he also is rated among practical politicians as the best vote-gainer.

In the doubtful states—the areas where victory or defeat will be determined in November.

We call the attention of readers, and especially of Carolina delegates to the GOP convention, to this arithmetical analysis. But there's another angle that also reveals how Senator Taft has managed to manipulate minorities to grasp control of the Chicago convention. It was brought out in a recent issue of the N. Y. Times from one James G. Leonard, and it goes like this.

At last count, Taft supporters were a majority in 29 of the 53 delegations. But in 29 of these 29 (Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia) are from the South. In this century, these states have given the Republican 15 electoral votes—all in 1952, and all reflecting opposition to Al Smith rather than support of Taft.

Thus the Taft forces have been able to impose their will on the party's convention machinery by manipulating strength in the South, where Democratic and 19 other so-called Republican strongholds, which gave the Party only very weak support in 1948.

The choice before the GOP convention lies between a man whose strength stems from control of minorities and one who has a broad, national appeal. If victory in November is the goal, the choice is clear.

to build up the defenses and the morale of Western Europe. It is a new claim that the United States expects the countries getting aid in this program to use their own free dollar for tobacco purchases. . . . The record shows . . . that buying tobacco will help the general economy and morale of these countries. . . .

Hot rigidity. Shoot a word to me, Taft. To heck with the dollar shortage. Let's puff those Russians right off the continent—with American tobacco, that is.

Give-away? Foreign aid looks more like a dish of gravy for American pressure groups.

BUY AMERICAN—OR ELSE

ALTHOUGH the U. S. foreign aid program has often been called a "worldwide giveaway," the various "Buy American" provisions written into the laws have had the calculated effect of priming the domestic pump.

There have been many of these provisions. One required Marshall Plan and ECA funds to be spent for U. S. agricultural products when there was a surplus in this country. Another has forced the purchase of American products unless foreign-made products are more than 25 per cent cheaper. Another has made it compulsory to haul 50 per cent of all foreign aid overseas shipments in U. S. bottoms.

When the Mutual Security Agency presented this year's request for funds, it demanded quite properly that adequate supplies of lead tobacco are not strictly essential to the purposes and objectives of the MSA program. No funds were requested for buying U. S. tobacco.

That put North Carolina's Harold Cooley and other tobacco state Congressmen in an embarrassing spot. They couldn't, in good conscience, argue that lead tobacco is either a defense or a "defense support" item. They couldn't put through a stipulation that MSA funds should be used to buy American tobacco. So they did the next best thing. They got the House Appropriations Committee to agree on record to the effect that it was counting on the Mutual Security Agency to "see that adequate supplies of tobacco are provided" to countries receiving MSA funds.

With a perfectly straight face, Congressman Cooley added:

"This statement