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Last Of The South's Red Hot Poppas:
 The New Look In Regional Politics

THINGS have been going badly for Gov. Earl Long of Louisiana. He's no Huey and, despite his screams of "double-cross" from the House rostrum, the legislature is bucking him. He's been unable to silence his opponents by snatching microphones from their hands, or by expressing willingness to settle it hand-to-hand. "I ain't got no medals for runnin', you know," as he put it.

Earl Long, as he admits, is losing the snap in his gutters and is on the way to becoming the "last of the Red Hot poppas in Louisiana politics." Matter of fact, he's one of the last in the whole South where clargers have been no less a staple crop than cotton or sorghum.

Exhibit A of the new breed of southern politicians could be Luther Hodges whose urbanity and gentlemanly manner charmed the Big Eye on a couple of national TV shows recently. Mr. Hodges' balanced comments on politics have been sought increasingly by columnists as well as reporters for national journals.

Whether one agrees with the comments is beside the point of a new approach in southern politics. Sen. Russell Long inherited support and a name from his father, Huey, but little of his manner. Herman Talmadge long since has begun to comb the Old Game's hair-like out of his eyes and a Yankee reporter couldn't tempt him into a tirade if he tried, as it did on Marx Tuzus Press in 1952.

Down in Tennessee Gov. Frank Clement smiles his glamour boy smile, stands in his carefully tailored clothes, and thinks about the television network that is so impressed it wants him for a star. Or maybe he'll join Billy Graham's cavalcade.

The new look in southern politics has more than a manicured surface, however. It is more than not having a Theodore Bill in the address a woman of Italian descent as "my dear Dago," or a "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman to stride across a campaign platform and knock his opponent out of his chair with the explanation that "I just couldn't stand how he looks"; or a John Sharp Williams to say "I'd rather be a hound dog and bay at the moon from my Mississippi plantation than to remain in the United States Senate." Strom Thurmond, who came like Tillman, from Edgefield, S. C., re-

members how "Pitchfork" was: "He had only one good eye and it would glow larger and glow like a coal of fire. The effect was almost hypnotic. His voice sounded like the raging of a wild beast. His speeches were highly inflammable. He would set people rolling in the aisles in emotional frenzy!"

There has been a change in the composition of southern politics, and the change in the politicians is a reflection of a change in southerners. The poverty and injustice of the Reconstruction period left thick dregs of violence, but they are disappearing finally in the train of time and the flow of a new prosperity. The South attracts attention now with smokestacks and atomic energy installations. There is no need for arm-flailing politicians to remind the nation in impotent rage that the South cannot have its economic rights. The cities of New England, jealously guarding their factories and workshops, know that very well.

The South wears shoes and makes some. Too, the old sense of inferiority fades. There is a strong identity between the atom worker at Oak Ridge and the steel worker at Pittsburgh. The Tar Heel tobacco grower who sweats in the sun near Raleigh knows he's on equal footing with the Connecticut Yankee who grows tobacco in the shade.

The dominance that remains in the South attributes to the race issue but even in that tortured realm there have emerged new elements of dignity and restraint. For every southern politician who screeches, wall-eyes and purr-sneezes in the general direction of Washington and the Supreme Court, there are two who argue with eloquence and dignity. The voices of the latter carry around the nation.

The new breed of southern politicians are the representatives of a new breed of southerners. The breed is almost clear of the Red Hot poppas, the race baiters and the fake country boys. The politicians of our time are not embarrassed to wear two suspenders.

One of the few one-calls trees left standing in the garden of Gov. A. B. (Harp) Chandler who presides at the "People's Mansion" at Frankfurt, Ky. Put when "Harp" told the Governor's Conference last week that the Democrats "couldn't go farther and do worse" than nominate for president, we felt the comfortable assurance that the party would do just that.

Stalinist Communism Was A Gospel For The Primitive

By WALTER LIPPMAN

WE are now hearing from the western Communist leaders on the subject of Khrushchev's camp to degrade Stalin. They are profoundly embarrassed, having for many years been Stalin's obedient servants, now denying that his rule was a reign of terror and then justifying the purges and executions. They cannot plead, as Khrushchev has, that he served the tyrant because they were afraid of him. Togliatti and Nenni in Italy, Thorez in France, nor mention the little Communist politicians in Britain and the United States, did not have to embrace Stalinism. Now that Stalin is being denounced in Moscow, they have lost face and they look very foolish indeed.

NO COPIES

NO COPIES has matters worse. Khrushchev has shown how little thought he gives to them by not taking the trouble to send them a copy of his famous diatribe. The leaders of western communism have been reduced, as they bitterly complain, to finding out what Moscow now thinks of Stalin by reading a text furnished to the western newspapers by the Department of State.

RUSSIA NO MODEL

As disciples of Karl Marx they should have been on their guard. For Marx taught that socialism would develop out of the most highly developed capitalism. Yet here was Russia, the first Socialist society, which had only a primitive capitalism. Evidently not only was the Marxist prophecy wrong but it was wrong also in origin but it was wrong also as to what socialism, when it did begin, would be like. In Russia it has turned out to be quite different from what Marx had led his disciples to expect.

After the testimony of Henry P. Cain, former Republican senator from the state of Washington and now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Hennis and others on the committee felt it was imperative to get Brownell's views on security in government.

Khrushchev has been published long since. The only thing about them that is essentially new is that they have been the victims of the hoax, not because they have been intimidated and not, I would think, because they were in the grips of their own will to believe. They believed what that the revolution in Russia was showing the way, and must therefore be followed, to the construction of a new society which they, and European Socialists, had learned to believe in. They became the dupes not only of Stalinism but of Leninism as well because they misjudged the essential character of the Soviet experiment.

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did, at the sacrifice of the happiness of a whole generation, was to organize an economy which would enable Russia to compete in productivity with Western capitalism. In the Stalin era, the objective was not to lead the West to socialism but to make Russia catch up with the West's industrialism.

SILENT DECEPTION

It was an extreme form of self-deception for a Socialist like Nenni to look for leadership to a country which has never developed a modern industrial system and had never known the civil liberties and the democratic institutions of the West. The most intelligent way to convince the Soviet system is, of course, to make a successful demonstration of how, by ignoring the human costs, a country that is primitive in its economy and unused to constitutional government, can be industrialized rapidly and developed into a powerful state.

If we conceive Soviet communism in this way — as a gospel for the primitive — we have, I think, the key to a number of puzzling questions. Why, for example, has communism made such progress in Asia and the Middle East while it has made no progress at all in Europe on this side of the Iron Curtain? Because what has been done in Russia in the past 30 years is something that might be done in other underdeveloped and primitive societies, and that is, the rapid industrialization of the western countries, on the one hand, and the rapid industrialization of the backward country. What Stalin



COMMUNISTS NERED AND TOGLIATTI Moscow Didn't Send The Flip-Flop Signal

compel a generation to sacrifice itself in order to transform a primitive peasant economy into an advanced industrial economy. With this in mind, we can best appreciate the crucial importance to the future of mankind of what Nehru is doing in India. It is to demonstrate that there is a humane and liberal alternative to the Stalinist way of developing a backward country. But for Nehru's India, backward countries would have no practical alternative model to that provided for them by Soviet Russia and Red China.

This is why Nehru, far from being a stooge of Moscow is the most formidable rival in Asia, indeed the only rival in Asia, of Khrushchev and Mao-Tse-tung.

much further than the Eisenhower security program. In fact, it equates security and the public welfare to the end, according to those who have studied it, that a janitor in the Department of Agriculture would be subject to the same type of tests as an intelligence officer in the armed services. It would also, incidentally, have the effect of wiping out all the "security" programs.

Brownell's aides have said for him that he is reluctant to testify so long as the commission asks the opinion of the President to investigate the security program is in the exploratory stage. But however valuable the report that that commission may be, it cannot remove the cloud of uncertainty that has befallen the whole security program.

That can be done only by the Congress working with and through the chief law enforcement officer of the government.

This often makes for trouble, trials and tribulations. But it is the American way, and government over the years has sometimes appeared to be either wary or subsiding government by delay, is no substitute for it.

Brownell Ducks Quiz On Security Vs. Individual Rights

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON

ALTHOUGH the Senate Committee on Constitutional Rights is about to make a concluding report, that committee has not had the views of Attorney General Brownell Jr., who is the officer of the government most directly concerned with the initiation and its interpretation in law enforcement.

Repeatedly for many months the committee chairman, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of Missouri, has invited Brownell to testify and repeatedly Brownell has found one reason or another to evade the invitation.

This is perhaps the most conspicuous example of a trend more and more evident in the administration to avoid taking any stand on issues that might be considered in any way controversial. It is too often the press agent's approach to government, and the minor tenant of Robert J. Donovan's book purporting to give the "inside story" of the Eisen-

hower administration from Cabinet minutes is symptomatic of the frustration on Capitol Hill.

INVITATION RENEWED

On Nov. 13 and Dec. 1 of last year the attorney general was invited to appear before the Constitutional Rights Committee to discuss the security program, civil rights, the guarantees of freedom in the Constitution and other issues already mentioned in the headlines. The invitation was renewed on Feb. 24, May 11, 29 and 31 of this year.

After the testimony of Henry P. Cain, former Republican senator from the state of Washington and now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Hennis and others on the committee felt it was imperative to get Brownell's views on security in government.

THREAT OF FASCISM

Cain had charged that the extension of the security program and its abuses and excesses as it covers the terms of employment for millions of Americans in and out of government present a threat

of fascism. He cited cases where grave injustices had been done to innocent individuals through the arbitrary and often blundering operation of a system varying from one government agency to another.

Cain, whose term on the subversive board expires in two weeks and who will unquestionably be dropped by the administration, had had his own frustrating experience with Brownell.

Over a period of 18 months he again and again sought an interview with the Attorney General. He wanted to tell him of cases that had come to his attention in which individuals, through no fault of their own, had found their reputations wiped out and livelihood wiped out under the malfunctioning of the security system.

NO REPLY

Brownell never directly replied to these requests. In a recent television interview he said that because the subversive control board was a "quasi-judicial body," he felt it would be improper to talk with a member of the board.

Coincidental with the Cain testimony, the Supreme Court handed down a far-reaching decision holding that the present law does not permit the application of security procedures to non-sensitive jobs in government.

MAJOR STROKE

At one stroke the whole security structure was faced with radical alteration. The first response of the Department of Justice was to reinitiate 17 persons who had been removed from non-sensitive jobs for security reasons.

But this is, of course, only the smallest administrative step, leaving larger questions unanswered.

ONE PROGRAM

Should the security program be curtailed in accord with the court ruling? In the same TV interview, Brownell said he favored an amendment to the present law which would put "all agencies" of government under the security free to decide about sensitive and non-sensitive jobs.

He did not declare himself on the bill introduced by Sen. Karl Mundt in the Senate and by Rep. Francis Walter in the House.

This bill, hastily drawn, goes

Two Shrill Voices In A Voodoo Ritual

The magic of McCarthyism lies largely in its Luther Burbank touch with humble and unpromising materials, working with a mass of trivial, unrelated, and as a rule, purely negative facts (or positive unfacts) it can produce whole fields of Shasta daisies.—Richard ROVER in AFFAIRS OF STATES: THE EISENHOWER YEARS.

In denouncing the United States Supreme Court as a "pro-Communist" body. Sen. McCarthy and Eastland demonstrated last week that a repugnant form of political voodooism is still being practiced in Washington.

The nation's highest tribunal is not above and beyond the range of criticism. It is anything but sacred. Lately, it has rendered some decisions which are particularly susceptible to question. But the issues it must decide are always controversial. If they weren't they wouldn't require judicial review.

Yet here we have two U. S. senators capitalizing on people's fears and diverting public attention from the real issues with this sort of patyckae exchange:

Sen. Eastland: "The court seems to be issuing just one pro-Communist decision after another."
 Sen. McCarthy: "You're right."
 Sen. Eastland: "What explanation is there except that some Communist influence is working within the court?"
 Sen. McCarthy: "Either incompetence or the influence you mentioned."

Later, the two senators turned their fire on Chief Justice Warren, using the ever handy technique of guilt by verbal association.

Sen. Eastland: "I'm not accusing him of being a party member but he takes the same position they (the Communists) do when he says the Communist Party is just another political party."
 Sen. McCarthy: "I don't accuse him of being a Communist, but there is something radically wrong with him."

Of course, the prospect of the Communist Party taking over the Supreme

Two Shrill Voices In A Voodoo Ritual

Court is about as likely as the Holy Rollers becoming the state religion. It is just as ridiculous to suggest that the Communist Party is influencing the decisions of nine men of such elaborately assorted backgrounds and leanings.

To suggest that Mr. Warren is pro-Communist because he may, through some distorted interpretation, appear to "take the same position they do" on some minor point is verbal trickery of the same nature as the remnants of the simple but fallacious syllogism "proving" that John Doe is a Communist.

John Doe believes in free public schools.
 U. S. Communists quote the Communist Manifesto, which demands free public schools.
 Therefore, John Doe is a Communist.

Like any other U. S. institution, the Supreme Court is subject to criticism. But honorable critics base their arguments on reason, high principles, logic and the facts; not on irresponsible sneers.

A thrifty businessman and his wife were having dinner in town and the subject of anniversary gifts came up. "What would you like for your anniversary, dear, a new coat, a new car or a television?" she replied. "Oh no, that's out," snapped hubby. "I can't get more whiskey!" —LAMAR (Mo.) DEMOCRAT.

Ambition for vacaioners consists in wanting to find a better place in which to do nothing.—GREENVILLE (S. C.) PIEDMONT.

You can expect to see red this summer—all over the backs of foolish folk at the beaches.—LAGRANGE (GA.) DAILY NEWS.

"The world's mightiest mountain range is concealed beneath the Atlantic Ocean," which proves that nature really doesn't like ski resorts.—COLUMBIA (S. C.) STATE.

A quarter is a dollar with all the taxes taken out.—ELBERTON (GA.) STAR.

"I Said, 'YOU TOO CAN SHARE THE BETTER LIFE!'"



Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round Cheese Firm Mopped Up On Taxpayers

WASHINGTON

FULL story can now be told how the Kraft Foods Co. cashed in on Secretary of Agriculture Benson's cheese deal, then tipped off its customers as they, too, could profit at the taxpayers' expense.

Buy And Sell

Kraft vice president A. W. Sigmond was a member of Benson's Dairy Advisory Committee, which recommended that the Agriculture Department buy cheese from processors, then sell it back three cents a pound cheaper.

As it turned out, the cheese never left the processors' warehouses, and Uncle Sam simply paid them a generous profit for a paper transaction. The program's stated purpose was to help the dairy farmers and the cheese companies. But the latter got the benefit.

Advantage

The same Kraft vice president who acted as advisor for Benson's Dairy Committee and joined in recommending the government giveaway, wasted no time taking advantage of it. Before the regulations were even issued, Sigmond wrote to four of Kraft's biggest customers, telling them how they could get in on the windfall.

These were: National Biscuit Co., which collected \$109,093 from the Agriculture Department; H. J. Heinz Co., which made \$24,965; United Biscuit Co., which made \$12,062; and Campbell Soup

Elvis Presley's Fans Love Him As He Is

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

AFTER reading the letter from A. Steve Allen in Thursday's issue of The News I have only one thing to say: I like Elvis the way he is, and I think all his fans and 80 per cent of the grown-ups will agree with me.

We Do Not see anything in it but good clean entertainment. The rock and roll enthusiasts will stand behind me when I say we love him the way he is. We disagree strongly when people say Presley has no talent. If he really wanted to, he could make the singers look like beginners.

—BILLY NEWELL.

The writer has called the traffic office on truck violations, with no results. So just don't heat up the phone, just let them come over and stay out of the path, for those box car trucks and those 50 to 60 miles per hour speed kings will lay you cold with six feet of clay to hold you until Judgment Day.—S. C. VAUGHN

J. S. And Asia

TO a substantial degree our future will depend not only on our own country but on the cooperation of government leaders throughout Asia, Africa and South America, but on the extent to which their interests are strengthened and societies created which offer the individual expanding opportunities for economic advancement, an expanding measure of dignity, and a corresponding stake in the win the respect of the people.

It is not only about as his country forges forward, as living standards rise, and to the degree that he feels he is participating in the development and has a just share in its growth.—Chester Bowles in the annual address to the Memorial address, Cleveland, Ohio, April 16, 1956.

Speeders In Control On Sylvania Avenue

Editors, The News:

SOME weeks ago there were 20 son signals put up on each side of Sylvania Ave. the ones I say indicate danger and the people had best be governed as such for the avenue of five blocks is a race track for that distance.

Fifty to 60 miles is common speed. Complaints do not amount to any good.—Policemen come out on complaints for a trip or two. The high speeder was notified. What was his story? He was late and trying to get to work on time so he took a short-cut. Those midnight prowlers are lucky to get on work time

Get The Gravy

By this time, Kraft was behaving in a taxpayer-hungry, get-on-the-gravy manner. The company solicited some customers in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maryland, and the District of Columbia to make a quick profit in cheese. These seven firms made a total of \$18.71 at the expense of the taxpayers.

Kraft also sent letters to eleven retail customers—grocery chains, bakeries, and food companies—which made nearly \$164,000 total profit.

Meanwhile Kraft was happily peddling its own cheese to the government and buying it back for windfall profits. In fact, the company actually collected \$72,797 for seven cheese deals that were made after the program had officially expired.

The whole cheese scandal was so fantastic that the Justice Department finally ordered the company to give their windfall profits back to the taxpayers.

It took Attorney General Brownell and Secretary of Agriculture Benson nine months after this column first exposed the amazing cheese story, exactly one year ago—June 24, 1955—to admit the mistake. So far, however, none of Kraft's customers has returned a dime.