THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The Crystal Ball Is Often Clouded

FROM coast to coast, bags are being mentally packed by Democrats today to board the Congressional Limited. Whether or not most of them will be unpacked again after midnight will depend upon what is going on now at polling places across the nation.

Crystal balls become clouded during midterm campaigns and results are difficult to predict. Many big public opinion pollsters like Elmo Roper shy away from national forecasts. There are too many off-year unknowns—voter apathy, "switchers" and "switchbacks." But independent political analysts have reported and numerous polls have been taken and the results give more cheer to the Democrats than the Republicans—certainly in the House of Representatives and, to a lesser extent, in the Senate.

Predicting any election is risky business. Exhibit A: The ill-fated LITERARY DIGEST poll of the 1936 presidential election. The DIGEST had earlier gained renown for its prophesies. In 1936 it mailed straw ballots to about 10 million persons. Of these about 2,376,000 were returned and tabulated. Exactly 1,293,669 were marked for Landon, 972,897 for Roosevelt and 83,610 for Lemke. On the basis of this poll, Landon was expected to get 57 per cent of the major party vote. Actually, he received 37.5 per cent.

The DIGEST ceased publication shortly after the election.

Mr. Roper, using more scientific methods, came within 0.17 of 1 per cent of the actual Democratic vote in 1944. But in 1948, like every other major pollster, he predicted a Dewey landslide. Instead, Truman won with 49.9 per cent of the total vote. Dewey got only 45.3 per cent.

Midterm elections can take strange turns too. But the best prediction in 1946 came from Republican campaign director Clarence J. Brown. Said he on election eve: "Within the next 24 hours we are going to elect a Republican Congress."

He was right. The GOP rang up a victory of tremendous proportions, winning control of both houses of Congress and a majority of the state governorships. That year, 36 million people went to the polls and when ballots were counted the Republicans had picked up a dozen Senate seats and 55 House seats.

The 1946 GOP campaign battlecry was "Had Enough?" From the start, Democrats were gloomy. Even columnist Thomas L. Stokes, a New Deal-Fair Deal standby, had sadly predicted a Republican victory. Said Walter Winchell two days before the election: ". . . Republicans will not win—the Democrats who strayed from FDR's policies are merely going to lose." Even before the votes were counted, THE CHARLOTTE NEWS hit the streets with this headline on its lead editorial: "It Looks Like The GOP's Day."

The Republican Party won that day in 1946—only to fail miserably on another important day in 1948. That was the year almost everybody was wrong—but the majority of the major party voters.

By the time 1950's midterm election rolled around, political prophets were properly skittish. They were still haunted by memories of 1948.

Even the party bosses played it close to the vest. Apparently they were afraid that too much optimism would cause party workers to relax. The great looming doubt then, as it is today: The sleeper vote.

Modest GOP gains were predicted by Republican campaign chieftains. The Gallup Poll showed 43 per cent of the people favored the Democrats and only 42 per cent favored the GOP. Only President Truman saw a landslide for the Democrats.

As it came out, practically everybody was more or less wrong again. Republicans scored a bigger victory than they themselves expected. The fact was that 52 per cent of the total vote went to the Republicans and only 42 per cent to the Democrats. The GOP came within a hair of capturing the Senate, substantially reduced the Fair Deal majority in the House and even knocked off the top Democratic leadership in the upper chamber.

The 1952 story is still fresh in the nation's memory. Eisenhower captured the presidency quite handily but the GOP won Congress by only the slenderest edge. In fact, Mr. Eisenhower carried 76 more congressional districts than his own Republican Party.

The lesson is clear: No politician and no political party has the U. S. voter in his pocket. The little fellow with the ballot is still in charge.

Random Thoughts On Tonight's Show

OKAY, the kids are quieting down, and the dishes are done. Shoes off, pipe lit, you're settling down with the afternoon NEWS and television or radio for an evening's enjoyment and education, following the election returns. Here are some random observations on elections which may make the evening more interesting to you.

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First, if you want to spot a trend early, keep posted on the returns in these key House districts: The First District (Hartford) in Connecticut (also the gubernatorial race in that state); the Sixth (Philadelphia) in Pennsylvania; the Tenth in Virginia (bordering Washington, D. C., now held by a Republican) and the Fifth in Maryland. These will be among the first to report. Joseph F. McCaffrey, Washington political analyst, thinks that any trend shown in returns in these four areas may hold up nationwide.

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Many northern Democrats, who think they're just as true to the party as their southern colleagues, nevertheless won't vote the straight ticket like southerners will. Some northerners refuse to support a man they believe belongs in the Republican camp. And so the conservative doesn't get elected. This is one of the reasons the northern Democrats don't suffer from a split personality like southern Democrats do.

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Remember Louis Bean, one of the few pundits who forecast Truman's 1948 win? Here's his conclusion regarding today's balloting, as reported in Sunday's NEW YORK TIMES magazine:

The 1954 election is essentially a pocketbook election, even though a strong effort has been made through emotional appeal to convert a mid-term election favoring the Democrats into the equivalent of a presidential election, Eisenhower election. There is some unemployment, concentrated chiefly in the northeastern quarter of the country, where many of the marginal seats are located. There is farmer dissatisfaction with lower farm income.

The basic underlying fact is that more people consider the Democratic Party the party of the "underdog" groups and the Republican Party the party of business groups. This essentially pocketbook cleavage constitutes a basic reason for people voting as they have—and as they will.

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What he appears to be suggesting, without saying so, is that the Democrats have the edge. That's what almost everyone, except Republicans, is saying—although several political reporters (the Alsop brothers, for example, in their column elsewhere on this page) have in recent days been backing away from suggestions that a big Democratic sweep is in the making.

As for us, we're in no mood to stick our necks out—not until about midnight, and then only to get a whiff of fresh air while awaiting the returns from out West.

Expensive

REPUBLICANS, dedicated to economy in government, apparently have no scruples about spending in political campaigns. Through Oct. 15, the GOP National Committee had spent $1,214,763—some $183,000 more than the Democrats.

Both sides were busy totaling up the final bills today.

It all reminds us of what Will Rogers used to say: "Politics has got so expensive that it takes lots of money to even get beat with."

From The Birmingham News

AIR CONDITIONING FOR HOGS

THEY are talking about air-conditioning for hogs now. Some investigators in the animal husbandry department of the University of California made experiments which show quite conclusively that pigs, at least, get along better when the weather is not too hot, or too cold.

Hogs gained the most weight, it was found, when the temperature was kept at 70. At temperatures in either direction from that point, more food was required to add weight to the porkers. For example, at 70 degrees, the hogs needed 250 pounds of a complete ration to put on 100 pounds. At 90 degrees, 450 pounds were required. At 100 degrees, the heavy hogs lost weight and at 110 the lighter hogs lost, no matter how much food they ate.

We don't know what farmers are going to do with these facts. But if it can be proved that air-conditioning is a matter of dollars and cents profit, we may expect to see the old sty go modern any day.

As for human beings, well, most of them are not wanting to put on weight.

An election year is confusing. When you overhear a conversation on the street it is difficult to know whether the speakers are discussing the role of Benedict Arnold in American history or commenting on the worth of candidates they don't like.—MATTOON (ILL.) JOURNAL-GAZETTE.

The old-fashioned patriot who at the dawn's early light wanted to see if the flag was still there now rushes out after the storm to see if the antenna is still up.—LEXINGTON HERALD.

'Oh, Say, Can You See—'

People's Platform

Muddy Yadkin Doesn't Divide Winston-Salem

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

RE: DUKE Power Co. ad, Oct. 30, 1954, being a direct descendant of Adam Spach (See Dr. Adelaide Fries' "Descendants of Adam Spach") and quite justly proud of my Moravian (via Salem) heritage, I could not stand quietly by and have the grand old muddy Yadkin (River) run between two fine towns, Winston and Salem, as indicated in the second paragraph of the ad in the statement "on the other side of the Yadkin, one wooden bridge away from herald horn and factory whistle, Salem cherished its old-world ways, kept its quaint school, remembered when Washington stopped there."

For your information the two cities are divided, or joined if you please by an imaginary line constituting First St., running in a mean line east and west.

The floody muddy Yadkin is at least 15 miles as the crow flies from the closest point of the city limits of either of the two towns.

I see insult added to injury in what appears to be a view toward the east of the Archives (Old Library), steps and Home Church (Moravian). If my guess here is correct, some one has reversed a negative of the front view. If you hold said sketch in reverse next to a window pane you will see a proper view of Home Moravian Church.

From one who appreciates the ads of a newspaper next to the value of the news itself, respectfully yours.

—GRAHAM C. REICH

Does Big Business Grow Fat On GOP?

Lincolnton

Editors, The News:

I WONDER if I might make a reply to several letters published in your People's Platform by a Charlotte man.

As I recollect several weeks ago, he attacked the Republicans as being for big business, then turned to the other side of his mouth and said that business was so bad that people were getting only three or four days work and that the big businesses—railroads, coal mines and so on and so forth — were going broke because they couldn't make any money.

He stated that the big oil business was growing fat off of the Republicans. I would like to ask if Mr. Truman was a Republican. As I remember back during the war John L. Lewis and his mine workers went on strike about twice a year, forcing the price of coal up and up, until not only the people had to convert to oil but U. S. Steel, who owned the coal mines, and to convert their own furnaces because they couldn't afford to use coal. I venture to say the letter writer has an oil-fired furnace himself.

I know for certain that it wasn't only Republicans who converted from coal to oil, who caused the oil companies to grow larger and larger from 1940 to 1950.

Now the writer states that he is disturbed to find so many nice people supporting C. Raper Jonas for Congress. Well I might, say I am glad he can recognize a nice person, for it is beyond a doubt that he can't recognize a political issue if it strikes him in the face. He has so far produced but one clear fact, and that is that he has a straight Democratic mind that depends upon some political aspirant to do his misguided political thinking.

—DAVE EUREY

Some Credit For N.C. Growth Goes To GOP

Long Shoals

Editors, The News:

SO, ITS THE Democrats that bring us prosperity? Who do you, and papers with "slanted" stories and headlines of your ilk, think you're fooling? Just remember, all the people—with minds of their own and not influenced by politics—want are the facts. They're intelligent enough to figure out the merits of all issues. TV seems to be the best medium now to get all of the facts. You get only what the reporter interprets what a public figure said and what the radio commentator thinks. As for me, I like to look the man straight in the eye—and listen to all he has to say.

Democrats and prosperity? You mean the war-produced type of good times (for the mercenary minded) they have a habit of coming up with. Look at our state, for instance. Which areas of the state are the most progressive? . . . The East, where Dems predominate, or the Piedmont N. C. area—where the rival parties are pretty evenly divided? That's a good example of what benefits the people and communities get from a strong two-party system. Look at Albemarle and Stanley County — Republican administered the past 10 years—and that county and town showed greatest growth for 1940-50 period—as official census figures showed.

And, look at your own Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. Is the city's tremendous growth and development all due to Democrats? We don't think so. There's bound to be some Republicans responsible for helping this to come about.

We're for a strong two-party system in every county, town, state—and the nation. Then, you'll have good business—good government—and more contented people.

—C. B. CLEMENS

Nation Will Be Safer With GOP Crowd

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

IN THIS election the issues are so involved that we should beware of immediate surface decisions. For example, the blunt anti-segregation decree was handed down to us by Democratic judges of the ultra-smart New Deal national Democratic Party.

Probably the best way to decide how to vote is to judge the spirit of the leading men in any party.

If we reduce today's election problem down to the lowest common denominator we would have the Truman crowd against the Eisenhower crowd. Then, judging from the terrible uncertain conditions, we have a right to decide that our nation is much safer with the Eisenhower crowd.

—JAMES H. BOST

Why Don't Methodists Do What They Preach?

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

IF THE Methodist Church of North Carolina so highly approves the ending of segregation in our public schools and lauds the ruling of the United States Supreme Court, then isn't it high time for the church to open wide its doors to the Negroes and all other colored people? So far I have not heard nor read of the Methodist Church nor any pastor welcoming any Negroes into the white churches of the state.

If this be the case then there is something wrong with the church's high resolution in regard to the brotherhood of mankind. How can we expect our children to integrate with other races when we do not welcome other races into our midst?

If the Methodist Church is only offering "lip service" to the high court and to the Negroes who heretofore have not felt welcome into the white churches, then it would have been far better for the church leaders to have remained silent instead of having spoken, especially when "silence is so golden" in many of the other church groups of the South.

The best way for the Methodist Church to show its sincerity is to follow-up by opening its doors to all races of people without first expecting the school children to set the example.

—RALPH CONNELLY

Last Minute Survey Affords Some Hope For Republicans

By JOSEPH & STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON

HAS there been a last minute swing to the Republicans? Has there been a real pay-off, from the frantic final campaigning efforts all Republicans have been making? The answer seems to be a rather cautious yes, but the reader may judge for himself.

In the two months before election, these reporters made on-the-spot campaign studies in 10 key states. What they then reported, rather naturally, was what they were told by local experts.

To find out whether there has been any recent change in the campaign odds, they have now re-checked by telephone with the men who seemed to be the soundest judges of political form in each of these 10 states.

The results, though not conclusive, contain some interesting surprises, as in Kentucky and West Virginia, and in general should give at least a glimmer of hope to any Republicans who may have lost heart. Here, then, are the current views of this group of sages, with their former views as well to give a before and after picture.

BARKLEY COULD LOSE

Kentucky: Before: Alben Barkley's a shoo-in. After: John Sherman Cooper has waged a miraculous campaign. He's been getting miraculous crowds. And I wouldn't be surprised if he passed a miracle, which beating Alben Barklev in Kentucky certainly would be.

West Virginia: Before: Old Matt Neely's got it in the bag. After: Republicans are behind the eight ball in this state, but Tom Sweeney's been making gains by stressing the peace issue: Neely's age is hurting him, and you can see he's scared because he's stopped attacking Ike. Neely should win, but it isn't in the bag anymore.

Ohio: Before: It's a toss-up between Bender and Burke. After: Bender seems to have the edge, although there's a smell of trouble for the Republicans in Ohio this year, and Gov. Lausche, who's generally more right than anyone else, thinks Burke will just get by.

Michigan: Before: The Republicans haven't got a prayer for the governorship against Soapy Williams, and in the Senate race, Homer Ferguson is running damn scared. After: Ferguson seems to be in good shape in spite of Secretary Wilson and his dogs, and the Republicans are even talking of beating Williams with their man, Leonard, although I don't believe it.

Minnesota: Before: Hubert Humphrey's got it cold in the Senate race, but the Republicans should win the governorship with C. Elmer Anderson. After: Humphrey's still got it cold, but Orville Freeman's been coming up in the governorship fight.

Illinois: Before: Paul Douglas is in, no matter how much the Republicans spend. After: Douglas is still ahead, but Joe Meek's gained. Furthermore Chicago registration is down 220,000 at least, and suburban registration is up over 50,000. That could hit Douglas hard where it hurts most, in his Cook County majority.

New Jersey: Before: Clifford Case is the victim of circumstances. After: Howell has a big lead on Case, and what with unemployment and the Republican organization in Bergen County being in ruins, it's hard to see how Case can. But he just might.

Wisconsin: Before: The Republicans look in much worse shape then 1952. Kohler could lose the governorship, and more than one congressional seat is very doubtful. After: The Republicans have been plugging the theme, "Do you want your son in battle to get higher prices for your cattle?" and it seems to be catching on with the dairy farmers. They're in better shape, but the Milwaukee junior McCarthy, Charley Kersten, still looks like a loser.

Iowa: Before: It looks like Gillette, although I can't see quite why. After: It still looks like Gillette, and I still can't see why.

New York: Before: The polls have already elected Averell Harriman to the governorship. After: Whether you like it or not, this last minute blitz that Tom Dewey and Irving Ives have put on has thrown the race into doubt, but I'd still bet on Ave if I had to bet.

The ADA Passes Loyalty Test With Flying Colors

By ERIC SEVAREID
In A CBS Newscast

WASHINGTON

NO political campaign seems to be complete without its conspiracies, myths, and invisible demons. This campaign too labored to give birth to a demon bearing the mystic, cabalistic title "ADA." To some Republicans of New Jersey who oppose their own party's nominee, Clifford Case, ADA means socialism or something worse; to Mr. Nixon on his stump tour, it is a "wing" of the Democratic Party whose anti-communism is suspect; to the Boston Post, the cabalistic symbol is so terrifying a threat to mother, home, and flag that the paper threatens every local candidate with attack unless he publicly repudiates the ADA. Meanwhile, most voters haven't the faintest idea of what ADA is, nobody bothers to tell them, and the people who run ADA show signs of apoplexy.

The demon ADA, which means "Americans for Democratic Action," is not entirely invisible—it has 45,000 members in 120 local chapters—but it remains small and weak as political action groups go, even after seven years of work. It carries on the habit of giving its approval to local candidates through its local chapters, whether this hurts or harms the candidate, and it endorses Republicans as well as Democrats. It qualifies both Case and Howell in New Jersey, both Javits and young Roosevelt in New York; in the Massachusetts Senate race it endorses neither man; and in Chicago's city races it endorses more Republicans than Democrats. What it looks for is liberals, which, it maintains, is still a proud and honorable word despite all the editorial writers who put it between quotation marks.

It's questionable whether ADA could be called a "wing" of the Democratic Party; one feather in a wing might be more accurate. But all of its national officers and board are Democrats with the questionable exception of Sen. Morse, and it endorses, in the over-all, far more Democratic candidates than Republicans. This close affinity with one party has disappointed some of its early backers and makes its technical bipartisanship more hypothetical than real.

Whether it is effective or ineffective, partisan or bipartisan, are not, however, questions so important as the questions raised on the soap box about its patriotism or its stand on communism. There it deserves to be heard, before another great political myth is created in the land.

It is not only non-Communist, but so strongly anti-Communist that a new member not only has to be vouched for but is required to sign what amounts to a loyalty oath. In fact the biggest single reason for its creation, seven years ago, was to break up the Communists' game of confusing liberalism with communism, of infiltrating liberal groups, and to give traditional American liberals a clear anti-Communist standard to repair to.

Those were the days of the Communist-inspired, Communist-dominated Wallace Progressive movement, which hoodwinked enough liberals who should have seen what was going on. One of the main reasons ADA was organized was to make them see, and it fought the Wallace movement from the beginning. Among its founders, from organized labor, were Dubinsky, Reuther, and Carey, the very men who took the lead in the then very rough business of driving the Reds out of the unions.

The Communists were well aware of the threat such a new group meant to their tactics of confusion and infiltration. I covered one of the original ADA organization meetings and I remember Communist hecklers trying to stop it before it could start. Since then the Daily Worker attacks on ADA have been bitter and continuous; and the ADA attacks on Communist policies and tactics, domestic and international, have been equally unrelenting.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

This Is Dick Nixon's Crucial Day

WASHINGTON

NO matter what the outcome of today's balloting, it will probably decide three important and intriguing political questions. They are:

1. Will President Eisenhower run for a second term?

2. Will young Dick Nixon, 41 years old, who has managed to worm himself into a position of power and influence despite that $18,000 private expense fund which two years ago almost threw him off the ticket, be the man to succeed him?

3. Will the Republican Party be able to continue using McCarthy's type of politics without using McCarthy? Particularly, will the Republicans be able to swing the large bloc of Catholic voters, normally Democratic, over to the GOP, without using the now benched senator who accomplished that swing in 1952?

Mastermind Nixon

The success of today's balloting, paradoxically, is going to depend in large part on the tactics of the young man who would like to succeed Ike. For, more than any other man in the Republican Party, young Mr. Nixon has been drafting the strategy and calling the shots of the current campaign.

It is Nixon even more than Chairman Len Hall who has been on the long-distance telephone to state leaders, who has thrown extra speakers into key states, and who almost tearfully demanded that Ike get out and campaign. For Nixon knows more than anyone else that if the Republicans are defeated today he will be smothered; his future has gone glimmering.

It was Nixon who made the crucial decision to use McCarthy's tactics in this campaign. He sold the idea at the Denver conference, where he bluntly informed the President that the public was not interested in his legislative program and needed a gripping, hair-raising, headline-making issue.

Eisenhower earlier in the year had repeatedly stated that the election should not be decided on the issues of communism, but rather on the accomplishment of his administration. Nixon persuaded him, however, that this was not getting across with the people.

Thus was dusted off the ancient, sure-fire campaign scare of "Reds in government"—used so effectively by Joe McCarthy.

Nixon Was First

To be fair to Nixon, it should be noted that he did not steal this from McCarthy. He had used it himself to get elected to Congress from California. At that time, 1946, he faced the problem of defeating a liberal young Democrat, Congressman Jerry Voorhis, who was anything but a Communist, though he had a pro-labor voting record. To beat Voorhis, Nixon organized a battery of telephone women —many of them Liberty Belles—who did nothing but call voters anonymously. "Did you know Congressman Voorhis was a Communist?" was the whisper that reverberated all over Voorhis' district.

It did the trick. Nixon, only 33 years old and completely unknown in California, won.