THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

W. C. DOWD JR., Publisher — J. E. DOWD, Editor — HARRY S. ASHMORE, Associate Editor

MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1946.

Notes On An Academic Argument

ELSEWHERE on this page there appears a rather extensive footnote to our recent exchange of views on the South's liberalism with Secretary of Commerce Wallace. It's the work of R. F. Beasley, veteran editor of *The Farm & Home Weekly* and other publications, whose long experience and inquiring mind qualify him as an expert in these matters.

It should be noted that the discussion has strayed a bit since we initiated it some months ago. We were then arguing the need for a two-party system in North Carolina, and we hazarded the guess that the state would go Republican fairly consistently if the voters were given a free choice. Inevitably this involved us in a discussion of liberalism and conservatism, as those two battered terms are currently used and misused.

Mr. Beasley is correct when he says that the sort of liberalism espoused by Secretary Wallace bears little surface resemblance to the classic liberalism of Jefferson and Jackson. Mr. Wallace is an exponent of Big Government: believing it necessary to control Big Business (and perhaps now Big Labor) in this industrial age. The early American liberals, the flower of an agrarian society, feared any concentration of power, in the Government or elsewhere. Jefferson, to a greater degree than Jackson, believed that virtue reposed largely with the independent farmer who was then, in fact, the backbone of the nation. He even came to gaze with suspicion and loathing upon the few American cities of his day, holding that a population of 100,000 or more guaranteed a moral collapse.

Yet Mr. Wallace can, with some justice, trace the roots of his philosophy to Jackson. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., documented his case in "The Age of Jackson," and won a Pulitzer prize doing it. Mr. Schlesinger finds a striking parallel between Jackson's administrations and those of Franklin Roosevelt. The problems faced by the two Presidents were different, of course, but each moved in the same bold fashion to establish new Governmental authority to meet them, and each professed a deep concern for the common man.

All this, of course, is largely an academic exercise. None of us, no matter how expert, can do more than guess what the political temper of the South really is. There are signs and portents, to be sure, and the region reacts, to some degree, as the nation reacts. But in the more than 50 years since we abandoned formal partisan conflict, there has been no opportunity for the voters to express their convictions except as they might happen to be offered a choice of liberal or conservative Democrats. And this choice is always complicated by purely local considerations that have no bearing on basic issues.

When we handed down the opinion that North Carolina might well become a Republican stronghold, if the combination of restrictive voting regulations, race prejudice and tradition could be battered down, we based our judgment on the experience of other regions not so burdened. The South is still predominantly a rural economy and would tend, as do other rural areas, toward the sort of conservatism represented by the Republican Party, rather than toward Democratic liberalism. For better or worse, attitudes toward organized labor now determine political liberalism, and the industrialized cities, with their preponderantly pro-union population, are centers of what used to be called, for political purposes at least, the people's movement.

The tragedy, as we see it, is that the one-party system has cost the South its proper voice in national affairs. Neither standard conservatism nor standard liberalism meet the needs of the region, and yet the South is powerless to shape the politics of either Party. It must accept Democratic policy blindly, or resort to the hypocritical, and essentially futile, device of sending to Washington conservative Democrats who, under the Party system, are fated to be obstructionists. The South, we have always believed, could make a great positive contribution to the nation, as she did in the great days of her political freedom, if she could rid herself of the artificial restrictions imposed in a moment of defeat and terror.

At any rate, we suspect Mr. Beasley and Mr. Wallace, and maybe even Carrol Reece, would agree with us that the South faces a hopeless political future until Southerners find out, at the ballot box, exactly where they do stand.

An Opportunity For The Baptists

MOST North Carolinians, including most North Carolina Baptists we suspect, have regarded the endowment offer of the Reynolds Foundation primarily as a golden opportunity for Wake Forest College. Comes now *The Kannapolis Independent* to point out at length that the gift may also provide an opportunity for the denomination to revamp its entire educational system in the state.

Specifically, *The Independent* urges that the Baptists move at once to accept the Reynolds gift and use it for the establishment of Wake Forest at Winston-Salem, at the same time expanding that institution into a true university and making it the king-pin of a state-wide system. Meredith College could be moved to Winston and incorporated as a college of the new university. Campbell College, Chowan school and possibly Wingate could then be combined into a strong junior college and established on the abandoned campus at Wake Forest. Mars Hill and Gardner-Webb would, under *The Independent's* plan, be left where and as they are.

We would hesitate to pass judgment on the details of the plan, but as a starting point for extended discussion it appears to have great merit. Certainly there is little reason to question *The Independent's* basic argument:

> The important thing is for the North Carolina Baptist Convention to start official consideration right away on this historical opportunity. Never before, and possibly never again, will the denomination have this chance for a complete revamping and general strengthening of its educational setup.

The Independent feels the matter is so urgent the Baptists should call a special convention to consider it. We doubt, however, that any final decision could be made on short notice. The proposed merger and physical shifting of the various institutions would raise many complications, financial and otherwise, and would require months of careful study and planning. Perhaps it would be wiser if much of this spadework were accomplished before the project is presented to the convention.

Nevertheless we agree that a start in the general direction indicated by the Kannapolis newspaper is very much the order. It is, in a sense, the pivate business of the Baptists, but it is also of great interest to all North Carolinians. The establishment of a great demoninational university system operating alongside the state system would be a great step forward for higher education in North Carolina.

The Libel Of A Lovely Lady

WITH no desire at all to offend a prospective newcomer to the city, we feel constrained to comment on a newspaper picture of Miss Dorothy Hargrove, Annapolis Color Girl, who is planning to marry Midshipman James Burnett Wilson of Charlotte.

Miss Hargrove, a co-ed at the University of Maryland, is a lovely girl, as her photographs and the honor conferred upon her by the midshipmen attest.

Miss Hargrove is also possessed of talents which have, let it be noted sadly, become rare among the young ladies of her generation. Miss Hargrove knows how to milk a cow. She has, in fact, majored in animal husbandry at Maryland, and knows her way around all the departments of the barnyard. She was, we would guess, the only girl among the hundreds present at Annapolis' June Week who has earned the right to wear the blue denim trousers that are now high fashion.

These attributes, plus her selection by the midshipmen, have made Miss Hargrove a press agent's dream. And, as so often happens, when energetic gentlemen go to work, Miss Hargrove has been jockeyed into a ludicrous position before a camera, a position reminiscent on those old campaign pictures of Herbert Hoover fishing in a six-inch celluloid collar.

Miss Hargrove was photographed, naturally enough, in a dairy barn. Her seat on the milking stool was admirable. Her approach to the patient, if skeptical cow who shared the picture, left nothing to be desired. Her garments were appropriate to the occasion. Her grip on the faucets was firm and practiced. But the blithering idiot who posed the photograph forgot, of all things, to put a milk pail under the cow.

Hesitant as we are to recommend recourse to the courts, it seems obvious that Miss Hargrove, the Animal Husbandry Department of the University of Maryland, and perhaps even the cow, have at hand the makings of an open and shut damage suit. If we have ever seen libel, this was it.

Another Voice

Mr. Justice Black's Limb

BY way of one of the gossip columns one hears that "White House insiders confirm the report that Mr. Justice Black threatened to quit if the President appoints any of the considered conservatives (including Secretary of War Patterson) to the high court vacancy."

The nerve of Mr. Justice Black, who himself only yesterday was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and something of a conservative as regards race, religion and pigmentation! And who is he even now to think he can exercise a veto over a President bent on filling the Supreme Court bench.

He resign?

We wouldn't believe he'd do anything of the sort if he were asked to sit between a papal legate and a vice president of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People and to hold the executive secretary of the United States Chamber of Commerce in his lap.

Mr. Justice Black, in the vernacular, has climb a limb, and nobody knows it better than he.—*Greensboro Daily News.*

The Other Big Four

R. F. Beasley

Notes On Southern Liberalism

THE Charlotte News wrote something about Mr. Henry Wallace. Mr. Wallace wrote a letter of thanks, indicating some disagreement about the prevailing liberalism of the South. He also recommended an article written by Mr. Carleton, professor of political science in the University of Florida. The News publishes this article without comment. So we will comment on it a little.

Mr. Carleton finds that the South is pretty liberal and growing more so. He starts with Jefferson, brings in Andrew Jackson, and ends up with Senator Pepper of Florida and Dr. Graham of the University of North Carolina. Many of his observations, we think, are correct, but as socialism means anything to anybody, so liberalism and conservatism mean anything to different people. Liberalism as Mr. Wallace and Mr. Carleton use the word certainly does not describe the liberalism of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. In those days liberalism, as so well defined by Ralph Waldo Emerson, meant opposition to too much government, especially of government in which the masses had little influence. Today liberalism as used by Mr. Wallace and Mr. Carleton means the opposite, a great deal of government. Jefferson's liberalism meant that the people would take care of themselves very nicely if government kept its hands off as much as possible and sought only to correct abuses. It did not lack in the humanitarian impulses which are the special purposes of the modern liberalism.

Too Much Territory

When Mr. Wallace and Mr. Carleton speak of liberalism in the South they cover much territory that means neither liberalism nor conservatism, and much in which the South is no different from the other sections of the country. For instance the agrarian uprising in the South in the 1890s started in the West. We well remember Capt. Buck Kitchin swinging his large arms over an audience of farmers and telling them they must join with their Western brothers in the free silver campaign. The South broke away from the Democratic Party at that time because the party machinery generally was in the hands of Cleveland Democrats and thus hostile to free silver. But that was no new phase in American politics. It was the old phase that had existed for years, beginning with the very foundation of the Government. It was what James Truslow Adams and other historians call the agrarian revolt against the banking and commercial domination of the East. That was the inspiration of the Jacksonian period as it was the inspiration of the later Bryan period, and was no more characteristic of the South than all the newly settled parts of the country. The conservative or opposing Democrats in the South looked upon it about as William Allen White did when he wrote "What's the Matter With Kansas?" Mr. White, like many of us in the South, later showed by his actions that he had mistaken the significance and real meaning of the movement.

The South goes slow on Government measures which are supposed to be harmful to dominating interests, that is, conservative. On issues that are supposed to be helpful, for instance free silver and prohibition, it is liberal, that is it wants the Government to take over.

Early Liberalism

The South was the first section to become liberal when liberalism meant opposition to the dominance of big and selfish business to which the country surrendered in the last part of the last century and the first of this one. It was always in revolt against excessive protection and all the train of evils that huddled under its wing, monopolies of every kind, unfair railroad rates and railroad monopoly. It has never been liberal in Mr. Wallace's sense on the fantastics, such as fair employment practices and such like.

The South has been and is conservative on the labor question. But Mr. Wallace and perhaps Mr. Carleton would chide the Southern Senators who are said to be co-operating with Northern Senators in Congress while forgetting to chide as conservative the Northern Senators. Such conservatism against labor as there is in the South results from natural causes. The big industry of the country in which the labor organizations are powerful are not in the South. Perhaps the supremacy of the labor organizations was necessary in such centers. If their necessity is so great in the South it has been slower in development. Our industry being smaller passed more slowly from the personal contact stage.

The Earthworm

We make no claim that the South is "liberal" in the present sense on every point that arises. We are saying that the people of the South are very much like the people of the other sections, liberal or conservative in different degrees and on different subjects. We make the further point that the predominance of the Democratic Party in the South no more spells Bourbonism than the predominance of the Republican Party in other sections does. The South unfortunately is the earthworm which seems subject for dissection by every so-called economist or politician or uplifter who can never see the mote because of the beam in their eyes.

The late W. J. Cash, who was once editor of The Charlotte News, labored heavily in his book, "The Mind of the South," to prove that the whole race question rested upon the determination of Southern leaders to keep the poor white man down. It is from such books as that that so many people base their conclusions that the South is benighted in every respect. Just now we are belabored on account of the Ku Klux Klan which found its most successful field in Indiana and other states and which now in the South is no more important than any other assembly of crackpots which arise here and there.

R. F. Beasley in Beasley's Farm & Home Weekly.

Quote, Unquote

We've become animals with over-specialized brains. That would be all right if we'd only specialize in developing enough brain power to realize the folly of our ways.—Paul O. Dalliba, Chicago Museum of Natural History anthropologist.

Marquis Childs

Labor's Confusion

WASHINGTON

A GREAT deal has been written about the split within organized labor. It has been described in terms of organization and personality. But almost nothing has been said of the fundamental confusion within the labor movement which is responsible for so much of the fumbling and the uncertainty.

The confusion grows out of the fact that the great mass of union members and most of their leaders have never decided what their ultimate goal is. Except for a minority of zealots on the extreme left, the labor movement has no focus or direction.

In the traditional American concept, the function of the trade union is simple. It is to obtain higher wages and better working conditions. That is still the professed goal of John L. Lewis, who, in conversation with business men, pounds the table and declares himself one of the chief defenders of the capitalistic system. He rejects any suggestion that the mines must be nationalized. The National Association of Manufacturers gives him its seal of approval.

LABOR PARTY LINE

A few trade unionists are Socialists. They are to be found particularly in the clothing industry. They believe in democracy and a gradual approach to collectively-owned natural resources and, eventually, basic industries. Their line is essentially that of the British Labor Party.

At the other extreme from the Lewis, right wing AFL line are the clever zealots who believe that the trade union movement is merely one instrument for revolution. They are Marxists, a few are members of the Communist Party, far more are fellow travelers. Their primary objective is political. Wage demands and strikes have for them only secondarily an economic goal.

The average member of a trade union in this country scarcely thinks about these things at all. He is, to put it bluntly, a political illiterate. That is why the ideological split is so serious.

It is why the minority of zealots can exploit the labor movement to their own ends. They are exploiting the confusion—the dangerous confusion—in men's minds. Employing catchy slogans, they magnify just grievances into resentment of the system itself. All bosses are wicked and corrupt and therefore the system that produces bosses is wicked and corrupt. That is an example of the false logic which can only end in black reaction of the left or the right.

CONFUSION EXPLOITED

The approaching maritime strike illustrates very well how confusion is exploited. The combine of the seven maritime unions is dominated by clever and ruthless zealots. They will try, and perhaps successfully, to involve the entire labor movement in a strike that will be in its essence political. It will be political in that it will cut across the life line of relief at a time when that life line is most imperative; at a time when food stocks in starving countries are lowest.

But it is political in a more subtle sense. The Navy is making preparations to operate relief ships in order to be ready if the unions make demands which the Government could not control ship owners to accept. The unions will then attack the Government for strike-breaking. They will exploit the very real past sins of the ship owners. They will try to focus the resentment and anger of all of labor against Government itself.

What has happened to Great Britain stands out in sharp contrast to American experience. In England the same minority of zealots tried repeatedly to use the same tactics they have used in this country. Repeatedly democratic majority procedure has prevailed. In recent days, one union after another has voted against allowing affiliation between the Communist Party and the Labor Party. The proposition will be overwhelmingly rejected at the forthcoming conference of the Labor Party.

Education, knowledge and understanding have shaped the goal of the British labor movement. It is a Socialistic goal. The mines are being nationalized. But it does not imply a dictatorship of the proletariat and the deliberate abandonment of all that is good in the present system.

GRAVE DANGER

The confusion and conflict within the labor movement in this country are a grave danger. They are a danger not alone to the unions and their members, but to the whole nation. The present drift gives left-wing exploiters their perfect opportunity. The cure can come only from within. It can come through unification of leadership around a genuinely democratic goal.

Samuel Grafton

Hollywood Realism

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I BELIEVE they call Hollywood the city of make-believe, and yet somehow on this trip it seems quite as realistic as any other town in which I have been. The fantasies here are, at least, conscious. At between a strolling through a little Mississippi town, and being told that there is no race problem, and walking through a movie lot (MGM, it happened to be, today) and seeing men and women actors dressed in period costume, I do not know that I have gone second a further from reality than the first.

Inside the closed world of the movie studio men are working realistically, at least within their own frame of reference, to make pictures which they know will be produced and released. The make-believe which I have seen in the small towns of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana seemed to me more pervasive and perilous; I found no one, for example, greatly concerned about the dangers of inflation, or with any feeling that it might arrive in a matter of weeks or months. You won't find people in the studios dreaming the fateful days away like that; they know how much a picture is going to cost, down to the last cent.

DREAMING AMERICA

Our beloved America, vast and cherishable land, is dreaming; it is dreaming a dream of instant plenty in a world of want; and, again, somehow to see a meal of artificial food being photographed on a sound stage does not seem nearly as fantastical as to see the large, real meals which are being eaten outside, in a famine-struck world. The latter is the deeper fantasy, and the less true; and, walking in the sun among the sound stages one has the odd feeling that here, at least, men are trying to use fantasies, while outside, perhaps, fantasies are using men.

Perhaps the Hollywood world, with its convention that every girl is beautiful, and that no man ever has a pimple on his chin, is silly; but it is a silliness which is of the surface, as compared with the vaster silliness which holds that the way for us to march to glory is firmly to refuse to solve our problems at all. It is something to be in a movie studio, among men who know where a dream ends.

BILBO'S SUPPORT

The sun floods down, like water pouring out of a glass, and the little dancing girls try out their steps; and one sees complexions which ought, obviously, to be in museums and there is too much grace. But I remember a man in Jackson, Miss., who told me earnestly that he really did not approve of Sen. Bilbo too much, and that he did not like to vote for him, or to have to endorse his racial ideas; but that he was going to vote for him next time, as a rebuke to Walter Winchell, for talking so much about Mississippi, and for trying to interfere in its affairs.

And this man is much closer to his problem; Sen. Bilbo is; and if one man must dream, it is perhaps better to choose a dream of fair women and of food, than one of hate. The fact that this man had lost a near relative in the war against racism only adds to the tragic meaning of his dream; he does not know why his kinsman died.

Here, then, they make the dreams, for others who believe in them; and perhaps the workers in a dream-factory are more realistic than the customers. The world outside seems here a little spooky; a strange place, without studio cops, to be sure, but one in which there really are men who believe that we need only curb labor, be tough with Russia, and let prices go up, to have peace and prosperity abounding, fine as apple pie.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

The Ku Klux Klan Can't Scare Pearson

WASHINGTON

MEMBERS of the Ku Klux Klan have been sending me anonymous letters threatening all sorts of dire punishment if I continue to report on their fly-by-night activity. They seem to be laboring under the impression that not only can they strike terror into the hearts of defenseless minority groups, but also enjoy torturing others without even being written up in the newspapers.

At their Stone Mountain cross-burning, these brazen boys of the cotton nightshirt actually set themselves up as sole arbiters as to who should take news photos, and manhandled all photographers except those working for Henry Luce's Life Magazine. This kind of chooisness as to what is going to be written or published about an organization is a prerogative not even reserved for John L. Lewis.

So long as this typewriter has a ribbon, it will continue to expose the nightshirt boys despite threats to bump off the operator. Here is more inside news of the Ku Klux Klan's revival:

Atlanta, Ga.—Biggest meeting since the war was staged by Chapter No. 1, Atlanta, immediately after the May 9 Stone Mountain cross burning. 250 members present. Some were pretty sore over the unfavorable publicity, but gloated over the fact that they had signed up new Klansmen from Atlanta firemen and police.

Anti-Semitic Propaganda

CHATTANOOGA—Klan recently burned cross in front of Jewish drug store in the middle of town, warning that Jews must pack up and get out. J. B. Stoner, head of the Klan there, continues to peddle copies of the anti-Semitic book, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

Knoxville, Tenn.—An open meeting of the Klan was held May 18 at the tabernacle of Evangelist T. Wesley Hills. Principal speaker was Rev. A. A. Haggard of Maryville, Tenn. This Klan meeting had something of emotional, almost fanatical fervor. The crowd was whipped up with the idea that the Church, the Klan and God all had the same goals and ideas. This is the latest and most dangerous line taken by Klan leaders.

Asheville, N. C.—Klansmen now whisper that it was a Knight of the KKK who snipped the wires during the broadcast of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, as Green was about to announce an AFL drive to organize the South. This illustrates another new KKK line —save America from organized labor and Communism.

In most cities, leading ministers and newspapers have been strong in their denunciation of the Klan. The Southern Baptist Convention also went on record vigorously against the night shirt boys. Despite this they seem to be making headway.

Truman's Labor Dilemma

ONLY three people knew about it, but last week President Truman was just about convinced that he should withdraw his request for drastic legislation to curb strikes. This was before the Senate voted to reject the work-or-draft clause in the emergency labor bill.

"You've got something there," Truman told Senators Joe O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Burt Wheeler of Montana, who urged that he withdraw his demands of the previous week.

"Your arguments make sense and I will give them earnest consideration," the President added.

The two Western Senators had pointed out that the two major strikes—coal and the railroads—were already just about settled, and that the maritime strike could be handled very simply by ordering the Navy to take over the ships.

"The best thing to do," O'Mahoney argued, "is to pull back this drastic bill you asked for Saturday as an emergency measure. The emergency is past, and it's bound to hurt you and hurt labor. If new labor legislation is needed, why don't we wait for the completion of the very exhaustive investigation of national labor-management relations that Congress has voted?"

The two Senators were cheered with the reception they received from their old friend, the former Senator from Missouri. They knew the strong influence exerted by reactionary White House advisers, but they figured that they had Truman just about won over.

But as they opened the door to leave the President's office, their optimism evaporated. For, waiting to see Truman as they left were reactionary John Snyder and George Allen, director of Republic Steel and a dozen other big corporations.

O'Mahoney's and Wheeler's sudden fears were justified. Truman did not withdraw his labor legislation; instead suffered a defeat in the Senate.

NOTE—The late Carter Glass of Virginia had no great love for labor. But he did a favor for labor when he never would have done in life. For when the Senate adjourned one day in respect to Glass, it gave just enough time for enough Senators to think twice about the work-or-draft clause and later to defeat it.

Navy Widows

THE U. S. Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Md., is the happy health resort of oldsters in Congress and the Cabinet. They flock in and out as if it were their second home. Senator McKellar of Tennessee was there recently; Cordell Hull lived there nearly a year; Senator Reed of Kansas, when going in for a check-up complained bitterly because a war-weary staff did not have someone available to carry his suitcase.

Scarcely a week goes by that a Congressman, Senator or Cabinet officer does not make use of the Naval Hospital. While no one begrudges them this expert medical attention, families of veterans are beginning to wonder if the orphans of men killed in the war should be barred from Naval hospitals.

Not only in Washington, but throughout the country, the families of Navy veterans can't get attention at Naval hospitals. For instance, Mrs. Virginia Dillow of National City, Calif., whose husband was lost on the submarine S-44, Dec. 4, 1943, tried to get one of her two small children into the San Diego Naval Hospital but was refused. She received a $100 payment from the Government in January, but not a cent since. Her doctor, J. Gerald Hocklin, has been trying to help her, but not the hospital of the Navy for which her husband gave his life.