

By JAMES JAMES:

Sinister Forces at Work Behind New Brazilian President's Smile

Interposition: Yesterday and Today

Several points that were made in yesterday's debate on interposition merit comment today, somewhat in the nature of a postscript on an historic entry in the annals of Virginia history.

Let us begin with objections made by Senator Ted Dalton, first, that the issue of interposition has been magnified out of all proportion; and secondly, that the Virginia Resolution is a "bad example to set before the children of Virginia."

The best response to both objections is to inquire into the fundamental issue with which the Resolution is concerned. It is not, as some of the Northern press pretends, a matter of race or segregation; it is not even a matter of schools. What concerns us here is the preservation of the constitutional structure of our Union. The transcendent issue is the encroachment of the Federal government, through judicial legislation, upon the reserved powers of all the States.

It is difficult to see how this fundamental issue could be "magnified out of all proportion." The fault is not that we have talked of this too much, but that we have written of this too little; not that we awakened so suddenly, but that we slept too long.

The whole concept of this Union, the greatest feature of its architecture, was the concept of dual sovereignty. In certain areas, the Federal government would be supreme; in all other areas, the respective States would be supreme. Joined together, the States would yet remain separate; and remaining separate, they would be joined together. This was the great vision of 1787; this was the grand plan on which the whole structure of the Constitution was based.

In seeking to protect and preserve this structure, is Virginia engaged in anarchy or sedition? Are we, as Senator Dalton suggested, setting a "bad example" of disobedience to law? On the contrary, Virginia is under no more than the highest possible example of fidelity to the compact; it is we who are undertaking to abide by the agreement that others would destroy.

Our hope is that school children will be prompted by the Assembly's action to think upon these things, and to turn their prodigious energies into sober questions of their teachers, and not into a story more absorbing in our history than the story of the last 25 years of the eighteenth century, when the colonies became "free and independent States," and then joined together in a limited compact, called the Constitution, by which they and their posterity were to be governed.

The same response also may be ventured to Senator Armistead Boothe's objection to the idea that a single State, acting alone, may charge an infraction of the Constitution. He sketched what seemed to him a terrible picture of Texas insisting that the power to fix prices on natural gas at the well-head is not a power delegated to the Federal government, and Virginia should insist that the power to operate its separate schools is a power reserved to the States.

But we are not terrified by this prospect. Indeed, it seems to us a far more attractive prospect that to continue under the chaotic conditions of government by an unchecked judicial oligarchy—by a court that has dizzily reversed itself 36 times in 20 years. Delegate Griffith Purcell put his finger on the constitutional answer to Mr. Boothe's objection when he emphasized, during the House debate, that under the Tenth Amendment reserved powers are reserved to the States respectively—not to the States jointly, but to each respective State in its separate, individual sovereign capacity.

It is this feature of our Union of States that so often overlooked, and needs so urgently to be better understood. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., made the point clearly in his quiet rebuke to Dr. Edward E. Haddock yesterday. Thursday's freshman Senator, in his astonishing maiden speech, had pointed to the flag of the United States by the president's desk and gratuitously had read the pledge of allegiance. Byrd noted that the other flag—the flag of Virginia—occupies an equal position on the president's rostrum. Under the Constitution every American is a citizen not only of the United States, but also a citizen of the State in which he resides. And if it were "not for this flag and 47 others," said Mr. Byrd, "that country would not have reached its day of greatness."

The resounding yes in both House and Senate yesterday indicated Virginia's deep concern that this constitutional division of powers be restored to its old purity and strength. If by Virginia's prompt action, the Federal government is prompted to ponder the nature of our Union, the hours of work that preceded the debate will have served a most useful purpose.

Now the practical question arises: Was precisely what was accomplished, in a legal sense, by yesterday's Resolution? Where do we go today? Only time can answer these inquiries. In the strictest, narrowest challenge, our action was little was accomplished; in a legal sense, our action was persuasive, declaratory, expressive of policy and opinion—nothing more. As for the future, it can be said at the moment only that Virginia has made her appeal; we must wait for our sister States to respond.

And if they never respond? Well, then, at least the appeal will have been made—where it is needed, especially, if the appeal simply will have to continue along the course of measures "honorably, legally and constitutionally available to us."

The Southern States now joining in this effort to assert their constitutional powers are voyaging in an unmarked channel. The advocates of massive centralization, the doctrinaire Socialists who have seized positions of great influence, are contemptuously of London life, and block the way. But it is a venture worth taking, wherever it leads us. Hopefully, prayerfully, it may bring us back to the principles of sound constitutional government, and the respect for the rights of our fathers and abandoned in our own time.

One More French Government

S-France has a new Premier. Guy Mollet, Socialist, twenty-third head of the government since World War II, takes command. He leads a shaky, catch-as-catch-can coalition of left-of-center Socialists and Radicals formed into a Republican Front.

M. Mollet's position is not an envious one. He owes his confirmation to both Communists and moderate Popular Republicans. He made no specific commitments to either group. He did not take them into his government. But he knows that if he offends either group his support will dissolve and his government will fall. He is the Communist Party's best supported M. Mollet because they favor social reform, and M. Mollet's program of moderate reform is in their view a foot in the door. They hope that the alarming support he brings because they hope that "popular pressure will soon tip the scales to the left." They hope that in issues to come, M. Mollet will be forced increasingly to turn to them for the support he needs to stay in office. They hope that eventually a Popular Front government, with Communist participation, will result.

The Popular Republicans supported M. Mollet because they fear that the alternative—a full-fledged alliance of the left and far left—would abrogate French defense measures and foreign policy ties to the West, in particular French participation in the Western European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance.

How long can a government survive that must depend on the hopes of one faction and the fears of another, when it lacks the support of the people? How is a French Premier to walk firmly between the irresponsible Poujadists on the right and the diligent Communists on the left? M. Mollet, gazing glumly at the difficult problems ahead, must envy an American President his four-year term: Most observers give M. Mollet's government about four months.

Tow Away That Modifying Clause!

The most fetching bill to be offered thus far in the General Assembly's session of 1956 is a little six-line measure introduced in the Senate. It would amend Title 46 of the Code of Virginia, Section 333, dealing with the towing of certain motor vehicles. The bill reads in full: "Nothing in this title shall be construed to prohibit towing an unlicensed motor vehicle or motor vehicle which has not been insured behind a wrecking crane."

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As a new, average county agent doesn't know forestry, and isn't being taught it at VPI unless he particularly wants it. To require all students of agriculture at VPI to take a class in forestry, and to see that present county agents are given refresher courses, would be a long step forward in seeing that information about good forestry practices gets to the man who needs it most—the small farmer.

BEHIND the smiling face of President-elect Juscelino Kubitschek, of Brazil, who was inaugurated Tuesday, sinister forces are at work.

Kubitschek may be president of Brazil, but real power is being wielded by a secret army group which includes Communist officers.

This group is called the Constitutional Military Movement (MMC). In several disturbing respects, it is very much like the Argentine GOU—United Officers Group—which originally put Peron in power. Though as yet it has no candidate for a Brazilian post, it could come to power in 1956.

THE STORY BEGINS with the suicide of President Getulio Vargas in August, 1954, after successive episodes of his corrupt, left-nationalist regime. His military and political appointees, mistrusted Vargas's honest and moderate successor, Joao Cafe Filho, and forced an anti-Vargas candidate might win the October, 1955, presidential election.

At George Washington University, Kubitschek (center), grandson of a Czech immigrant, reads promise to support the new Brazilian constitution which he helped draft, as he becomes president of Brazil in inauguration ceremonies Tuesday in the Chamber of Deputies in Rio de Janeiro.

Seated at left is Flores da Cunha, president of the chamber, and at right is Senate Vice-President Gomez de Oliveira. Special envoys from 60 countries, including Vice-President Nixon, were in the audience.

By Sydney Harris: Uniformity Of Cities Unhealthy

A YEAR or two ago, I wrote a column directed at the people who are so fond of saying that "New York really isn't America." I suggested that it was a healthy thing for the country to have a city so different as New York, Omaha and Buffalo are "American," in some basic ways; and yet, what good would another Omaha be to us?

Last week, while reading Herbert Kubley's diverting book, "American in Italy," I came across a passage especially well quoted in a young medical student from Turin who was guiding the author through Rome. "Rome is not Italy," the young man said to Kubley. "If you wish to know Italy, you must visit Florence or Bologna or Turin."

I have heard Frenchmen make the same remark about Paris, and country squires from Sussex are contemptuous of London life. In one sense, all these provincial criticisms are true. New York is not America, any more than Rome is Italy or Paris is France. Each is a special distillation of emigrants and refugees and immigrants of many kinds who have made the city something alien from the rest of the nation.

YET, RATHER THAN a rebuke, this comment should be a compliment to the cities. It means they are tolerant and hospitable toward new ideas of whatever origin. It means they are not afraid of the sciences and every thing else that distinguishes civilization from barbarism.

New York is not America. Let us thank God we can afford one city that is not. When the day comes that New York is forced to be like Omaha, let us know that our nation has stopped growing spiritually and is mistaking size and strength and sameness for the genuine glory that comes only from hospitality toward the stranger.

By SYLVIA PORTER: Wall Street Renaissance No Idle Dream

PUT ON your dream cap, imagine it is 1960 and you are in Wall Street—not only the heart of world finance but also the heart of the most spectacular "residential city."

There is one ominous difference between the MMC and GOU—the Brazilian military faction includes known Communists in the leadership.

Here, published for the first time, are the details concerning the organization, leadership and activities of the MMC obtained by the writer through unimpeachable Brazilian sources.

Among the MMC's leaders are two outright Communists, Colonel Henrique Costa, a former Red deputy, and Lieutenant-Colonel Nelson Werneck Sodre, who worked on ex-Vargas's media and buttonholed Congressmen. It infiltrated government agencies and the police.

By July, 1955, the MMC was perfecting "Operacao Formiga"—"Operation Ant"—its plan for seizing power. The country was in the midst of a bitter presidential campaign. The MMC convinced Vargas Minister Henrique Teixeira Lott that the anti-Vargas forces (who were also anti-Kubitschek) were planning a coup. Lott ordered the army, which embraced the capital of Rio de Janeiro, to stand by.

KUBITSCHKEK, the Vargas protégé, won the October election but the MMC was not fully satisfied. It feared that election of Vargas would mean the return of Kubitschek's victory. It again raised the specter of an anti-Kubitschek coup. Only armed action, it felt, could insure Kubitschek's inauguration as President.

During the afternoon of last November 10, MMC leaders met in the home of General Zebolho's daughter and decided to launch their coup at night. Embassies were sent to Lott and various garrison commanders asking them to join.

Had meanwhile resigned as war minister over the acting president's refusal to discipline anti-Vargas officers. Jurandir Mamede, for criticizing the Vargas gang. But he had not actually given up his post.

In the evening of November 10, a group of generals met in the home of General Odilio Demis, commander of the Eastern Army Zone. They decided to back the MMC on the pretext of saving the hemisphere's security. The coup was planned for the night of November 11. This gave Lott an excuse to take personal command of the coup.

With the Communists in the leadership of the MMC, the latter could serve as a bridge to Communist control of the Army and, ultimately, of Brazil. Such is the grim prospect facing the hemisphere's security.

LETTERS TO THE NEWS LEADER FORUM: Help Sought to Halt Maryland's Integration Trend

Editor, Richmond News Leader: I am an attorney for the Maryland Petition Committee, a States rights organization which is the only State-wide organization in the United States, as well as in Maryland. Its platform, besides taking the stand for segregation, is to have the Federal government do working towards debt reduction in line with Senator Byrd's proposals.

Mr. George Washington Williams has recently taken the lead in fighting for segregation in our State. In announcing his candidacy, he stated that if elected he would do all in his power to oppose the amalgamation of races in the United States, as well as in Maryland. His platform, besides taking the stand for segregation, is to have the Federal government do working towards debt reduction in line with Senator Byrd's proposals.

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community center, theater ballrooms, etc. . . . Tied up at now glistening docks, commuters' speed boats and yachts, and on Governor's Island nearby which in the late '50s the United States government finally admitted was archaic as a fortress—a new airfield for small planes and helicopters. . . .

YOU RUB YOUR eyes, turn to your guide and exclaim, "How do I get into this neighborhood to live?" He shakes his head and answers, "To work or live in this area is not now within reach of the average man."

He says he has seen a picture of the skyscraper, a stately and beautiful apartment house containing almost 25,000 rooms—all air-conditioned, cleaned and serviced daily, with a swimming pool and surrounded by terraces, swimming pools, club facilities, a

with me interviewing Joseph Schlang, head of Schlang Bros. & Co., one of Wall Street's largest real estate management firms. Schlang is a leader in the renaissance now beginning in Wall Street and it is his "utopia" which I have described here. BUT IT'S MORE than an idle dream! Wall Street isn't just a narrow, short-street terminated at one end by Trinity Church graveyard and at the other by the East River. Wall Street is the name the world applies to America's financial heart—and this area is now white with rearing building plans and activity. The Chase Manhattan Bank already has announced plans for a towering skyscraper which is expected to be another "Rockefeller Center"—and most significantly, a huge housing project is to be put up in connection with it. J. P. Morgan has arranged to buy and modernize a big building, and major announcements are on schedule for the next few months.

And what is rumored is only a tiny part of it. I know of secret meetings which have been held by some of the best-known men in the nation on the reconstruction of Wall Street. Some of the steps being discussed are really breath-taking. "But not so soon as 1960!" I gasped as Schlang enthusiastically elaborated on his program. "That's only four years away!" "Yes, it's on the way now," he insisted. "In Wall Street it will come—a utopia of perfect coordination between business and living. . . ."

THE MMC HAD been prepared to move with or without Lott. Four hours before the general he had made up his mind. The MMC had moved units of the Third Infantry Regiment, by bus, into the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

With Lott on the MMC's side, the coup was an assured success. During the night of November 11, he deployed army units and tanks throughout the capital—

But his orders did not divulge why the action was being taken. By morning the government was in the hands of Lott and the MMC.

Although Lott went through the motions of installing a puppet chief executive with the sanction of a pliant Congress, MMC men quietly took over strategic civilian organs. Teixeira Lott is expected to be appointed war minister by Kubitschek; the MMC will hold real power in Brazil.

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