

**Trouble For The GOP**  
**Political Tumult In Maine**

By WALDO PROFFITT Jr.  
 State Editor, The News

**'Editors' Note:** For three years, Mr. Proffitt was city editor and political writer for the Bangor (Maine) Daily Commercial.

REPUBLICANS should be more troubled over the races they won in Monday's Maine election than over the race they lost.

Gov. Burton M. Cross was defeated by Democrat Edmund S. Muskie in his bid for re-election. This is a shocking thing. But it is probably less significant in terms of national politics than the great reduction in a g.o.p. by which Sen. Margaret Chase Smith and three GOP Congressmen won re-election.

Republican strategists can make a pretty convincing argument that Cross lost because of factors not related to national issues.

Muskie is a dynamic political personality and a strong campaigner.

Cross has never been unusually popular with the rank and file of Maine Republicans, and even less so with the independent voters. He served a long and faithful apprenticeship in the state legislature, working his way up through the party ranks to be speaker of the State Senate. This post has traditionally been the stepping-stone to the Republican gubernatorial nomination.



EDMUND S. MUSKIE shows his wife the victory headlines after the 46-year-old Democrat Republican in the nation's first gubernatorial battle. (AP Wirephoto.)

**Editorial Correspondence**  
**A Glimpse Behind The Curtain**

By THOMAS L. ROBINSON  
 Publisher, The News

(Editor's Note: This is one of a series of articles by the publisher on conditions in Germany. Mr. Robinson is making a survey of western Europe.)

BERLIN, Germany  
 AFTER interviewing in Bonn Dr. Conant, the U. S. high commissioner for Germany, your fast-trotting European correspondent decided to come up here to Berlin. Frankly, no visit to Germany can be complete without seeing what has happened to this since the end of the Second World War.

As our readers will recall, the Soviet army captured Berlin on May 2, 1945. The Russians not only encircled the city but they took most districts in house-to-house fighting. Afterwards, agreements were drawn up with the western allies dividing Berlin into its four present sectors. More than nine years ago, in fact during the first week of July, 1945, the American Army took over the U. S. sector of Berlin.

The Allied bombers left Berlin with nearly two billion cubic feet of rubble. Not even nine years of work have cleared it up, although this correspondent was tremendously impressed with the work of reconstruction. The erection of modern stores, apartment houses and office buildings gives one the realization that Berlin is staging a remarkable comeback from the ravages of war.

Before the Second World War Berlin was, of course, not only Germany's political center but also the heart of her commercial empire. At the height of the Nazi regime, Berlin boasted that the population exceeded four and a half million, thus making the city the third largest in the entire world. But after the war Berlin's population fell very rapidly, and there are now not many more than two million inhabitants.

On reaching Berlin, only an hour and a half's flight from Cologne, I called on the noted Boston lawyer, Henry Parkman, who now serves as U. S. deputy high commissioner for Berlin, a post second only to Dr. Conant's. Mr. Parkman occupies the same office as the one used by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former military governor of Berlin.

A towering New Englander (six feet six) Mr. Parkman has been the "top civilian dog" in Berlin since last November. He had risen to the rank of brigadier general in the last war, and since then he has repeatedly left his Boston law practice to be an adviser to Gen. Clay and to head the ECA mission in Paris.

Mr. Parkman, after talking to me informally, suggested that the best way for me to see all of Berlin was to take a tour sponsored by the Special Services Section of the U. S. Army's Berlin Command. This sounded all right to me, especially when I discovered that Mr. Parkman had commandeered an Army automobile so as to rush me over with him to the starting point of the tour. By a margin of seconds he put me on the olive-drab bus and we waved farewell.

giving the various neighborhoods the semblance of gaiety. The small gardens and the front yards seemed neat and trim.

Eventually we passed along the Schloss Strasse, a street filled with good looking automobiles, plate glass windows and movie houses, notable for their brilliant posters, most of them advertising American movies in German. An ugly reminder of war is to look above the ground level of streets like the Schloss Strasse and see many upper stories still in ruins. And then along the way one observes many vacant lots telling of total destruction.

On the way into the Russian sector, we noted that the scene was beginning to change. Curiously enough the Russians have allowed their East German "captives" to live in streets and buildings which seem dirtier and darker and altogether quite cheerless. The contrast with the American zone and with the British and French zones is very apparent. Even for the sake of "show-window" public relations, I had expected the Russians to spruce up at least the part of their "behind the Iron Curtain" section which is shown so freely to visitors from the free world.

We moved deeper into the Russian sector, and stopped to visit Treptow Park. The center of this magnificent park, on the banks of the River Spree, has been transformed by the Soviets into a Red Army War Memorial which they call "The Garden of Remembrance." Russian architects, with a grotesque flair for showmanship, designed this cemetery in a way which even Darryl Zanuck of 20th Century-Fox Film Corporation would find difficult to eclipse in sheer Hollywood extravagance. We were told that German laborers, under the whip of the Soviet Russian conquerors, built both the cemetery and the monuments. In fact, they worked around the clock for 18 months in order to do the whole job.

MORE than 2,600 Red soldiers killed in the Battle of Berlin are buried in this cemetery. At the entrance two giant Red flags, carved out of red granite, drop forward like curtains draped aside. In the distance, beyond the impressive mass burial lot, stands an exceedingly large bronze statue of a Red Army soldier. This statue, one of the largest in the world, stands on top of a Hall of Fame. Inside this sanctuary is a parchment book inscribed with the names of the Russians who died in the battle for Berlin.

On both sides of the cemetery are eight white stone blocks portraying the life of the workers of the Soviet Union and the Red Army. Every single block, I noted, has the name of Joe Stalin in big letters.

While viewing the very elaborate cemetery, I noticed a lot of tired and ill-fed women from East Germany laboring on their hands and knees. They were maintaining the lawn and shrubbery and in their tired, forlorn faces and in their bedraggled clothes I could see the true Russia, a land where the captives exist only to glorify their masters in the Kremlin.

Turning away from the Soviet sector of Berlin, I could not help but wonder why a better solution could not have been worked out for the control and administration of Berlin. Somehow, it seems to me, a glib, glibly stated, the countries of the free world to be occupying a city with a nation which has demonstrated in thought and deed a very sinister and wicked way of life.

Berlin today is a living symbol of the world from the free world. To study Berlin is to realize that we have a long way to go before the bright flame of democracy and freedom burns in every corner of this globe.

**'As Montana Goes, So Goes The Nation'**

OUR State Editor Waldo Proffitt has aptly sized up the political situation in Maine elsewhere on this page, but one more thing needs to be said about politics in the potato and pine tree state. The myth that "As Maine goes so goes the nation" deserves the fate that befell that other Maine in the harbor of Havana, and for such better reasons.

The phrase originated during the Harrison-Cleveland race of 1888. For 40 years it had considerable validity. But Roosevelt II, as with a lot of other things, changed all that.

Five presidential elections in a row from 1932 to 1948, Maine rode the losing (Republican) horse. Maine was also in the minority in 1916 when she preferred Charles Evans Hughes to Woodrow Wilson, who had won Maine in 1912. So six times out of 13, during the past 50 years, Maine didn't forecast the national results.

The only states with worse barometric records are Vermont, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama, all of which were on the losing side seven times. Vermont is the only state which has voted Republican in every presidential election this century. The four south-

ern states voted Democratic every year except 1948, when they supported the States' Rights.

If anyone wants to argue that one state ends up on the winner's side in presidential elections he should say: "As Montana goes, so goes the nation." Or Missouri Or Idaho. Those three states have voted for the successful presidential candidate for half a century. Arizona and New Mexico haven't ever missed a winner, although they weren't admitted to the union until 1912. California and Washington have had perfect records during this century; they have joined Bull Moose Teddy Roosevelt in 1912. And Illinois, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Utah and Wyoming have likewise ridden the winner all but one time since 1904.

About the only thing that can be said with certainty regarding general elections in Maine is that they are held before elections in other states. But if you want to sniff political winds, go no mind to those nor'easters. Go west, young man, go west.

Once in a while you get a break on summer TV—such as a tube.—MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR.



**France's Internal Reforms Come First**

By DORIS FLEESON  
 Reports Norbert disputes

PARIS  
 THE western alliance must face it. So long as Premier Pierre Mendes-France is in power, reforms ahead of international planning.

This, rather than some sinister understanding with the Communists, explains his controversial attitude toward the European Defense Community. The Premier thoroughly recognizes that the whispering campaign probably won't die down but it has not changed his mind about the proper order of priorities in France.

Thus, he has in a sense bought time with time, veterans to stake his government on EDC. That the space is needed for urgent reforms Norbert disputes. Whether time will wait on him remains to be seen.

**DEEPLY WEARY**  
 Mendes-France appeared deeply weary after the EDC storm had broken, but he was calm and he had retained his sense of humor. He spoke in a dry and detached manner about the reaction to his actions by other countries such as America, and other politicians—such as Chancellor Adenauer of Germany. His understanding of their internal politics seemed accurately founded.

But he probably does not truly realize the depth of U.S. disappointment over EDC, and the congressional pitfalls which await

several years. Textile plants have been moved out of the state. The shoe industry is in trouble. Some clam flats have been exhausted. Some fishing canneries have closed. The cruelest blow of all came when the potato market went to pot.

It may not be logical to blame Maine Republicans for such misfortunes. But the fact that voters will take out their grievances on the party in power must be admitted by all—except those who still feel (as do a good many in Maine) that Hoover should have won in 1952.

**NO EXPLANATION**  
 Local factors, however, do not explain why Mrs. Smith got only 58 per cent of the total vote for Senator. She is extremely popular with Maine voters. She received 71 per cent of the vote in 1948, the year the Democrats upset the incumbent. In the intervening years she has been an able advocate of the interests of the state of Maine and a strong supporter of President Eisenhower. She won a smashing victory in the Republican primary over a candidate widely supposed to be backed by Sen. McCarthy.

Mrs. Smith's Democratic opponent, Paul A. Fullam, was a college professor, whose views differed very slightly from hers.

Many people believe that Prof. Fullam entered the Senate race only because he wanted to be sure Maine voters would have a chance to support a "liberal" candidate if Mrs. Smith lost the primary.

Throughout the campaign the Republicans hammered the theme that a "solid victory" for Mrs. Smith would give the GOP a big boost in its drive to keep control of Congress. When Vice President Nixon campaigned in Maine, he pleaded not for victory, but for victory with margins "greater than ever." He asked Maine to set a standard for the rest of the country.

**SMALL MARGIN**  
 Despite all this, Mrs. Smith won by a surprisingly small margin. The quick and easy explanation is that an unusually large number of Maine voters felt that it would be a good thing to have more Democrats in Congress. This is the simplest explanation; it would also mean that it is very difficult not to accept.

Similarly, it is hard to read the results in Maine's three congressional races as anything but a gloomy prophecy for Republican hopes in November. The Republicans won all three, but by the lowest margins in many years. Republican candidates received from 52 to 61 per cent of the vote. In 1952 Republicans got 73 per cent of the vote in one Maine congressional race and in the district where they made their worst showing, received 62 per cent of the vote.

Among men who know politics best, it is the congressional rather than gubernatorial races that are watched for clues to national trends. In the Maine congressional races the Republican vote was 10 to 15 per cent below the 1952 levels. It is a simple fact that if anything approaching this degree of discontent with the Republican Party prevails in the rest of the country, the GOP is in for a sound trouncing. Discounting entirely the results of the gubernatorial race, Democrats have a good chance for jubilation over the Maine election.

**People's Platform**  
**United Appeal Defended**

Charlotte  
 EDITORS, The News:  
 THIS IS in reply to a letter published in your newspaper, in which a writer called the United Appeal "autocratic" simply because it responded to the requests of its contributors who want to have one campaign a year instead of numerous fund drives.

How can she call the United Appeal autocratic when in her own letter she states the following in reference to the American Cancer Society: "We can only operate effectively under the national program which forbids any other than a single drive in April."

Forbids, mind you. If that isn't dictatorship, what is it? But what makes it worse is that the decision is made in New York concerning Charlotte participation without regard for other agencies in our community. In the past they have flatly refused to join in joint community planning and budgeting. They say in effect: "Let's get out of Charlotte people what we can and let the other agencies figure out for themselves how they are going to get their own money."

Your readers will be interested to know, however, that other communities are not letting them get away with it. Let me quote the following from a feature story published in the Twin City Sentinel in Winstonsalem, Aug. 23: "The Forsyth County Unit of the American Cancer Society has voted to withdraw from the state and national organization and will set up a local cancer unit as a member agency of the United Fund."

"The action was in answer to a recent ruling by the North Carolina Division of the Cancer Society that the Forsyth unit would be required to contribute if it participate in a federated fund raising program. During the past three years the local cancer group has been a United Fund agency."

Mrs. Bruce Williams, executive secretary of the Winston-Salem group said: "Since the executive committee in South Carolina has given us no alternative, we firmly believe it is for our best interests in Forsyth County to set up a local cancer unit for the control and all in the interest of cancer."

She said that affiliation with the United Fund for the past three years has been "most satisfactory and co-operative."

The state and national organization were reminded that approximately 400 county cancer units throughout the United States believe in working together to be affiliated with federated fund raising.

So I ask you, is the American Cancer Society any better than the Boy Scouts, Salvation Army, Red Cross, Blind Association and all the other local groups which believe in working together for the good of our community through the United Appeal?

—MRS. JUNE S. RUMMAGE

**Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round**  
**Tough Economy Crackdown Planned**

WASHINGTON  
 THOUGH Eisenhower's efforts to balance the budget may be upset by the new tax bill, the secret instruction sent to Cabinet officers certainly shows that he deserves "A" for effort.

Yesterday this column published one of the toughest economy crackdowns ever sent to Cabinet members by the President. The budget, and today is published the text of the secret memo which Budget Director Rowland Hughes attached to his letter.

The memo contains 13 points, including even the curtailment of loans and guarantees of loans to rural electric systems, the curtailment of housing, Federal housing; also less aid to airplane lines and shipping lines.

There is the full text of the secret order to Cabinet members for carrying out the drastic budget cuts for the coming fiscal year:

"Assumptions—The bureau staff will supply information on the economic and other assumptions relating to specific programs.

"Budget policy—1. The amount of new obligatory authority as proposed in the 1955 budget or as enacted by the Congress will be reduced in 1956, so that the level of government expenditures and operations will be lower in 1956 than in 1955.

"2. All departments and agencies would be expected to make obligation and expenditure rates during the second half of the fiscal year 1955 so as to permit smooth transition to the proposed lower levels for 1956.

"3. To the extent that the accomplishment of the 1955 budgetary objectives requires the modification of existing

1955 will be continued at minimum economic rates.

**Stand-By Public Works**  
 "Emphasis will be given to the development of plans for authorized high priority projects to a stage where these projects could qualify for construction at a later time, consistent with then prevailing budgetary policy.

"(B) Emphasis will also be given to carrying forward general investigations and advance planning of essential public works, including those required for future economic growth, to such a stage that the federal government would be ready to effectively undertake these public works programs, at a desirable time.

"Where agencies do not have a large backlog of authorized projects, emphasis will be given to general investigations and surveys and such preliminary plans as are necessary to determine the suitability of projects for authorization. Emphasis will be given to preliminary surveys and plans and to the revision where necessary of existing plans for such work in order that construction could be started promptly.

"With respect to both general investigations and advance planning high priority should be given to relatively small projects having a wide geographical dispersion which are urgently needed and economically feasible, and on which construction could be started quickly and could be completed at an economic rate within 18 months or less.

"9. Advance planning of national security construction projects which should be made for advance planning of military public works and other national security projects. Emphasis will be placed on bringing planning of projects and programs to such a stage that construction could be readily accelerated, if needed.

"10. Maintenance and repair of government facilities will be held to the minimum level required for continued safe operation and prevention of excessive and costly deterioration.

**Nix On Loans**  
 "11. New commitments for direct loans, mortgage purchases, and direct insurance of loans will be restricted so as to be consistent with the restrictive budgetary policies of the various types of programs. Private participation will be maximized by confining direct loans and mortgage purchases to only the most urgent requirements and substituting guaranteed or insured loans wherever possible.

"12. In determining the amount of new appropriations required in 1956, full account will be taken of the balances of prior year appropriations and other authorizations that will be available in 1956. Balances of appropriations and contract authorizations for 1955 and prior years which are not required for obligations in 1956 will be reduced. The reduction herein will be proposed for rescission.

"13. All government assets will be managed in the most efficient manner. Requirements for operating supplies and equipment will be met to the fullest extent possible by reductions in purchases rather than by new purchases. Excess inventories, property, and other assets will be proposed for sale or liquidation to recover the value of such assets. The Bureau of the Budget should be informed of major plans for disposition."