THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The Issue Is Bigger Than Bilbo

THE evil genius, and the stupendous good luck, of The Man Bilbo has never been more apparent than in the manner in which he has managed to confuse the issue that plunged the Senate on its opening day into the always-depressing spectacle of a filibuster. Ironically enough, the Republican leadership has given him great assistance in his effort to take his seat; they have, through their arrogance, guaranteed him the initial support of virtually the entire Southern delegation.

It is our conviction that Theodore Bilbo is no more fit to sit with decent men now than he was thirty years ago when his colleagues in the Mississippi State Senate denied him a seat under similar circumstances. But the Republican leadership has managed to reduce the effort to unseat him to a partisan maneuver; they would take advantage of a technicality to expel him without a hearing. Consider this advice offered by Senator Taft to his colleagues: "You can step him at the door any way you want to if you have the majority vote. You can do it on any grounds you want to, or even without giving any grounds. All you need are the votes." This may not be the "rotten, putrid politics" Senator Ellender claims it is, but it certainly has no element of statesmanship in it.

The tragedy of this business, it seems to us, is that, rightly or wrongly, so many respectable and worthy Southern Senators feel they are bound to support their completely disreputable colleague against this sort of attack. So long as they are simply defending his right to a fair hearing by the whole Senate before judgment is passed they are, of course, standing on tenable ground. We go along with Senator Hoey's judgment that the previous committee hearings, in which a basis for adjudging Bilbo unfit was undeniably established, are in the nature of grand jury action; between true bill and final verdict there should intervene some orderly judicial process, and it is this the Republicans seek to avoid. But there is a danger, and a real one, that the Southerners, excited by the essentially irrelevant issue of states rights, will go all the way now in their support of the repugnant little Mississippian.

Somehow a way must be found to bring the two grounds for refusing him admission to a clear vote. The Senate should express its opinion on the manner in which he conducted his campaign last Summer. And, most important, it should also express an opinion on what seems to us to be the crux of the matter—the moral fitness of a United States Senator who has admitted accepting gifts of cash, goods and services from war contractors. The Bilbo affair has taken on an importance that goes far beyond The Man himself; the Senate must cut through the confusion and bombast and provide, through its vote on Bilbo, a clear expression of its own ethical and moral code.

In view of Bilbo's grave illness, postponement of a final settlement of his case seems reasonable enough. But postponement should not be used as a device for avoiding a full debate after a full presentment of the moral issues involved. There should be a final counting of heads after all the evidence is laid on the line. We know where Bilbo stands in the matter of Senatorial morality; we should also know where the other 95 Senators stand.

Rotten Apple

The Good Local Product

FOR better or for worse, the prestige of *Time* exceeds even its vaulting circulation. Its annual selection of a Man of the Year, therefore, has become something of a national institution, and South Carolina bosoms are swelling with pride because the wise face of a native son, James Francis Byrnes, appears on the cover of the current issue.

The basis of *Time's* selection is the effect an individual has had upon the course of human history. Sometimes the effect may be for the worse—as in the case of Adolph Hitler who has previously adorned a *Time* cover—but the editors make it clear that this is not true in the case of the Secretary of State. *Time* regards Mr. Byrnes as the principal architect of the post-war world, and now that he has become an exponent of that diplomacy *Time* approves (realistic and tough, the polite terms for anti-Russian) he is the recipient of that caustic magazine's undiluted praise.

And certainly Jimmy Byrnes deserves it. Within the narrow framework he has chosen, or which has been forced upon him, he has performed a good many miracles during the past twelve months. He has displayed the qualities of firmness, tact, and high skill as a negotiator that are essential to the successful diplomat. It is usually said of him that he has gained stature since taking over the State Department, and it is a just verdict. He is very much a popular idol, with a popularity that transcends partisan political lines. Even in this critical time his critics are few; even the followers of Henry Wallace do not question his integrity or his ability.

How did a man who has devoted his entire life to purely domestic politics emerge at the end of his career as a diplomat who will surely be accorded high rank by the historians? His hometown newspaper, *The Spartanburg Herald*, provides an explanation in the words of an intimate of years standing:

> In this one party state, of South Carolina, where it is broken field running—every fellow on his own—when a lad starts as an office boy in Charleston, court stenographer in Aiken, member of Congress for fourteen years, a lawyer in Spartanburg, United States Senator, member of the Supreme Court and becomes Secretary of State, he is bound to be a diplomat—or to have outmarried himself.

The Herald, paying a pretty compliment to Mrs. Byrnes, concedes that the Secretary out-married himself. But it also insists that his inherent qualities make him the equal of any assignment he might tackle—including the Presidency that was denied him because of the accident of his birth.

Certainly it can be said of Jimmy Byrnes, as a British writer said of Judge Parker of Charlotte in the course of the Nuernberg trials: "He demonstrates that a good local product will stand up anywhere in the world, under any conditions."

Senator Hoey Girds For Battle

THE Republican-dominated 80th Congress has produced another one of those equations so distressing to the Solid South: A determination to reduce expenditures plus the fact that the South is the principal beneficiary of the Soil Conservation Service equals a major reduction in the Federal funds now available to Southern farmers in their battle to prevent the deadly erosion of their land.

Senator Hoey, we are pleased to note, has recognized this possibility in advance of the convening of Congress, and is already gathering support for a last-ditch defense of the soil conservation program. If continuation means much to North Carolina farmers in dollars and cents—something like six and a half million dollars in 1947 to help them maintain the program of conservation that has been underway here for more than a decade. But it means a great deal more in terms of the future. Soil conservation experts believe that the present appropriation provides only minimum insurance against wholesale devastation, and they can point to the rivers that still run red to prove their point that, despite all past gains, millions of tons of invaluable land is being washed into the sea each year. If the present South-wide campaign against erosion is hampered by a sharp reduction in appropriations, they warn, all the careful work of the past may be undone in a few seasons.

Taking note of Senator Hoey's announcement that he will fight any and all efforts to reduce conservation appropriations, *The Anderson Independent* expresses the hope that he will be joined by the other Southerners in Congress. There are indications from Washington that the Senator is already finding support on both sides of the aisle, and when the issue is finally joined he should be able to rally that bloc of stubborn Southern dissidents that has so often wasted its strength in far more dubious causes. This is one time when we will provide loud applause for a successful obstructionist maneuver on the part of a Congressional minority.

Another Voice

The Poisoned Well Of Humor

THE recently released movie version of "Abie's Irish Rose" which played to packed houses on Broadway for six long years, has been denounced by religious groups interested in promoting interdenominational good will as "the worst sort of caricature of both Jews and Catholics . . . a film that takes us back 20 years."

Would that it could do just that; for 20 years ago American humor, earthy and uncouth as it may have seemed to the more fastidious, had a fine quality of unrestraint. Millions of Jews and Catholics who saw "Abie's Irish Rose," considered its slapstick dialogue just good clean comedy, unblemished by any hint of malice.

Of course it was caricature, but caricature inspired by good humor and discerning sympathy.

"Abie's Irish Rose" has not changed. The "melting pot humor" of America has. That rollicking outpouring of the spirit of fun which marked so many vaudeville and stage comedies of that day has become a casualty in a global war of nerve-jangling words. Even humor was conscripted by Nazi propaganda in an attempt to turn racial and religious groups against each other. The wells of good will were poisoned.

As a result we have become artificially tactful, hypersensitive to the plight of those who are forever on the alert for the hidden barb in the most harmless thrust.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch.*

Marquis Childs

Jim Crow In Africa

WASHINGTON

THE other day in Capetown, South Africa, that shrewd, wily, indomitable old man, Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, made two speeches. One was for world consumption. The other to a much smaller, private audience, was for home consumption.

To his world audience, Prime Minister Smuts complained in dignified tones about the action of the United Nation Assembly in voting approval of a resolution covering a case of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa. Smuts declared that the resolution should have been referred to the International Court of Justice, which would certainly have found that the Assembly had no jurisdiction.

For home consumption, Smuts said something quite different. He said that he knew the voters of South Africa stood solidly behind him in his refusal to make any concessions to racial equality. In 20 years, said Smuts, the whole world will face the problem of white versus color which now confronts South Africa.

The racial resolution adopted by the UN Assembly has cast a long shadow. In the perspective of the future, it may seem to have been the most important step taken by the new congress of nations.

WHAT'S BEHIND IT

Here is what lies behind that resolution. In the Union of South Africa are some 220,000 Indians, most of them Hindus. They, or their fathers and mothers before them, came from India as coolies. Of the Untouchable caste, they believed they might somewhat better their lot. Some have indeed become prosperous, and even wealthy.

But except for a very small minority who come under an early law, they have no civil rights whatsoever. They cannot vote. They can own property only in certain segregated areas. This has given rise to ever-increasing agitation. The cry of "taxation without representation," out of our own past, resounds anew.

The resolution before the Assembly, introduced by the delegation from India, recommended that the Union of South Africa and the Government of India get together to work out the problem of the Indian minority. If only by indirection, it was a rebuke to the Union of South Africa.

The United States and Great Britain voted against the resolution on the ground that the UN Assembly had no jurisdiction over what was the domestic business of South Africa. But every colored country voted for the resolution. The Moslem countries of the Middle East voted with India.

So did the Soviet Union. That is the significant fact which is certain to have political echoes in every corner of the globe. The USSR's propaganda for racial equality is fair and away the most effective weapon in the Soviet propaganda arsenal.

TRUTH BETWEEN

The Russian-haters say this propaganda is meaningless since all races in Russia are equally in subjection. The Russian-idolaters paint it into pictures of perfection. The truth lies, in all probability, somewhere between. But the facts are unimportant so long as millions of oppressed people of color believe that the Soviet Union has established racial equality.

The Minister of Interior in South Africa has announced that he intends to do nothing about the UN resolution. It is hard to see what could be done in any event, since India has broken off all relations, both trade and diplomatic, with the Union of South Africa.

This has profound meaning for us here in the United States in the new year. We can at least say that ours has not been the diehard attitude of South Africa. Thousands of Americans in every walk of life are working to end the racial discriminations that exist here.

JOINT ACTION

Southerners with the courage and imagination of Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia are striving to end the injustices and inequalities inflicted on the Negroes. Churches throughout the country are striving toward the same end. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has taken some significant steps in that direction during the past year.

This will be our answer if, before the bar of world opinion, we are ever taxed with racial discrimination. It is not part of the pattern of our basic law, and conscientious citizens are faithfully and fearlessly working to stop it in practice.

People's Platform

Hanged By The Neck

CHARLOTTE

Editors, THE NEWS:

WELL, it seems that Charlotte is off to a good start, with a cold-blooded murder on the second day of the New Year. I do not know how many murders Charlotte had in 1946; whatever the number we had plenty to bring shame to a civilized people.

It strikes me that our Charlotte papers, instead of publishing so much Bilboism, Talmadgeism, liquirism, and other things not of our chief concern, should immediately put on a campaign right here in Charlotte against vandalism, murderism, lotterism, grootlegism, and all the other meanness going on. One may well ask, how much longer will complacency, indifference, and tolerance, if you please, continue to wink at such outrageous crimes as that committed on Mr. McClure.

Our criminal laws in late years have been groomed in too many Sunday clothes, the lawyers are finding too many loop-holes, cases are prolonged, witnesses are lost before trial comes up, after conviction months and years go by, waiting on appeals, asking for new trials, on very conceivable technicality that the English language can frame up. No wonder murder goes right on. You say let the law take its course, and so do I so long as the law has a course, but today the law has a very crooked course, and it seems to me the time has come for a little straightening out of things, and getting down to pure simple facts, and the use of simple language.

I think one of the worst things that ever happened was when the states passed laws requiring all executions to be carried out at one central point in the state, behind closed doors. If all states, in my opinion, will abolish the electric chair, or the gas chambers, and go back to old-time hanging by the neck, in front of the Courthouse door, in the county where the murder took place, and let it be done publicly where all the people can see it, and let the victim swing in the air for two hours after the drop, so that late comers may see, then you will go a long way in stopping this wholesale murder. You may say that's wrong and inhuman. I ask, is it more tolerable than what the fiends did to Mr. McClure?

—C. McV. CHASTAIN.

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.

Harold Ickes

Farewell To Allen

WASHINGTON

DISREGARDING the reasons publicly assigned for the resignation of George E. Allen as the de facto head of the Reconstruction Finance Corp., the country is well rid of him. Thoughtful citizens have, all along, believed that the Nation was paying an outrageous black-market price for the story-telling and poker-playing abilities of a fortuitous occupant of a high Government office that called for training and abilities that the record nowhere shows that Mr. Allen possesses. Now he is free to offer his wares in the market place on the presumption that the White House is still open to him via the back door.

Quite aside from the inappropriateness of his appointment from the very beginning, Mr. Allen's tenure of office, considering all of the circumstances, continues to pose questions of (A) the suitability of his appointment and (B) the propriety of his acceptance of it. Certainly his tenure of office has been constantly harmful to the prestige of the President.

GOVERNMENT SPRINGBOARD

Many have long deplored the unconscionable facility with which men have accepted appointments, either to advertise their availability for more lucrative connections with private business or to acquire, in as brief a time as possible, a technical experience that would qualify them for private business on a high appointment and salary level.

If it be true that Mr. Allen accepted appointment to the RFC on the understanding that he would retain the office for only one year and then, on this count alone, Mr. Allen may be gravely criticized. In setting up the RFC, the Congress apparently had in mind that continued service over a number of years was necessary. If the members of the Board were to be worth their salt, or if the Board itself were to be capable of performing the responsible public duties laid upon it. And if President Truman, in appointing Mr. Allen, understood that he would resign at the end of a year, which may be doubted, then he cannot escape criticism. It would be strange indeed, if the appointment had been made and accepted on the basis of service for one year, that there never was any public intimation of such a limitation. Perhaps both the President and Mr. Allen are protesting too much.

There are probably those who believe that Mr. Allen, in deciding to resign, for whatever reason, right that some explanation was due a long-suffering people and that therefore he persuaded himself, and subsequently the President, that he had yielded to the importunities of the President on the misunderstanding that he would resign at the end of a year. But this does not carry conviction, even if it serve again to emphasize the easy-going complacence with which President Truman is willing to advance the interests of his cronies, either as public servants or as private citizens, by the kaleidoscopic use of public office and influence.

SMALL RETURN

As is well pointed out in a recent editorial in the New York Herald-Tribune: "If Mr. Allen was selected with the knowledge that he would only serve a year, Mr. Truman made a considerable investment for prestige for a not very considerable return. The Allen appointment, however amusing to the Senate, was one of those inept actions which did so much to weaken his hold on the American people."

In Mr. Allen's letter of resignation he refers to my Sidney reluctance to enter public life," and takes inordinate credit to himself by saying that he have rendered a long way since VJ-Day on the road to a free peacetime economy." Mr. Allen thus again demonstrates that he has more than one way to elicit a belly laugh.

DON'T HURRY, GEORGE

He concludes with the expression that has become a Washington cliche: "I shall continue to be available for any service which I can render for you." To which the President's reply was, as might have been expected: "You know without any formal word from me (so why utter that formal word?) that I shall feel free, as the occasion may arise, to call upon you for counsel," which counsel, of course, would be dear at any price. The President has already paid too high a price for his court jester, Mr. Allen. He owes it to the country as well as to himself to write "finis" to an unfortunate episode.

As to the country itself, it might well say: "What's your hurry, George? Here's your hat."

Icebox Raid

HICKERY, dickery, dock—the three mice are at it again, England, Russia and the United States have started the next big race. This time it's not a clock they are running around, however. The race is for Antarctica, that great land mass around the South Pole. Few people realize that this vast, mostly unexplored continent is nearly as big as North America!

No country admits it is searching for mineral wealth. The United States says it wants to test arms, men and equipment in Little America's hazardous climate. The others aren't saying, but there are valuable minerals there. It is the opinion of many polar experts, according to the Americana Encyclopaedia, that a large percentage of the antarctic's eight million square miles is a great rocky continent.

On his last trip there, America's Admiral Byrd found coal deposits. What else is there? Perhaps uranium, the stuff from which nightmares are made. Perhaps oil, without which Mars' bloody sword would rust to its scabbard. Never has man raided an icebox for such important dishes, and never before did such a formidable door hide the contents from his view.

Who found it? Who owns it? Important questions today, for down through history's pages are written bloody accounts of nations struggling with nations for land. It is from land that resources come and resources are the fuel of world power.

In 1774, famed British Capt. Cook found the Antarctic mass. He did not land and reported only vast deadly ice flows. Forty-six years later, a Russian, Fabian von Bellingshausen, found land there. He named it Alexander Land for Czar Alexander. Then in 1841, one of the greatest English polar explorers, Ross, spent two years of extended exploration in the region. He discovered several mountains, including a great volcano.

The great bay, closest approach by ship to the South Pole, is now known as Ross Bay. It was from Ross Bay that Norway's fabled Amundsen and Britain's Capt. Scott began their perilous race for the South Pole. On Dec. 14, 1911, Amundsen reached the Pole and planted the Norwegian flag there, atop a vast plateau which he named King Haakon VII Plateau. He claimed it for Norway.

Great Britain, Russia, Norway, and other countries thus lead in Antarctic exploration. Yet the greatest fund of knowledge about this prize was the work of an American, in 1933 and 1939, Admiral Byrd, polar hero and Virginia gentleman—the name that anchors the United States for all time to that land of ice and blizzard. Bleak stretches of Antarctica were mapped, photographed from the land and air, and claimed for our country by Byrd.

Today's explorers know much about what they will find. The American Encyclopaedia tells us that they can expect temperatures below 45, and screaming, lashing blizzards. Regions near the Pole where it's too cold to snow. There is much animal life, surprisingly enough. Beside the four foot high, comical King Penguin, at least thirteen species of seals have been found there. In the water around the continent are many varieties of fish and several types of whales. There are mountains 15,000 feet high and spots where the ice cap is believed to be fourteen miles thick!

Those things are known. But what treasures do those ice covered rocks conceal? Is there uranium or oil? Can man and his equipment extract those keys to power—and live to carry them to his factories? As the great clock ticks on and the three mice run, the world sits pondering its future and almost with regret awaiting the answers.—Barry J. Holloway for Encyclopaedia Americana Information Service.

Quote, Unquote

REAL disarmament cannot be achieved without adequate measures of inspection to insure efficient enforcement.—Senator Tom Connally (D) of Texas.

Americans think they are the most sincere and democratic people in the world, that the atomic bomb in their hands is only an olive branch—Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer.

We arrested (Archbishop Aloysius) Stepinatz and we will arrest everyone who resists the present state of affairs, whether he likes it or not.—Marshal Tito.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Truman Tries To Beat GOP To The Punch

WASHINGTON

THOSE who sometimes sit in on White House councils say that with most of his Cabinet resigned, it's now a race to beat the Republicans to the punch. If the brain trusters think the Republicans are going to make a certain move, they urge the President to rush in and do it first.

The two men most in a dither to get under the wire ahead of the Republicans are: Secretary of the Treasury Snyder and legal adviser Clark Clifford who were chiefly responsible for ending part of the war powers—just as the Republicans had about decided the war powers would have to be continued.

Several weeks ago, Snyder and Clifford were arguing with Wilson Wyatt, retired Housing Administrator, about the termination of all price controls.

"We've got to remove them," argued Secretary Snyder. "Because if we don't, the Republicans will do it for us."

"All right," countered Wyatt, "but why beat the Republicans to a mistake? If they want to make mistakes, let them take the blame for those mistakes."

Merry Go-Round Program For Labor

ORGANIZED labor today is somewhat in the same position as the man in the well-known halitosis advertisement, "even your best friend won't tell you."

For about two decades this writer has vigorously championed the basic rights of labor. And while it may not be popular to give advice, here are some ideas for constructive labor reforms which can head off drastic legislation:

1. Jurisdictional strikes should be outlawed. There is no reason for making the public suffer because civil war rages between two labor unions. Labor should appoint another Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who restored confidence to baseball—someone of national stature such as Charles Evans Hughes or Secretary of State Byrnes—to iron out its internecine warfare. And do it before Congress does it first.

2. Union racketeers who milk workers and small employers should be cleaned out by the unions themselves or the Government will do it for them.

Inspection Of Books

3. Publication of books is already practiced by 40 out of 41 CIO unions. Their funds are audited by certified public accountants, and all salaries and expenses are open to public inspection. All unions should be required to follow suit. If so, John L. Lewis would not be able to pay $300,000 of miners' money to a mine operator in Springfield, Ill., to stay shut. Also some of the fancy salaries paid to members of the Lewis family and others might be discouraged.

4. Labor should be responsible for the contracts they sign. Employers have the right to figure their costs in advance, and when a contract is signed, he knows what his costs are. This is a great help in preventing strikes during many times. If labor violates a contract it must suffer a financial penalty.

5. Utility disputes should be settled by compulsory arbitration. When it comes to electric power, street railways, telephones, and the railroads, the public should not be made to suffer because labor and capital cannot agree. In the end, the disastrous Pittsburgh power strike was settled by arbitration—though only after heavy financial loss to the workers involved and after giving a black eye to labor generally.

6. Tri-partite mediation by representatives of labor, management and the public should be arranged for by the Government in all disputes where the public has an important indirect interest—such as coal and steel. The final acceptance of a mediation board decision is not compulsory, but it is usually fair and more likely to settle the dispute.

If labor's enlightened leaders take the initiative in putting across these basic reforms, its worst enemies both in Congress and elsewhere will find the ground cut out from under them. Furthermore it will inaugurate a new era of good will between labor and employer which should work wonders for the nation.

Gentlemen From North Carolina

ON Sept. 10, 1945, this column told how the Coxe Lumber Co. of Wadesboro, N. C., had criminal charges brought against it by the OPA for up-grading lumber; also how Senatorial nominee Clyde Hoey of North Carolina intervened on behalf of the Coxe Lumber Co. and helped to get the criminal charges dropped.

Senator Hoey acted as attorney for the lumber company shortly after he had been nominated for the Senate, tantamount to election in North Carolina. Had he acted after becoming Senator, he would have been subject to criminal prosecution. Whether due to Hoey's influence or other factors, the Justice Department finally dropped the criminal charges against the Coxe Lumber Co.—much to the disgust of the OPA.

Senator Hoey, a former Governor of North Carolina, happens to be the brother-in-law of O. Max Gardner, also a former Governor of North Carolina, who held the post of Undersecretary of the Treasury to become Ambassador to Great Britain.

A fine public servant, Max Gardner has been in direct charge of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and all income tax cases. And the other day a new cast against Tom Coxe, president of the same Coxe Lumber Co. came before the Bureau of Internal Revenue, this time on a charge of income tax evasion. This time, however, Mr. Coxe's fate was in the hands of a different North Carolinian.

When an underling asked Undersecretary Gardner what should be done regarding Coxe, Mr. Gardner replied:

"If he's guilty, prosecute."

The Coxe case has now been sent to the Justice Department for criminal prosecution.