

Thomas L. Robinson President and Publisher
Brodie S. Griffith General Manager
Robert H. Lampe Advertising Director
Cecil Prince Editor
Perry Morgan Associate Editor
R. L. Young Jr. Managing Editor
Huey Stinson Circulation Manager

THURSDAY, AUGUST 8, 1957

Pity The Poor President: He's Always In The Middle

By STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON
AS a result of his newly acquired habit of staging public debates with himself on a whole series of issues—the budget, disarmament, the school bill, and civil rights bill—the President is being increasingly unpopular.



President Eisenhower Horatius Was Confused

Isn't This Where We Came In?

OFF and running at last, North Carolina's newly reformed State Highway Commission busily divided Tarheel into seven different districts for "public relations" purposes this week and assigned a commissioner to each.

Ostensibly the action is designed to keep the highway department's ear close to the people. This was one of the compromises demanded—and received—by the General Assembly last March when Gov. Luther H. Hodges asked for a small compact commission, dedicated to statewide planning rather than sectional interests.

The danger is that sectional interests will again dominate highway planning and maintenance in North Carolina.

One of the most important objectives of highway commission reorganization was the abandonment of a system which permitted 14 commissioners to become caretakers of the highway system. Their neighborhood interests rather than the interests of the state as a whole.

crystal clear. This could best be accomplished, said the study group, by the reduction of the highway commission's membership from 14 to 7 "and by specifically providing that their appointments shall not be such as to represent any particular section."

It can be argued that reorganization legislation, in its final form, preserved intact the ideal of statewide planning. But so did Section 136-1. General Statutes of North Carolina, which created the old 14-member highway commission. The section read in part:

It is the intent and purpose of this section that all of said commissioners and the chairman shall represent the state at large and not be representative of any particular division.

This impressive lip service did not prevent commissioners from surrendering statewide interests to local concerns. As a result, the highway system suffered. The new system, with its districts for "public relations" purposes, is a risky invitation to the same old malady. Its operation is deserving of the most careful public scrutiny.

The bill, as Wilson of course knew, had the full, unequivocal, public support of the President. Thus the testimony released by the House committee placed Wilson in a difficult position.

HOW IT HAPPENED

The bill, as Wilson of course knew, had the full, unequivocal, public support of the President. Thus the testimony released by the House committee placed Wilson in a difficult position.

Party Balance In The Senate Could Change

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON
HEALTH dominates current news in Washington, and not Mr. Eisenhower's alone.

Sen. Matthew M. Neely, (D-Va.) is fading fast and he is one of ten Democrats from states having Republican governors. Under West Virginia election laws, Gov. Cecil H. Underwood has the power, in the event of a vacancy, to appoint a successor who would serve until the next state election, which takes place in November, 1958.

NEELY That eventually a Senate of 48 Democrats and 47 Republicans. The 96th place is the Wisconsin vacancy left by the death of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

On form, the Republican nominee, former Gov. Walter Kohler, ought to take his normally Republican state. His opponent, Democrat William Proxmire, has lost three statewide races, two of them to Kohler.

GOP RANKS SPLIT
But Wisconsin Republicans are badly split. The primary saw upward of 200,000 votes cast against Senator Eisenhower. Republican, and the state leaders remain Taft-McCarthy minded.

The state has apparently not allowed the crucial nature of the Senate race to sink into its political apathy and its vacancies. One Republican strategist mourns that "Everybody knows more Republicans than we have in this state."

NIXON'S CHANCE
Proxmire is a vigorous campaigner who conceivably could arouse the organized Democratic vote.

The odds still are on Kohler. This it appears possible that August next, the Senate might awake to find itself split 48-48. That day, if it is in session, Vice President Eisenhower might have to lead his party organize the Senate, take over the committee chairmanships and dominate the legislative proceedings.

direct opposition to the President — a position from which Wilson has rather hastily backed down. Now consider the background story of this latest presidential trouble.

The bill embodies a Hoover Commission proposal a 1 1/2 billion spending program for the next year, instead of making appropriations to be spent over a number of years, as at present. The idea is that the new system would force a yearly re-examination of all expenditures, and thus restore to Congress the control of over-spending, especially defense spending, which it has largely lost.

FIERCE OPPOSITION
Hoover Commission publicists have claimed that this simple reform would save \$3 billion a year. The claim is almost certainly wildly inflated. But it much impressed the President, who is no expert on fiscal matters. He accordingly came out strongly for the bill, and the Senate passed it unanimously.

Then the bill ran into the fierce opposition of two powerful old non-Chairman Clarence Cannon of the House Appropriations Committee, and the committee's senior Republican, Rep. John Taber. Reps. Cannon and Taber unquestionably know their way around

the fiscal jungle, and they both concluded that the Hoover proposal was bad legislation and bad fiscal policy. As a result, the bill was stalled in the House.

Therefore, ex-President Hoover, who has a passionate pride in his handiwork, called on the President, to persuade him to give the bill a big presidential push. The President, who has almost always respect for his predecessor, am-

liably agreed, and a strong letter to the House supporting the bill was prepared for the President's signature.

TABER TO THE RESCUE

When Taber learned of this planned presidential intervention, he asked for an appointment with the President, and got it. Crusty old Taber argued fiercely against the bill. His main point was that, far from saving money, it would have precisely the opposite effect.

Because the first year's installment on some costly project might be small, Congress would approve it. Then the country would ultimately be stuck with the cost of the whole project. Besides, Taber said, the procedure was unworkable.

The President was much impressed, and allowed that what Taber had said was "an entirely new point of view" to him. Soon thereafter, Rep. Clarence Brown, a sponsor of the bill and a member of the original Hoover Commission, got a White House call. The chances were that the President would not send his letter to the House after all, Brown was told.

BROWN BLOWS UP

Brown was furious, and telephoned ex-President Hoover in New York. Hoover telephoned the White House, and White House

Press Secretary James Hagerty hastily issued a statement to the effect that the President was all for the bill. This in turn stimulated Cannon and Taber to counter-attack. Their counter-attack took the form of releasing Wilson's closed session testimony against the bill. And Wilson, who had to deny the plain meaning of what he had said.

There the matter now rests. Wilson, the ultimate fate of the bill, what happened tells a lot about the position in which the President so often finds himself. We can't say that the President would claim that he is an expert on everything. Yet he is called upon to make firm decisions about everything under the sun: oil imports, the budget, the clean bomb, the line between civil and criminal contempt, and heaven knows what all.

When all his advisers tell him the same thing, his problem is easy. But what is to do when men who respect him, who claim to be experts tell him flatly contradictory things? He is then rather in the position of the beleaguered Horatius on the bridge — "Those behind cried 'Forward' — and those before cried 'Back.'"

The moral of the story, in short, is "pity the poor President." For he is a much over-burdened man.

Sound And Fury Signifying Nothing

OPponents of the administration's badly mired immigration legislation saved their lowest blows for this week's Senate hearings in Washington.

Spokesmen for certain patriotic organizations even dared suggest that something automatically rank is associated with foreign-sounding names in this country.

William Rea Furlong, a retired admiral who spoke for the Sons of the American Revolution, warned that increasing quotas for Southern and Eastern European immigrants would change the form of American government. "This is no theory, as anyone knows who has read in the newspapers the names of the notorious gangsters, ramblers and racketeers," he said. "Their national origin is proclaimed by their names. (They) are largely from Southern and Eastern Europe."

Adm. Furlong is half right. This is no theory. This is sheer nonsense.

Certainly there are gangsters, gamblers and racketeers over here from Southern and Eastern European origin, just as there are some whose ancestors came over on the Mayflower. But while we are playing name games, perhaps the admiral would like to recall a few Southern and Eastern European names which have saved different associations:

Enrico Fermi, the Italian-born scientist who made the first atomic reactor and touched off the first chain reaction at the University of Chicago in 1942.

George Santayana, the great Spanish-born American philosopher and author.

Italy's Arturo Toscanini and Greece's Dimitri Mitropoulos, two of the world's greatest conductors whose contributions to American musical life are limitless. Hungary's Bela Bartok, Italy's Gian-Carlo Menotti and Russia's Serge Rachmaninoff, great composers who have lived and worked in America.

Italy's Enrico Caruso and Ezio Pinza, who brought to America two of the world's finest voices. Russian-Born Gen. David Sarnoff, boss of the National Broadcasting Company and one of the nation's most distinguished industrialists.

Fiorello H. LaGuardia, famed reform mayor of New York City from 1934 to 1945.

Nobel Prize winners for medicine, such as Selman A. Waksman (1952), born in the Ukraine, and Carl F. Cori (1948), born in Czechoslovakia.

The list could go on and on. It is an unhappy fact, however, that many of these individuals who came from other lands to share their genius with America would not have been welcome under today's restrictive statutes.

The lesson is that America has been strengthened—not weakened—by freedom-loving people from other lands who have established themselves here. It brings to mind Theodore Roosevelt's forceful demand for undivided loyalty on the part of naturalized citizens and his equally forceful insistence that discrimination against any citizen because of the place of his birth is "utterly un-American and profoundly unpatriotic."

Firefighters Can Do Funny Things, Too

FRUSTRATIONS are a dime a dozen and pretty soon pills for the temporary relief thereof may be just as cheap.

But the frustration of a volunteer firefighter is not allowed to fight a fire. He can smell and see a frustration of a fiercer sort. Two days after they were blocked from a burning house in Huntersville by a mob of spectators, firemen of the Huntersville and Long Creek units were still fuming. It's understandable aside from the needless loss of property, there is a certain cruelty in the

quelling of a man's commendable desire to put out a fire.

It isn't that the firemen aren't forgiving. "People do funny things when they're curious," one said. "They do things they wouldn't think of doing any other time." True enough. But frustrated people also do funny things they wouldn't ordinarily do.

We think almost everybody would forgive the firemen if they should turn their hoses on the next group of spectators who block their way to a fire.

Cold water can do wonders for curiosity.

From The Greensboro Daily News

FRENCH PRIMITIVE

DON'T look now, but another literary trend has started in Paris. It is the City of Light, you remember, which launched the first of the sophisticated teenage novelists.

Françoise Sagan's BONJOUR TRISTESSE was a pioneer in the field of little girls wise beyond their years who wrote knowingly of infidelity and affairs d'amour. As usually happens, the fad caught on over here.

In no time there was CHOCOLATES FOR BREAKFAST, peopled by a lost generation of golden youth barely pubescent but wallowing in degradation that would have been the envy of old-time rouses. There are maybe others, so a spoof on this whole school of belles lettres was inevitable. It has appeared in LOVE ME LITTLE by Amanda Vaill who reportedly isn't a young lady at all but an anonymous male.

So what then, is the newest thing in Paris? Berthe Grimault, a semilitaire peasant girl of 17 living on a primitive farm in central France.

Primitive in France, as GIs will remember, means just that. On the Grimault farm there is no electricity, no plumbing and the family washes in the same muddy pool that cattle and goats use.

Yet in this milieu Berthe "writes" books as she tends her herd. Actually she dictates; she can hardly write her name. As stories come to her mind, they

are set forth by the village mail carrier. Her first chef d'oeuvre was composed at the age of 14, an epic of rustic lust, lunacy and murder. Publisher Julliard, who gave the world Mlle. Sagan, discovered Berthe. Her first work sold reprint after reprint; now he's preparing her newest "novel."

Where will it lead? For one thing, very shortly to an American translation by a well-established publishing house. Will Berthe inspire imitators? You can be sure.

After all, it was in the United States that the "as-told-to" technique reached its apogee of development. If a foot postman can't be found to transcribe some backward farm girl's fantasies, there are plenty of unemployed ghost writers on hand.

Both the photographer and the mother had failed to make the restless little four-year-old sit still long enough to have her picture taken. Finally the photographer suggested that the little darling might be quiet if her mother would leave the room for a few minutes. During her absence the picture was successfully taken. The way home, the mother asked: "What did the nice man say to make Mother's little darling sit so still?" "He thud. 'You thit thud, you little newthuns, or I'll knock your block off,'" thud I thit thud," she explained. — DALLAS TIMES HERALD.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Editors' Note. Drew Pearson today continues the inside story of how Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas maneuvered to put across the jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill.

JUST a few days before the vote on the jury amendment, Sen. Lyndon Johnson knew that he didn't have the votes to win. He stalled for time. The fact was that he made the time by doing nothing short of a political miracle.

The tall Texas had first persuaded southern senators to accept the jury trial amendment with Negroes on juries by telling them it would merely result in hung juries. One white man on the jury could always vote against conviction, could always protect white defendants.

GOP Votes Needed

With the South behind him, therefore, Lyndon needed was to cut into the huge bloc of 38 Republican senators which GOP Leader Knowland had lined up against the jury trial amendment.

At this point, Lyndon and the Church-O'Mahoney-Kefauver group conceived the idea of extending trial by jury to the crime contempt cases including labor. This, in turn, swung three potent labor groups behind trial by jury. Their shift was what really derailed the ad-

People's Platform

Reader Disappointed By Judge Helms

Editors, The News: I WILL NOT say that I am amazed at the argument made by Judge Fred B. Helms before one of your civic bodies the other evening, but I am grievously disappointed, as he and I teamed up in the fight of all the fires of Hell against Bishop Cannon and the Contingent Brothers who put on shows in the public school buildings depicting the constant life, the Catholic Church, which the school authorities should have prohibited.

Now, integration was killed in the House by a close vote of 209 to 204 and overruling the Senate; so integration is dead as a do-do. Chief Justice Earl Warren, in collusion with the conspiring Protestant churches, of which the only church I was ever affiliated with, the Methodist, was the meanness of them all, stated frankly that integration was a planned 50 years ago when the northern and southern branches were merged.

I wrote one of the NAACP attorneys that I had defended the Negro's right to equal education, the political and job opportunities for the past 40 years. He replied that every Negro in the state knew that

I was his friend, but that was not the point; the Negro intent and purpose was to amalgamate the Negro with the whites of the South, that this was the Christian way and the only approach to the racial problem. I replied that I had suspected the NAACP was a fraud from the beginning and that I was glad to have my suspicion confirmed, that I was through, and that I hoped the NAACP would not be able to integrate a secondary, high school or college within the next 1,000 years; and being a man who always operates in the open, I am ready to state that I will not be pushed around longer by the Negro.

— JOHN W. HESTER

was threatening or coercing another person in relation to voting under the terms of the bill and will be subject to an injunction."

WEAK OPPOSITION
It happens of course, that what Russell described is already a violation of law. No one rose to challenge this remarkable statement.

That illustrates the weakness on the Republican side. Sen. William Knowland, the minority leader, was firm and determined in his opposition to the jury-trial amendment. But neither he nor any other Republican showed the articulateness, the persistence and the resourcefulness of Russell and other southerners.

Labor Turned The Tide On Civil Rights

ministration's civil rights bill.

The three labor groups were: the United Mine Workers, the postal workers and the railroad brotherhoods. How they did it is the subject of a repeated resolution by the AFL-CIO executive council to the contrary, is the real story of how he won his battle.

Here's How

Here is how he did it: The postal workers have been desperately anxious to pass a pay raise bill. It must be okayed by Sen. Olin Johnson of South Carolina and his Post Office Committee. So Johnson agreed to make postal pay increases the first order of business before his committee, and keep it there until passed—if the postal workers in turn would vote Republican senators over to the jury trial amendment. Lyndon Johnson and Johnson also agreed to push the postal pay increase over Eisenhower's veto, if, as expected, he vetoes it.

Keating Delivered

Jerome Keating, able legislative representative of the letter carriers, kept his end of the bargain, but Johnson, swinging Sen. Kuchel of California away from his colleague, Knowland, in favor of the jury trial amendment.

United Mine Workers' The Mine Workers Journal had gone on record

vigorously against the jury trial amendment. Its June issue had described it as "phony as a three-dollar bill."

Despite this, John L. Lewis suddenly reversed his union and sent telegrams to every senator urging the amendment which his own magazine labeled phony.

Hopkins Helped

This switch was accomplished through Welly Hopkins, one-time member of the Texas Senate, a great friend of Lyndon Johnson, now counsel to the United Mine Workers. The fact that John L. Lewis was once socked the biggest fine in labor history by U. S. Judge Alan Goldsborough for violating a court injunction, did not handicap Lyndon and Hopkins in swinging John L. around to the rewritten jury trial amendment.

Lewis, in turn, swung at least one Republican vote away from Knowland—that of Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia.

Personal Persuasion
Railway Brotherhoods. This was the most influential labor group of all. The Brotherhoods have a Railway Retirement Act which they want passed and which is stalled in the House. However, a chief factor which swung them into line was the personal persuasion of Lyndon Johnson, representative of the Railway Labor Executive Association, put

his nose almost against Cy's and told him that to save a split in the Democratic Party he had to swing the Brotherhood. The jury trial amendment, when Lyndon starts again later, can almost persuade the waters of the Red Sea to part.

Rob's Big Push

Cy Anderson got busy. He even persuaded ex-Congressman Bob Randolph of West Virginia to come to Washington to use his influence. Harry See, lobbyist for the trainmen, also talked to key senators.

It was this big push by labor which really rescued Lyndon Johnson on the jury trial amendment.

Ironic Facts

There were two ironic facts about labor's position: —I'll bet up with part of exactly the same Dixie-GOP coalition which put Taft and northern Republicans who were where the South voted against and northern Republicans voted against 2-Labor also lined up against important laws which it helped to pass—con Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, etc.—men—these laws by jury trials is almost unworkable.

Dixie Hit All The Generals In This Battle

WASHINGTON
THE deep feeling of disillusion over the sham battle that finally killed any effective civil rights legislation for the bridging is bound to be translated sooner or later into results where they count—in the polling booth.

There have already been many predictions of the effect of that midnight show-down attaching the jury-trial amendment to the civil rights bill. But northern Democrats, who claim to be experts tell him flatly contradictory things? He is then rather in the position of the beleaguered Horatius on the bridge — "Those behind cried 'Forward' — and those before cried 'Back.'"

The moral of the story, in short, is "pity the poor President." For he is a much over-burdened man.

The southern generalship was superb. On the ramparts Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia uttered one shrewd rallying cry after another. He said some quite extraordinary things that in the heat of the controversy no one seemed ready to deny.

POINTED WARNING

In the closing days of the debate he warned that if the jury-trial amendment was not rejected the civil rights bill would apply first in Cook County, Illinois, rather than in the South. The southerners have had a long history of racial disturbances in Chicago.

"If some public official in Cook County goes to persons whom he has helped to get jobs and tells them they had better vote 'this way' or else they may lose their jobs," Russell told the Senate, "he will subject himself to this harsh injunctive process because he will be threatening or coercing another person in relation to voting under the terms of the bill and will be subject to an injunction."

WEAK OPPOSITION
It happens of course, that what Russell described is already a violation of law. No one rose to challenge this remarkable statement.

That illustrates the weakness on the Republican side. Sen. William Knowland, the minority leader, was firm and determined in his opposition to the jury-trial amendment. But neither he nor any other Republican showed the articulateness, the persistence and the resourcefulness of Russell and other southerners.



HERLOCK
1957 THE WASHINGTON POST CO.