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Sideline Observers Say Adlai Stevenson Is Finished

By STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON (The Voters of Minnesota have frankly shaken up the whole political scene in the same way that a child shakes a toy kaleidoscope. All the pieces of the political picture have changed position, and it will never look the same again.)

As far as Adlai Stevenson is concerned, the big question is of course, whether the grievous wound he has sustained is mortal. His supporters claim that he can rise, like Sir Andrew Barton, and fight again. Most observers on the sidelines, including Democrats friendly to him, suspect that he is finished.

Stevenson's own mood may turn out to be a factor in the equation. Friends who sat with him Tuesday night, as the disastrous news of Estes Kefauver's victory came in, say that he became increasingly angry and embittered as the evening wore on. His parting words were: "Damn it, bring on the next one, and I'll show them."

The next one, of course, is the Florida primary and the one after that California. If Stevenson's embattled mood is sustained, he just might "show them" in both, which of course he must do to remain in the running. Stevenson's greatest weakness so far is that despite the admirable style and content of many of his speeches, he has been unable to convey to



KEFAUVER A New Face News

the voters any sense of real emotion about the issue. It has been as though he were hardly personally involved in the campaign at all.

"The crowds listened to him politely, as though he were a professor," one who watched the Minnesota contest has said. "Kefauver spoke simply, even rather boldly, and then answered questions, and went out and shook hands. Stevenson hardly ever did. Stevenson would say that he was for 90 per cent of party, but that

(It wasn't the answer to the farm problem, while Kefauver would say he was for 100 per cent and it was the answer." Stevenson will be the underdog in Florida and California, an advantage Kefauver has hitherto enjoyed. If Stevenson now shows the fire and fight he has so far lacked, it might pull it off. But as one Stevenson admirer remarked mournfully, "Where are we going to get people to work for us now, at the present level? And where are we going to get the dough?"

TOP CONTENDER Since Minnesota getting the dough, which has previously been one of his great virtues, should be easy for Kefauver. For Kefauver must of course now be considered a most serious contender. His special campaign formula—the little-man-against-the-booses, plus a something-for-everybody policy line—has been proved to the hilt, and no one is likely to make the mistake of again underestimating his political courage and shrewdness.

Yet the Kefauver formula has its drawbacks. Wherever he goes he is a threat to the established order of things. His Minnesota triumph was, of course, a kick in the face for the entire Minnesota Democratic leadership, and as one Democrat remarked, "Leaders in every state are saying to themselves: 'There but for the grace of God go I.'" With the northern professionals and



STEVENSON A Neck For Sticking?

southern grandees united against him, it is still difficult to see how Kefauver can get a majority of the delegate votes.

That is one reason why the Yarmouth Hall and the governor's mansion in Albany have been humming ever since Tuesday night, with calls from shaken Stevenson supporters. The current word is that Gov. Averell Hartman can be expected to change from "passive" status as a candidate to "fairly active," but that he will not enter any primaries.

Any delegate-hunting will be left up to elected Yarmouth leader Carmine De Sapio, who will do what needs to be done quietly, hardly stirring from New York. To the view of some experienced observers, Hartman is, indeed, now the man to beat. The chances of such dark horses as Sen. Lyndon Johnson and Stuart Symington have also been somewhat increased, of course—at least one knowledgeable Hartman man thinks that Symington, rather than Kefauver, is the fairer Stevenson, presents the real danger to the Hartman candidacy.

MODERATION FAILED But aside from individual features, the whole shape and texture of the political scene have also been drastically altered by Minnesota. The leave-travels for Kefauver was certainly in part a protest vote, and thus a direct warning to the administration and the Republicans.

As for the Democrats, they will almost certainly conclude that Stevenson-style "moderation" is not a paying proposition. Kefauver's success, not only on the farm issue but on civil rights, repeal of Taft-Hartley, aid to Israel, and just about every "right issue" since 1945, is Kefauver's Minnesota victory. This looks like the portent of a rough name-calling, vote-by-vote campaign, very different from the "amicable dialogue" which Adlai Stevenson once envisioned.

Stopper Needed For A Legal Loophole

THE "insignificant loophole" in North Carolina's Financial Responsibility Act has become a swinging door of substantial dimensions.

As Staff Writers Harry Shuford and Ann Sawyer told News readers yesterday, more than 100 Mecklenburgers involved in traffic accidents have already made use of the technicality to retain their operator's permit without having to show financial responsibility, as required by law.

The handy escape hatch—Section 20-272 (b)—may indeed have a temporary relief. But it serves as an open invitation to motorists to abuse the spirit of the law. It should be redesigned — or plugged.

The controversial section permits an individual to file a petition in the civil division of Superior Court for a review of a license suspension order. He then gets to keep his license until the court acts on the petition. The result: A person who has not been able to show financial responsibility continues to operate his motor vehicle.

The petition, meanwhile, gathers dust. In some counties, the courts hear and

dispose of them in time. In most counties they are simply forgotten.

Clerk of Court J. Lester Wolfe said yesterday that a petition hearing has never been held in Mecklenburg. Mecklenburgers are not alone in making use of the loophole in great numbers. Between January 1954 and last week, 175 petitions had been filed in Guilford County, 135 in Brunswick, 123 in Wake, and 100 in New Hanover. The total for the state: 2,115.

Obviously, some legislative remodeling of the law is needed.

If it is necessary to have a Superior Court hearing at all, then why couldn't the petition be adopted requiring that it be docketed for the next term of court? Otherwise, one of two adjustments would curtail wholesale abuses.

1—Do not permit the mere filing of a petition to stay suspension. Let the date of the suspension rest on the court's decision of whether or not there was "probable negligence."

2—Require the petitioner to post bond, thus discouraging frivolous petitions. Clearly, the petition should receive attention at the next session of North Carolina's General Assembly.

South Saddling A Pale Gray Horse

STEVENSON left at the post in Minnesota and Kefauver too fast on the civil rights track, keep Sen. Johnson's name trotting out Lyndon Johnson as a dark horse.

It was no surprise. Speaker Sam Rayburn having touched off a favorite son movement, followed by endorsement by Sens. Russell and Smathers, for his Texas colleague some time ago, Minnesota undeniably indicated a dark horse convention with Stevenson fading and Kefauver charging toward the same combination of southern resentment and organization that stopped him before. Moreover, Johnson's legislative skill as Senate majority leader has verged on legend, and he has served as an increasingly needed bridge between northern and southern wings of the party.

Still the senator appears rather a pale gray in his dark horse role. Assuming the two party wings could flap in unison around a Johnson candidacy diminishes very little the problem he would face before the voters.

First, the health issue, conceivably the best the Democrats have, would be eliminated by Johnson's own heart trouble. Secondly, the regional tag that broke Sen. Russell's 1952 campaign in Tennessee hangs just as securely on Johnson, regardless of the fact that he wasn't asked and didn't sign the southern manifesto. There are other negative factors includ-

ing his strong attachment to the gas interests and his failure to "make" campaign issues in this pre-campaign session of Congress.

Obviously Lyndon Johnson could muster the support that attached to Russell in '52, a near solid South and increments of the West. That is enough perhaps to heavily influence the platform choice of a candidate but insufficient to win the nomination.

If a dark horse carries the Democratic colors he will have to be much darker than Lyndon Johnson—one who can pull distrust that stopped him before. Moreover, Johnson's legislative skill as Senate majority leader has verged on legend, and he has served as an increasingly needed bridge between northern and southern wings of the party.

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'You'll Be Much Safer With This Young Man Driving' People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the editors. The right to condense.

Politicians Return To Ragged Tactics

Editors: The News: THE 1956 candidates for public office are again on speakers' terms. Shaking hands and making inquiries about the voter's health they even call our children by their nicknames. Some of these candidates may be surprised to find the average voter in better health this year than ever before. Their pulse is strong and their minds are clear in the knowledge that the taxpayer's interests have been sadly neglected for too many years in the Old North State.

The glamorous candidate with a curiously rich vocabulary, soon learns that the 1956 election is not a vote against registration, but a registered vote against the candidate whose promises and political gimmicks handed out among Tar Heels last decade were long outmoded and useless now.

As a result of these worn-out tactics we write the well-known one line, in great extent, of the musical activities of one or two personalities. This is personality politics at its most basic. It is a pity that the average voter is not more interested in the actual work of such persons. Unhappily, some are interested in self-promotion rather than others, who are so immersed in music-making that they give little thought to personal glory.

Your newspaper could perhaps help equalize this situation by doubling your efforts to give equal space to all organizations of high musical caliber, regardless of pressure. Charlotte is no longer a one-horse town, in which one driving personality can drag and control its cultural movement. Cooperation among its many fine groups should be the order of the day.

—Name Withheld By Request

Old Story

TIME Publisher James A. Linen brought to Charlotte the news that "taking an economic fix" is Madison Avenue's new way of saying "making a survey of business conditions."

The average American already knows all he needs to know about "economic fixes," having been in and out of them for years.

A Land Of Hucksters Stubs Its Toe

AS the nation that defied the huckster and raised the publicity pitch to the status of high art, America often betrays a distressing lack of interest in "selling" its civilization abroad.

Case in point: The lack of public enthusiasm for a plan to promote to our foreign neighbors that we are not the cultural barbarians the Soviets say we are. The project is called AN AMERICAN BOOKSHOPS. It was started by the State Department and was taken over later by CARE. It consists of 99 paperback books, sold at \$30 a set, to be sent abroad—in fact, anywhere the purchasing individual or organization wants to send them. The titles are excellent. They include Moby Dick, Red Buses Or Coaches, Farewell To Arms, The Great Gatsby, Catcher In The Rye and the like.

But according to Harvey Breit of the New York Times Book Review, during all of 1955 only 1,286 bookshelves were sent abroad by American organizations and individuals. They went to 47 countries, spreading any possible appreciation of U. S. culture rather thin indeed.

"We needn't go so far as Shakespeare to proclaim that so many 'make tigers fly,'" says Mr. Breit. "But with Whitman, Frost, and Sandburg we have a pretty fair—and inexpensive—intercontinental ballistic missile."

Truly, ideas are weapons too. And we can't help thinking a nice, fresh copy of FAREWELL TO ARMS would have been a better contribution to the peace and tranquility of the Middle East than those tanks we sent to Saudi Arabia.

Kefauver's managers now are claiming that he has demonstrated that he is the only contender who can stir true grass roots support and who, therefore, can defeat President Eisenhower in November.

IMMEDIATE OPPOSED If it is the conclusion of the delegates from northern states when they meet at the Democratic convention in Chicago giving a majority to Kefauver, then it appears virtually certain that from left to right, southern states will drop the party, South opinion, as reflected par-

Appointed Historian 'Many Years Ago'

Charlotte Filiter, The News: DEAR MR. T: To state through your paper which my family has subscribed to since it was first established, that it was of our first appointed historian of Mecklenburg County many years ago, still hold that position, have never resigned, and never expect to.

—JULIA M. ALEXANDER

Quote, Unquote

"Do you ever have the feeling that you don't exist?" asks a psychologist. Well, yes, at times when trying to attract the attention of a waitress, or the clerk of a snobbish hotel. — Jackson (Miss.) State Times.

The illusion that times that were as better than those that are, is a completely unproved fallacy. —Horace Greeley.

Personal Jealousy

Soul-Searchers No. 2—The stop-Estes Democrats. They are led by Sen. Lyndon Johnson, Speaker Sam Rayburn, and Sen. Robert Taft. They are expected to include ex-President Truman but Truman now says he's for the best 100 better, and the appearance is good.

The stop-Estes Democrats are inspired partly by personal jealousy, partly by the fact that Kefauver leadership would take party money completely out of their hands. Some also remember that Kefauver was the only southern Democrat who stood up and voted for "closure," the all-important means for fighting filibusters against the Negro on civil rights.

Backfire

Soul-Searchers No. 2—The Allies. They now face some tough primaries, the toughest being Florida and California. It took

place on several states—some by the Republicans, a lot more by Stevenson Democrats, perhaps. Stevenson Democrats of the stop-Kefauver school. Here are some of the things they searched for.

Haunting Fear Soul-Searchers No. 1—The Republicans. Their vote in Minnesota was less than half the Democratic vote. This could be explained by the fact that there was no "God Will Provide" on the other hand. Eisenhower boosters used for years to say "God Will Provide" time and time again. They thought that the Republicans who voted for Eisenhower to vote for Kefauver were "God will provide" time and time again.

God Will Provide Inside fact is that Kefauver always urged him to stay out. Will (W. A. Roberts) his treasurer, did likewise. He got only 50 per cent of the combined Democratic haul.

Eisenhower forces spent four times as much money on radio-TV as Stevenson got only 50 per cent of the combined Democratic haul.

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Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

THESE were considerable more than meets the eye behind the tremendous Kefauver sweep in Minnesota. His Senate colleagues threw every possible roadblock into his path. Sen. Lyndon Johnson even conspired to delay the farm vote from Saturday to Monday, so Kefauver would miss the final vote on the farm bill by being in Minnesota to campaign on Monday. This was arranged at the request of Sen. Robert Humphrey, who knew the Kefauver rival in Minnesota if Kefauver missed the final vote on the farm bill.

Last Laugh The last Tennessee however fooled him. He flew all night from Minnesota arriving in Washington at 6 a. m. Monday, only to find the party had then fled back to Minnesota Tuesday to be with his supporters as the victory returns came in.

Kefauver financed his Minnesota campaign on a shoestring. He got \$87,750 from

Kefauver's Colleagues Potted Sabotage

his Washington campaign headquarters another \$50,000 from a few friends, and collected between \$75,000 and \$100,000 and dollars by passing the hat in Minnesota.

Kefauver could afford only one telecast. Stevenson spent an estimated \$100,000, shelled out money for considerable TV

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