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'No Where Else To Go'

IN THE furious debate over the Democratic platform at Philadelphia, it was difficult to tell whether we were watching the Democratic Party knock itself out or seeing a fine demonstration of the Democratic Party's reason for being which carries with it an assurance of the party's indestructibility.

The first impression is, of course, that the conflict over the states' rights issue cannot be composed and the fight will go on until it produces a Southern bolt of some kind in the November election.

As the score now stands, the South has lost four major points in its battle to shape the party platform and change the convention rules.

The Dixie delegates failed in their drive to revive the two-thirds rule, which would have required a majority vote of two-thirds of the delegates to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. That would have restored the Solid South's old power to veto any nomination it didn't like. For instance, Harry Truman.

Southerners were routed again, after a determined fight on the convention floor, when their demand for a specific states' rights declaration in the platform was turned down. They lost another point when the convention voted a "commendation" of President Truman's civil rights program, the action which set off the Southern revolt.

The Democratic plank calling for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Law represented another setback for the Southern conservative wing of the party, since many Democratic Senators and Representatives from this region voted for the law and voted to over-ride President Truman's veto of it. In fact, the whole platform has a New Deal look that is much too pronounced to suit the dominant Southern Democratic leaders.

Considering this score — and Truman to boot—it is little wonder that many Dixiecrats are ready to go on a rampage. Observers are predicting freely there will be bolts all over the South and the party is washed up. Perhaps they are right. Certainly it is amazing that there was ever a party like this, with so many and such deep differences. It's more of a wonder that the party has held together this long. Perhaps there is no place in the new streamlined, totalitarian age for this coalition of antipathetic, disputatious, regional and minority groups, as both Clare Boothe Luce and Henry Wallace tell us.

Yes, it's hard to see what holds the Democratic Party up, particularly in the heat of the convention. However, the Philadelphia show also left us with the impression that if there is no place in this time for the Democratic Party there is no place for the South, or the New Dealers, or the labor and immigrant groups — the whole hodgepodge of democracy that Mrs. Luce ridicules. If the Democratic Party is gone, the two-party system is on its way out and popular government in America will have lost one of its main props.

We have a notion that this second impression is the one that will last longer after the convention, and produce a remarkable show of Democratic regularity come Nov. 2.

Russia's Diversion In Berlin

RUSSIA HAS refused to lift the Berlin food blockade in response to a demand from the Western powers and we are confronted again with a puzzle that has been troubling observers of the international situation for many weeks. The question: What's coming out of the German capital? What is Russia's real objective in this dangerous operation?

Winston Churchill, Britain's retired wartime Prime Minister and a close student of the Communist riddle, declares that the Soviet squeeze on the Allies in Berlin makes no sense in the light of the trouble Russia now seems to be having with her chief Balkan ally, Yugoslavia. As Winnie says, all the known rules in the power game make it unwise for Russia to provoke a crisis in Germany at the same time that her Balkan flank is being weakened.

Russia's seeming violation of this code was viewed by Mr. Churchill as evidence that the Soviets' thirteen-man Politburo had lost its mind or is so rattled that its members are working at cross-purposes. We rejected both possibilities at once. If this apparently illogical development in Russian strategy means anything at all, it means either that Russia is having no real trouble with Yugoslavia or that she does not intend to press the Berlin siege to the point of a military showdown.

Since we still don't know whether there is a genuine break between Yugoslavia and Russia, it still is too early to get an answer to the Berlin question by determining Russia's German aims from her Balkan position. We are, in short, just where we started when Mr. Churchill came in.

However, the ex-Prime Minister said one other thing that pointed us toward the answer. "No one," said he, "can tell what these thirteen holocausts in the Kremlin will do. They do not reason as we do in the Western world."

Mr. Churchill himself is getting a bit rattled. There is one thing we can tell about the mad Russians, even from this distance, and that is they aren't going to invite destruction by the atom bomb unless and until their position is desperate. Anyone can look at the world picture today and see at a glance that Russia's position is far from desperate. Even if she loses the contest for Berlin and Germany, her situation will not be hopeless. She still has large opportunities for non-military aggrandizement in Asia, Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Russia now knows that she can't force the Allies out of Berlin without provoking a war with the United States and we can't believe she will take such a risk at a time when her political offensive still is working well. Thus we get the solution: Russia is prolonging the Berlin blockade as long as she can safely do so because she has nothing else to occupy her while preparing for new political disturbances on other fronts.

If It Rains On St. Swithin's Day

ABOUT a thousand years ago a group of English clergymen took it upon themselves to move the bones of the good St. Swithin from their resting place in the Winchester Churchyard into Winchester Cathedral.

This was to be done on July 15. It wasn't, however, because on the dawn of that distant day the sun is said to have ducked behind a bank of clouds and rain poured and continued to pour for forty days.

For this reason if, while you read this, water is sloshing across your windows—look forward to a six-week siege of precipitation. This is the prediction of those who hold with the St. Swithin legend.

Prodded by this curious bit of weather lore, we decided to look into the case of St. Swithin. We found that he was an English prelate of the ninth century who was assigned by King Egbert to tutor the young prince Ethelwulf. He apparently made good, for he found tutoring to be a steady job. He traded in Ethelwulf for Prince Albert and did an effective job—Albert later became king.

His career was topped off by his appointment as bishop of Winchester. A century after his death he was canonized and the business of the forty wet days began.

We also found that St. Swithin is a member of a rather large fraternity of rain-makers. In France there are three watery saints: St. Medard who sets off precipitation on June 8, and Saints Gervais and Protais who co-operate to start things going on June 9. In Flanders, St. Godelieve causes rain to fall and Germany has three such saint's days.

As this is written, however, the weatherman isn't putting much stock in St. Swithin, even though it has already rained today.

From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat

The Stronger Weaker Sex

SINCE eligible women voters outnumber men by a record 1,700,000 and since women are more conscientious in seeking information about public affairs, it is safe to predict the 1948 electorate will be the best informed in our history.

This is the only generalization a canny politician will make about a woman vote; beyond it, he will not calculate. Elections since 1920 have shown old-fogy predictions of a women's suffrage bloc were scaremongering. There has been no season of apathy nor storm of feminine sentiment at the polls. The women have voted personal or party beliefs pretty much as, if not always in agreement with, their husbands and brothers, and it takes a close student to detect a vote, by sex, in national affairs.

This year, as always, the parties will make special appeals to matron and maid. These are a continuing effort to extend fullest hospitality to women within the party ranks where their presence was once forbidden. With women's suffrage, politicians put out a big welcome mat for the new voters and it is still at the door.

The real campaigning will probably be affected by the woman vote only as party headquarters, staffed by men and women, make sure it is all-inclusive. Barring the high cost of living and any threat of war, there is no political hay to be made in special appeals to a potential female bloc.

There will be less hooray and more business in the campaign; the American woman in politics is serious. A five-plank action platform adopted by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs shows how insistent she is on facts, and no fuss. The platform asks every member to enroll in the political party of her choice, volunteer for party tasks, join a political club, learn about election laws, and vote in primaries — a commendable program for men and women.

But aside from adding a little seriousness, a stricter standard, and color to the political scene, the woman ballot will not rock the boat at the election.

'Now All We've Got To Do Is Win The Election'

The Red Hot Issue

Civil Rights Lines Are Drawn

By JAMES MARLOW
Associated Press Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA

THE high cost of living—blaming the other side for it—will be one of the main issues in the 1948 political campaign. But here at the Democrats' convention, where they staged the curtain raiser for the campaign, the red hot issue has been civil rights for Negroes.

The Southerners fought bitterly to water down the language of any plank on civil rights which the party wrote into its campaign platform.

It's been an embarrassing problem for the Democrats. The embarrassment started months ago when President Truman asked Congress to pass a wide-ranging civil rights program. If Congress had done that, the ones benefiting most would have been Negroes in the South.

But Mr. Truman's proposal so infuriated white Southern politicians that they opposed his nomination as Democratic candidate for President. So the problem of the Democrats in writing their plank on civil rights went like this:

1. Take a stand on civil rights but try not to make the Southerners any angrier than they are already.

2. At the same time don't word it in such a way that the Democratic Party would seem to be letting Mr. Truman down on his civil rights ideas.

3. And try to word it so that the Negro voters in the big Northern cities wouldn't turn away from the Democrats. Their vote in the November elections could mean victory to the side that gets it.

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THE Democrats finished writing their platform early yesterday. The plank on civil rights isn't much different from the party's plank on civil rights in its 1944 platform. But—it's a little less specific than the civil rights plank in this year's Republican platform.

Instead of stating the party's position on individual points in a civil rights program—such as abolishing the poll-tax or passing an anti-lynching or anti-segregation law—the plank uses more general language.

You can pass your own judgment by reading the 1948 Republican plank on civil rights and the civil rights plank in the Democratic platform of 1944 and 1948.

Here's what the Democrats said in their 1944 platform worked out at their Chicago convention that year:

"We assert that mankind believes in the four freedoms. We believe that the country which has the greatest measure of social justice is capable of the greatest achievement.

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full Constitutional powers to protect those rights."

That was all the 1944 Democratic platform said on civil rights. This is what the 1948 platform says:

"The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discriminations based on race, creed or color.

"The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

"We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

"We again call upon Congress to exert its full authority to the limit of its Constitutional powers to assure and protect those rights."

In addition, the convention itself wrote into the plank an indorsement of Truman's civil rights program, an unexpected development, which makes it considerably stronger than the 1944 plank.

This is what the 1948 Republican plank on civil rights, worked out at their convention here three weeks ago, says:

"Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy.

"One of the basic principles of this republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this republic.

"This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color or country of origin.

"We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this republic.

"We favor the abolition of the poll-tax as a requisite to voting. We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States."

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ALTHOUGH two parties' planks on civil rights are pretty general by specifically mentioning the poll-tax and segregation the Republican plank takes a stand on some of the specific problems of civil rights. The Democratic planks didn't do this.

In their 1944 plank on civil rights the Republican came out flatly for an end to the poll-tax, for an anti-lynching law and for a law creating an FEPC—Fair Employment Practice Commission—whose job would be to see that Negroes, looking for jobs, were not turned down because they were Negroes.

Although the Democrats had control of Congress from 1944 to 1946, they didn't pass any major civil rights laws. Neither did the Republicans in the two years, 1946-48, in which they've controlled Congress.

Quote, Unquote

As production and competition increase, we look forward to the day when the automobile model named the Supreme Master De Luxe Super Special will be the smallest and cheapest in the line.—**Memphis Commercial Appeal.**

Security Administrator Ewing told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that in spite of the storm raised by President Truman's civil rights program he "stuck to his guns." Like the man who caught a bear by the tail.—**Arkansas Gazette.**

When Drew Pearson said that the Republican convention was full of corn, we guess he meant corny, but that's not what the expression would mean in Kentucky.—**Lexington Herald.**

Accidents don't happen . . . they are committed. **—Greenville (Tenn.) Sun.**

Marquis Childs

Democratic Congress?

PHILADELPHIA

WHAT has happened here is so completely out of focus that, judged by ordinary political standards, it makes no sense at all. Like mirror-writing, it needs to be seen in a glass that will correct the distortions.

Take the Barkley boom for Vice-President as an example of the upside-down quality of the goings-on here. (You are hardly entitled to use that overworked word, boom, at this convention.)

Those behind the Barkley move have no illusions that the Senator from Kentucky would add much strength to the ticket nationally. His Senate colleagues want him to have the honor as a kind of capstone to his long and faithful service in the Senate. But he will be 71 years old in November. That doesn't matter, his friends say, since in any event the ticket will not be elected. He will make a respectable campaign, so the argument goes. All this sounds a little as though he were being selected as chief pallbearer.

POLITICAL STRATEGY

There is, however, a practical political reason advanced. Barkley would help the ticket in his native Kentucky, a border state that went Republican two years ago. This is not so much, you are soon made to understand, in order to deliver Kentucky's electoral vote to a Truman-Barkley combination as it is to knock out a Republican Senator up for re-election.

In other words, you would be nominating a Vice-Presidential candidate in the wistful hope of strengthening the Democratic opposition in Congress. Strange as this may seem, it makes more sense than a great deal of the double talk that has been heard in the ten days leading up to this meeting.

A few elemental political facts should have been plain long ago. Since President Truman could not be sidetracked as a candidate in the face of his determination to see it through, the only possible place where liberal-labor elements in the party might make their influence felt was in Congressional contests in behalf of candidates considered progressive.

In spite of the fiasco here, that opportunity still may be open. Some Democrats, who all along have tried to keep alive a sense of continuity and the importance of coming back to fight another day, are pointing to a chance to capture control of the Senate from the Republicans even though this is a Republican Presidential year.

They may not be so far wrong. A shift of four seats from the Republican to the Democratic side would do it.

IT COULD HAPPEN

It could happen. In Oklahoma, former Gov. Robert Kerr, who seems certain to be the Democratic candidate for the Senate, is said to have a good chance against Representative Ross Rizley. Rizley, who tried to put over the Federal Power Commission deal that would cost users of natural gas many millions in increased rates, is running instead of Senator Ed Moore, who is retiring.

In Wyoming, Gov. Lester C. Hunt, the Democratic candidate for the Senate, has repeatedly demonstrated his vote-getting ability even in Republican years. He is given the edge over Senator Edward V. Robertson, Republican, a wealthy rancher who has worked chiefly to break grazing restrictions.

The Senate race in Minnesota is hot. There the Democrats have a dynamic vote-getter in Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis. The latest statewide poll taken by the Minneapolis Star-Journal showed Humphrey with 46 per cent and the incumbent, Senator Joseph H. Ball, with 38. This was a distinct gain for Humphrey.

Even with Barkley on the national ticket, the Democrats cannot be too hopeful over Kentucky. Senator John Sherman Cooper, who came in on the Republican sweep of two years ago for a short term, has a good record on both the domestic and the foreign side. But Barkley would add strength in his own state where his old-fashioned oratory and his long and distinguished career are greatly admired.

Should the Democrats capture the Senate despite a Republican victory for the national ticket, the new President in the White House would quickly know some of the pangs of frustration that Mr. Truman has suffered in the past two years. That is the great game of American politics under our system of divided powers.

Nostalgia In July

Family Picnic

By BOB SAIN
Charlotte News Staff Writer

COMING, as they do, in mid-Summer when city folk are baked and bored, family reunions are welcome and refreshing affairs.

The reunion we remember was always held in July in a tiny Western North Carolina church which was reached only after a couple of hours of twisting travel over uncertain mountain roads. The wooden frame church with the tilted gray steeple was situated on the top of a medium sized hill. And as we came upon it on Sunday morning (reunions were always held on Sunday) it was framed neatly by a white margin of long picnic tables covered with white clothes.

The unloading of the picnic baskets from the back of the car was always interrupted by cousins, three or four times removed, who came over to wring our hands. Since we all claimed the same family name there was no danger of not being able to greet properly an unfamiliar person.

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After milling around for an hour or so and paying annual respects to the graves of the departed in the cemetery, the clan would assemble in the church for a morning of preaching and singing of hymns. There were always two of three visiting quartets which the reunion committee had hired from Asheville to lead the singing.

We never tried to distinguish between the different quartets. They were identical to the ear and to the eye. Each singing group consisted of (1) a tall, thin man who sang bass and bobbled his adam's apple to the delight of the youngsters among the congregation, (2) a short, fat tenor with curly black hair whose dazzling teeth were always visible behind a wide smile, and (3) and (4) who were always very ordinary, had no distinguishing characteristics except their uniformity and could seldom be heard as individuals as the quartet sang.

After a long sermon, through which the younger members of the family always slept, the clan straggled out to the picnic tables. The kids, fresh after a nap, played tag or hide and those from the city wandered through the nearby wood, gathering inedible nuts and pine cones or just feeling of the rough bark of the trees.

The men would repair to the automobiles for conversation and refreshment as the women spread the tables with huge red hams, many platters of fried, baked or broiled chicken, thick slices of roast, heaping bowls of potato salad, jars of sweet and sour pickles still cool from a year in the cellar, syrupy peaches and pears which the women had "put up," great flaky brown loaves of home-baked bread, sweating tin pitchers of lemonade and milk, dozens of chocolate, coconut and banana cakes. There was no bottom to the hundreds of picnic baskets. Most of them were taken back home half full.

The eating continued for hours and all restrictions were off for the kids as they directed special attack toward the cakes and pickles. (Inevitably they were sick toward the end of the afternoon.)

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When dinner (as it was called) ended, everyone stretched out in the shade—the women to gossip, the men to talk about their respective businesses, the children to sleep. When the late afternoon session of church was announced by the clanging church bell, the families slipped sluggishly into the benches and sat in a quiet, happy stupor through the second long sermon of the day. Even the visiting quartets, who had partaken freely of the bounteous fare, were forced by inertia to sing their simplest and slowest numbers. The bass singer's adam's apple was never very fascinating during the second session.

After church the women went about their task of clearing the tables while the children were pressed into service to pick up napkins and paper cups which had fallen to the grass. The men dozed in the cars.

Farewells were long among the women and could be ended only when the man of the family summoned his wife with an impatient blast on the horn. The roundup of the children who had strayed again into the woods took another ten minutes, but finally the families were assembled in their proper automobiles and the long, sleepy trip homes would begin.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

1948 Convention Big Contrast To 1944

PHILADELPHIA

THOUGHTS on watching a Democratic Convention—The Exercycle girl in the store window on Chestnut Street is still pedaling her exercise machine up and down. She's been doing it ever since the Republican Convention and she doesn't get tired . . . Sam Rayburn, Senator Barkley et al are still extolling the virtues of Franklin Roosevelt. The Exercycle girl is mechanized, but Rayburn, Barkley et al aren't. However, they don't get tired either. . . . Roosevelt is gone now. It's the first convention without him in sixteen years, but they keep talking about him. . . . Talking but not necessarily doing. . . . Truman talks about him, but fires most of the old Roosevelt team. . . . Oscar Ewing talks about him, Van Heflin talks about him, Congressman Mike Kerwin talks about him. But the real fact is that, despite the talk, the Roosevelt family isn't in tune with Truman and never will be. Jimmy Roosevelt did his best for Eisenhower. So did Elliott, and, for a time, so did Franklin Jr. Mrs. Roosevelt is sour on Truman, but has been too polite to say so. . . . In brief, this is theend—the end of the Roosevelt era, the winning era for the Democrats. They still make speeches about him, and in their hearts they know they can't win without him.

The Good Old Days

CONTRASTS between 1944 and 1948—Most famous phrase of the 1944 campaign was "Clear it with Sidney," which made Jimmy Byrnes so boiling mad. The phrase came from Roosevelt's alleged remark when Jimmy wanted to be his Vice-Presidential running mate and FDR is supposed to have advised him to clear it with Sidney Hillman, then head of the CIO-PAC. . . . Byrnes didn't clear it, and was not nominated, which was a tragedy because the country would have been immeasurably better off. . . . Today Jimmy is down in South Carolina, where he has a new farm with a lot of trees to clear away; Sidney Hillman is dead; and labor, which once played such a role at Democratic Conventions, doesn't seem to be around any more. . . . Phil Murray is sitting it out at Pittsburgh, apparently waiting for divine guidance. Dan Tobin, who for years helped write Democratic platforms, this year refused to be a delegate. . . . Long-range observers around the convention lobbies will tell you that labor has a lot to learn—when it comes to politics. No man ever went down the line harder for labor than Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, yet the CIO sat on the sidelines listlessly watching his campaign. . . . Other Senators may remember that listlessness next time labor needs a friend on the Senate floor.

All But Truman

EVERYBODY loves Senator "Dear Alben" Barkley—except Harry Truman. And it's mutual. The White House let it be known it wasn't enthusiastic about a 70-year-old man as running mate and, naturally, when this got back to Alben, he was miffed. . . . By this time, however, the press already had his keynote speech praising Truman so he had to go through with it. . . . Most vigorous opponents of able Senator Joe O'Mahoney to be Vice-President were Ed Flynn and Howard McGrath, his co-religionists on the Democratic National Committee. If a Catholic runs and gets defeated, they argue, it will be difficult to get another Catholic nominated for years. . . No one really wanted to run with Truman. . . Clark Clifford and Tommy Corcoran got the blame for tipping off Mr. T. that Justice Douglas would take the V-P spot, which was why Mr. T. called Douglas direct—all to no avail.

A Big Relief

THERE'S Chip Robert of Georgia over there in the lobby of the Warwick Hotel, just back from Singapore from where he air-expressed a snake to his wife Evie. Evie used to fancy herself a snake-charmer. Now she charms Democrats. By the time the snake arrived in Washington, however, and had a chance to be charmed by Evie it was almost dead. Air-sickness. . . . Says Chip: "If you have any dangerous snakes around give 'em an airplane ride. It's the best way to kill them." . . . Chip looks healthier now that he doesn't have to raise money for the Democrats. (He used to be Democratic treasurer.) So does George Killion, who succeeded him. George is now head of the American President Steamship Lines and says there's nothing like a trip across the Pacific for a Summer's vacation. . . . Money raising for the coming Truman campaign is going to be tough. Mrs. Perle Mesta, the Oklahoma oil heiress who throws those big parties for the Trumans, is counted on for a big slice of dough. So are Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Ambassador Averell Harriman. They're supposed to ante up half a million, and if they don't come through it'll be bad, for almost nobody else will.

Daniels Was So Right

THE late beloved Josephus Daniels was so right. It takes a big leader, a great man, to weld together the heterogeneous, warring factions of the Democratic Party. They're too individualist, in many respects so American. They're far too happy scrapping. . . . Also, of course, some of them have got old and fat and complacent. No longer are they the young, vigorous, fighting party of Franklin Roosevelt. . . . The days when new, fresh, invigorating youngsters would come to Washington and work almost for nothing just for the joy of helping their country are over. . . . Yet that doesn't detract from the great job they once did. The Republicans can howl their heads off about the New Deal, but they'll never dare repeal the New Deal laws—the SEC, Social Security, REA, old-age pensions, soil erosion, support for farm prices. . . . Those were days of never-ending battling for the underdog. . . . The Democratic Party today is still the champion of the underdog—only some of them are now so tired, so uninspired, so old.