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The South Must Preserve A Principle

LITTLE ROCK has become a milestone in southern politics. Sensible southerners must pass it safely and sanely. If it is muddled past and if thoughtful leadership is not asserted, the play will be taken away by extremists and demagogues.

One effect of the rumpus can already be registered. The underpinnings of the Republican Party in the South have been seriously weakened. "Operation Dixie," that rash and hopeful project launched last spring to build GOP strength below the Mason-Dixon line is in a form now past now. Throughout the region, outposts of the New Republicanism have surrendered to ancient fears and frustrations. It is doubtful that Dwight D. Eisenhower could carry a single southern state today.

The Democratic Party in Dixie faces uncertainties which are almost as bleak. Regional rifts and recriminations are again apparent. Southern Democrats are castigating the party's northern liberals for "urging Ike on." North and South, there is serious talk of the possibility that Dixie Democrats will finally go their own way. Asked the other day if he thought the South would bolt, Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois snapped, "I hope so."

Thus, a new act in the South's political drama is about to begin. There is no audience. The people themselves are all in the cast.

Whether we are dealing with stark tragedy or whether a happy ending can yet be salvaged will depend, in large measure, upon the sincerity of the actors. It is certainly tragic that the day has been postponed when the South can over-

come the handicap of lacking a vigorous two-party system.

It is certainly tragic that angry men in the North and the South are willing to imperil the two-party system in the nation and thus risk fracturing and distorting a system of political democracy that has worked smoothly for many, many years.

It is certainly tragic that moderates of both regions and both parties are being shunted down by big issues at a time when reason and thoughtful leadership are needed.

A two-party system serves the best interests of the South and of the nation. The sectionalizations of party politics would only widen the Gulf of misunderstanding and hate in America. It would undoubtedly deprive the southern Democrats of their Senate seniority, which gives southerners the key committee chairmanships.

The South cannot afford to reduce its great voice in U. S. politics to a cry in the wilderness. It cannot afford to waste its time and its energy in fighting shadows and championing lost causes. Every day, the South is bound closer—economically and culturally—to the mainstream of the nation. Its best hope lies in a strong, vigorous two-party system.

The great task of the South's leadership today is to nourish and preserve this principle.

Soothing Syrup Can't Hide The Sputnik

DOUBTLESS it will be explained. Not through lack of capacity, "authoritative sources" will say, but by design the U. S. allowed the hammer and sickle to be unfurled in outer space. There is absolutely no reason for Americans to be upset by this Russian triumph. Even now perhaps a dose of soothing syrup containing the foregoing ingredients is being prepared behind the unfurled exterior of Washington officialdom. If the past pattern holds, the administration will make sizable efforts to deflate the furor and restore the calm that prevailed everywhere except Milwaukee in this broad land before the Sputnik began to "beep beep."

More reassuring, however, would be a sound of scrambling in high places, an announcement of determination that the U. S. is not to be bested in technological development and an admission that Soviet science has been underrated. Despite all the reasonable explanations and rationalizations that may be made by our side, the indelible fact is that the other side won.

Their bolts murrainous of congratulations to Russian scientists cannot obscure the bitter disappointment of U. S. scientists. The nation should share that disappointment, and precisely for the reason that it is not through lack of capacity that the U. S. currently is second in the race for mastery of outer space.

The U. S. in an incredibly short time unlocked the atom and established a tremendous lead over the Soviet in nuclear power. Russia was wrenched and industrially backward at the time, the prophets of ease assured, and was to be feared mainly for her political fanaticism.

Achieving nuclear parity first, the backward Soviet within the space of this year has now announced successful firing of an intercontinental missile, and has exhibited the universe's first artificial moon.

Not long ago Nikita Khrushchev smiled over a glass of vodka at a group of Americans and announced: "We will bury you." Surely now the considerable scientific ability as well as political determination behind that boast is clear enough even to the most complacent.

The central question posed by the Sputnik is whether the U. S. inventive and industrial capacity that flowered so brilliantly in wartime has been dangerously restrained by the quest for balanced budgets. There is no question that

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But, as with all southern moderates, he is hampered by Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas, the developing Virginia decline led by Sen. Harry F. Byrd, and third-party talk. As some political analysts are certain to feel it is time to rebel.

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But he plans to stay as chairman, and does not now appear that the South can muster the votes to oust him. Nor would that area be likely to get a chairman it liked better if it precipitated a bruising struggle when the national committee meets in February.

The southern leaders know this, just as they know that the South's bolts from the Democrats in all recent presidential elections did not significantly affect the results. They use it in their effort to restrain their extremists even while they talk in terms of the South's veto power to the northerners.

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But has President Goheen ever won a "grand" or more in one of those "holition booties"? Let an educator who has, speak—Charles Van Doren of Columbia University, winner of a mere \$129,000. He writes in Lirr magazine:

A constant... could "know everything" and still know nothing because he knows none of the connections between the things that he "knows"... Knowledge consists largely of making analogies, of seeing similarities of deducing principles and laws... Only old and wise men know how little is known... Teachers are more ignorant than their students—or they should be. And they try to drive a little of this ignorance into their students' heads.

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People's Platform

Troops Break Strikes, Too!

I WOULD protest if you would publish this letter in reply to some of your correspondents, who seek to inject questions affecting organized labor into the school integration problem in Little Rock. Several of them have raised the question as to whether federal troops have ever been used to break strikes. The answer is emphatically yes—on a number of occasions.

Federal troops were used to break a strike on the railroads operating in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia in the 1870s. This occurred because some of the state militia were sympathetic and friendly to the strikers.

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President Grover Cleveland used federal troops in Illinois to break a strike of the American Railway Union in 1894. This was done over the protest of John Altheid, and President Cleveland was roundly condemned by a large segment of the public.

President Woodrow Wilson sent federal troops into Colorado during a strike of the coal miners in 1914, which, incidentally, was not done over the protest of John Altheid, and President Cleveland was roundly condemned by a large segment of the public.

Federal troops were also used at Gary, Indiana, during the strike of the steelworkers in 1919. However, this was very limited use, and was, more or less, for intimidation of the striking steelworkers.

President William Howard Taft threatened to use troops in West Virginia during his administration after the miners had won a signal victory over the Baldwin-Felts gunmen employed by the coal companies in that state.

President Warren G. Harding, also, broke the back of a coal miners' strike and a strike of the railroad employes by threatening to use troops.

Harry S. Truman successfully halted a strike of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and a strike of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in the middle of his first administration.

The federal government seldom hesitates to use troops to break strikes, but usually the local police, sheriff's office, state highway patrol or state militia suffices in doing this job, and if

there is any squeamishness on their part, the company management can usually persuade the sheriff's office to deputize known criminals and killers that are in the pay of the management and not county-employed.

—CARLEY E. HAIGLER Director Region 5 AFL-CIO



HARRY S. TRUMAN A Strike Hero

Segregationist Rector Gave Biased Sermon

I WISH to commend Mr. Charles Sloan Burns on his splendid letter in the News Sept. 30 concerning the most biased sermon ever delivered from an Episcopal pulpit by Rev. Egger. Absurd is putting it mildly.

—LEO H. WILLIAMS

Does The South Retain Any Rights?

AS I READ the editorial page of the News, I am thankful that as southerners we still have the right to express our views some way.

Do the southern people have any rights anymore? It seems to me that the President is overlooking the opinion of the people of the United States and is doing just as Russia wants him to, I think that the most terrible mistake the President ever made was in sending federal troops into Arkansas

to keep Central High integrated. God did not intend for the races to be mixed, or we would all be one color.

It is not through hatred to Negroes that I oppose integration, I oppose integration, but everyone has a right to oppose something that will cause so much trouble. Thank God for Orval Faubus, who still stands true to the people of Arkansas and the rest of the world. If only he was our President, maybe the United States wouldn't be in the mess it's in.

—SARA GRIFFITH



JOSEPH MCCARTHY A New Comparison

Dr. Spaug's Column Made Good Reading

I HAVE often wondered how a millionaire felt. If I were rich I would feel poor again for I have always tried to love and help others whenever I could. But I am sure when there is selfishness or jealousy in a person's life he is never really happy. For those around them can't find anything to please them.

What a pleasure it is to be able to say you are happy because you love everyone and help others along the way.

When we leave this old world we have all behind. But heaven is made of the material we send up through our kindnesses to others.

—MRS. MAYME BARGER

News Coverage Aided Barbecue

THE writer wishes to thank the Charlotte News personally and on behalf of Long Creek Lodge No. 205 AF & AM for the splendid publicity you extended us for our eleventh annual Bar-B-Q.

Please thank the writers and others of your staff who helped make this year's event successful. Such services make us glad we have The Charlotte News to serve our community.

—JACK BLYTHE

'Enough Rope' Ike's Remedy For Faubus

By STEWART ALPSON

THE policy of the Eisenhower administration, as of this writing, seems to be to depend on the passage of time and moderation to heal the crisis in Little Rock. In White House circles, Orval Faubus is often compared to Joseph P. McCarthy, and it is said: "We'll give Faubus enough rope to hang himself."

Perhaps there is nothing else to do, but it may take a lot of time and a lot of rope. And it is at least possible that the situation in Little Rock and throughout the South may get a lot worse instead of better, the longer federal troops remain there.

Sometimes a small episode, which seems insignificant at the time, takes on a certain meaning in retrospect. Such an episode was a conversation between strangers in Little Rock, with a big, shirt-sleeved man on the fringes of a crowd around the school house. He had a very southern accent, and he talked like a great many other people in Little Rock. "I would have wanted your kids being forced by federal hangers into a school with a bunch of half-savages!" he asked.

GUARD DOWN

Then he suddenly let down his guard, as sometimes happens in a conversation between strangers who are unlikely to meet again. "Look," he said, and his accent changed. "I came here from Wisconsin eight years ago, and here I went to school with a couple of Negroes and it didn't bother me. But down here, brother, you talk like the rest of the people about this thing, and you think like them too, or one day you wake up dead."

This small episode serves to suggest something of the dangers involved, if the crisis in Little Rock were indefinitely. The extraordinary depth of feeling on the racial issue in the South is consistently underestimated, outside the South. In a way, this is natural.

Consider a few statistics. The proportion of Negroes in Washington, D. C., which has integrated without major trouble, is over 35 per cent. The proportion in Gary, Indiana, which has been integrated for years, is almost 30 per cent. The proportion of Negroes in Little Rock is only 23 per cent. So why do the people of Little Rock feel so much more passionately about racial issues than the people of Washington, D. C., or Gary, Indiana?

There are many reasons, of course, psychological and economic, but the historical reasons must not be overlooked. The preoccupation with the Civil War and the Reconstruction era in the South tends to intensify racial feelings. Yet it is an important political fact, which must be reckoned with.

BITTER SYMBOL Gary, Ind., after all, was never occupied by federal troops who used force to put uneducated Negroes and unscrupulous northern adventurers into positions of power. In the Reconstruction era, the slogan of the Little Rock "Republican" the organ of the occupation forces, was: "We'll make Arkansas a Republic or a waste of howling wilderness."

All this is not to suggest that President Eisenhower was wrong to do what he did, or that he should now surrender to the slippery Faubus. But it does suggest that the President's action in sending Federal troops into a southern state was very much more dangerous in terms of national unity than is generally recognized outside the South.

Hoffa will probably join forces with John L. Lewis in a new independent labor organization. The two labor strong-men have a huddled secret. Hoffa has also talked to Bakers' boss James Cross, also under congressional fire, about throwing in with them.

Northern Pols Keep Watch On Little Rock

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON Editors: The News: THE had days at Little Rock have added a new dimension of interest to two-off-year elections. They are New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner's bid for re-election and the governorship race in New Jersey between the Democratic incumbent, Robert B. Meyner, and Malcolm Forbes.

Both Meyner and Wagner are being out on the defensive by the Little Rock affair. The Negro vote in New York City and in New Jersey is being watched more closely than ever before.

Since Wagner expects to win easily and Meyner is the track favorite, any narrow-margin upset would be so dramatic as to scare the northern Democrats into a war of succession of their own. It would, on the GOP side, strengthen the bid of Vice President Richard M. Nixon and others who are already putting their 1959 eggs into the big state basket.

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'In America They Think It's A Problem That People Aren't Getting Enough Education'



HERBLOCK

From The Christian Science Monitor

MEMORY AND EDUCATION

IS AN extraordinary photographic memory for related or unrelated data synonymous with an excellent education? Sometimes one is an accompaniment to the other. And it would probably be impossible to acquire a good education without a normally developed memory.

But not just a photographic one. And as for what the psychologists term "complete recall"—that is the equivalent of education then an appalling little stock clerk in St. Louis made famous by television, ought to have been chosen president of some great university long ago.

But the multithousand-dollar quiz shows are certainly glorifying the American memory "whiz" perhaps at the expense of the truly educated man. One new college president has had something to say on this—Dr. Robert F. Goheen of Princeton. Addressing the undergraduates for the first time he said:

I do confess a certain envy for those persons whose minds seem to keep pecking z. quiz shows now and then.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

ONE of the most important countries to the U. S. is Cuba. It's important geographically; buys more goods from the U. S. than England or France, is vital as a supplier of sugar.

Recently Cuba has been in the throes of political turmoil. Things have not been too stable. Revolt has flared in parts of the island. It is a moment when the United States should be keeping a watchful eye on what is happening.

At this crucial time, however, there is a question that the American ambassador to Cuba, Earl Smith, was busying himself.

Ambassador Smith was very busy, far from Havana, watching the World Series.

Hoffa's Tactics It's no secret that the election of Jimmy Hoffa as head of the Teamsters was a deep disappointment to the forces of

Diplomat Leaves Hot Spot For Series

clean unionism inside the AFL-CIO, including George Meany. But it's supposed to be a secret that Meany had counted on two powerful executives in the Teamsters to stand up against Hoffa. They were Elmer Mohn, former right-hand man to Dave Beck, and John English, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters. Both chickened.

Here is the private conversation between Hoffa and Mohn which took place just before Mohn caved in. The reader can draw his own conclusions.

Man Picked Hoffa: "What's this I hear that you are still thinking of running in this election for something other than vice president? Well you go right ahead! I think, however, that it would be only right for me to tell you that I have already picked the man who will immediately oppose you (for vice president)." Mohn: "Now Jimmy, who is it

Someone I know? You know I have the votes to hang on to my vice presidency. What are you trying to plunk?" Hoffa: "I'll be blanketed if I'll tell you. But I will tell you that it's up to you. If you do anything other than support me, you are through. And you know that what Jimmy says, Jimmy means."

After that, Mohn bowed out.

White Hope The man who tipped the scales for Hoffa, ironically, was the man who was supposed to have been the AFL-CIO's white hope—John English. Meany had appointed English to Dave Beck's seat on the AFL-CIO executive board. In return, English agreed to start a campaign inside the Teamsters to sweep out both Beck and Hoffa.

In other words, the AFL-CIO handed English the broom but he never did much sweeping. Meany gave him the bawling

out of his life for his failure to act, but English was against one of the toughest operators in America. He came out 100 per cent for Hoffa, the man he was supposed to clean out of the union.

William A. Lee, the Teamsters seventh vice president, had been elected as an anti-Hoffa force into a new rival union under the AFL-CIO's wing. He has already received the unofficial blessing of AFL-CIO candidate George Meany. Other cleanup candidates plan privately to join Lee in forming the new union.

Lee's lawyers have been mapping legal strategy to prevent Hoffa from draining the treasuries of locals that may want to follow the President's action in sending Federal troops into a southern state was very much more dangerous in terms of national unity than is generally recognized outside the South.