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Turmoil Can Stunt A State's Growth

NORTH CAROLINA's economic future will depend, to a large extent, upon wise political leadership in the desegregation crisis.

This lesson loomed larger than life today as the statistical woe of other, less fortunate southern states became darker by the hour.

Evidence now available indicates that racial turmoil has had a disastrous effect on the industrialization of both Arkansas and Virginia.

Arkansas saw investments in new and expanded industrial plants shrink from $130 million in 1956 to $50 million in 1957 to $25 million in 1958.

Virginia's failure to attract new industry during the period of "massive resistance" was the subject of a WASHINGTON POST report this week by Benjamin Muse. "It is not generally realized," said Muse, "that 1958 was a year not of progress, not of standing still, but of retrogression in this field."

The reason is elementary. Corporations are not enthusiastic about establishing manufacturing plants in localities where the permanent availability of public schools is in doubt.

But there is also a somewhat subtler reason that applies to both Arkansas and Virginia. The school mess consumed nearly all of the time and attention of the leaders of both states.

The situation in Tarheelia provided a sharp contrast. Said Muse:

"North Carolina has a larger Negro population than Virginia; it has its branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and it is under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. It has had token integration for several years. But North Carolina leaders declare proudly that no schools have closed and no schools are going to close in that state.

"While Gov. Almond was setting about the liquidation of this state's (Virginia's) public school system, Gov. Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina threw himself into a tireless and imaginative campaign of industrial promotion. A quarter of a billion dollars of new investments was attracted to his state in one year."

That is the way it should be in North Carolina.

Tar Heels owe to themselves the obligation to comply with law, keep their schools open and maintain standards of order and decency. After all, the state has its heritage and its future. To do otherwise would only dishonor the one and defraud the other.

Now's Time To Act On Revaluation

THOSE who believe in a sound fiscal base for Mecklenburg's progress can look with enthusiasm and measured hope to the county courthouse this week. A plan for a continuous reappraisal of property for tax purposes is at last receiving serious study.

The proposal was presented to County Commissioners yesterday. It will receive a week's scrutiny before being discussed at a public meeting next Monday.

An early revaluation of both real and personal property is a public necessity. The last property revaluation was held in 1952. That was too long ago. Values have changed drastically during the past seven years. The resulting inequities have distorted the entire tax picture in a dynamic period of growth and progress.

Much thought must be given to the mechanics of any future revaluation. But there is no escaping the necessity to act and act now. Commissioners will be expected to come up with a suitable plan without further delay.

The Complete Circle

REP. Ed Kemp of High Point carries a loaded bill these days.

It has been duly reported that he advocates a study commission to study the study commission already studying. Rep. Kemp wants his commission to study means of selecting study commission members.

Now that this problem is about to come full circle, there is only one question left. Will this be a salaried job, or will the group work on a commission?

'Intervention' Was A Long Time Coming

IF anything, Gov. Hodges waited too long to intervene in the tumultuous Henderson textile strike. His reluctance was understandable. It is imperative that labor and management be given every opportunity to settle their differences through ordinary channels. Under normal circumstances official pressure would be utterly inappropriate.

But, from the start, the Henderson situation was neither ordinary nor normal. In time, it became a civil disturbance which was endangering the lives and property of the public at large.

By last weekend there had been 16 bombings, one near riot, several gun battles, fires, street fights and much property damage. A number of people were injured and more than 150 arrests were made. The disorders, sustained without discernible letup over several weeks, made hash of North Carolina's commendable record of labor-management peace.

Gov. Hodges did not exactly sit idly by. He worked quietly in the background to effect a settlement long before he summoned representatives of both sides to his office yesterday. But the kid-glove approach was unsuited to the circumstances. It was evident by late February that sterner stuff was needed.

Now, the public's patience is strained to the breaking point. An arbitration formula which will resolve this dispute can be found. Mr. Hodges should keep the top labor and management representatives in continuous session until it is found.

Meanwhile, the governor can never again allow an incredibly violent labor dispute to drag on so long before stepping in himself with an official shillelagh.

What Shall We Do With Vicki Gone?

WE suppose we should shed an editorial tear or two now that Vicki, our nationally famous elephant, is no longer with us.

Consider it done, and pause with us as we dab with handkerchief.

Vicki did bring this city a measure of backhanded fame, and provided four years of page-brighteners for the GREENSBORO NEWS. And never to be forgotten is the memory of a wildly flapping LIFE photographer taking himself from the route of Vicki's charge.

Now that elephant and playmates have been auctioned away to provide for building progress, we do wonder if studies in other cities have shown zoos to be a profitable operation.

In the near future it would be worthwhile for local officials to pick a study group. If admissions and an amusement park area could pay for feed and salaries, land should be tucked away until initial investment costs could be met.

Zoos and botanical gardens are popular places, make no mistake. That they are expensive to create and maintain is also realistic. But Charlotte could begin in small fashion, building for the future with open, moat-type exhibit areas instead of the small, dark cages still in use in many locales.

Anytime exotic creatures of nature's realm can be sensibly displayed they will beat book illustrations all hollow. And the relaxation offered by a park plus zoo would attract thousands yearly.

This should be a hardheaded business proposition, to be sure. But one worth more than a cursory glance for the future of this city.

'Curiouser And Curiouser'

Trouble In The Kremlin?

By JOSEPH ALSOP

WASHINGTON

IN the language of "Alice," the political situation in the Soviet Union is getting curiouser and curiouser. It could even turn out to have rather more bearing on the Berlin crisis than the ritual consultations between the President and Prime Minister Macmillan.

The latest enigma is the abrupt replacement of the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Iosif Kuzmin, by his own deputy, Alexei Kosygin. In American terms, this is like the sudden, unexplained replacement of the secretary of the Treasury plus the director of the Budget Bureau. The evidence is too conflicting to be made clear who has been doing what to whom; that the Kuzmin-Kosygin shift is certainly linked to inner party politics in some way or other.

CONTRADICTORY FORCES

What makes the latest enigma so vividly interesting, however, is that it is placed at the end of a considerable list of other enigmas. Taken together, they indicate that all sorts of contradictory forces are still at work within the Kremlin, behind the facade of Nikita Khrushchev's seemingly monolithic control. The proof is plain, if the enigmas are simply listed item by item.

ITEM: The party secretaries (i.e., the party bosses) of two provincial districts and the ultra-important Moscow district were recently disciplined and cashiered. These men were charged with having conducted an agitation in the party cells in their district, and especially in the military cells of the party, against measures to discipline the so-called "anti-party group" of Khrushchev's enemies at the party congress in January.

This must mean that Khrushchev tried and failed to get the party congress to use really severe measures against his enemies. It must mean further that he was opposed by the Red Army, at any rate at that time.

THE ABSENTEES

ITEM: At the Congress itself, the wicked "anti-party group" was endlessly denounced, with special shrillness by the now-demoted Kuzmin. Bulganin, Pervukhin (whom Kuzmin especially attacked) and Saburov, all came before the congress and groveled in proper form. But the key, original members of the group, Georgi Malenkov, Vyacheslav Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov, were all noteworthy absentees and non-grovelers. Item two fits neatly on to Item one.

MOLOTOV AND CHINA

ITEM: Prior to the party congress an attempt was made to transfer Khrushchev's single most influential enemy, Vyacheslav Molotov, from his ambassadorial post in Outer Mongolia to the Soviet Embassy to the Netherlands. In Ulan Bator, Molotov is believed to be in close contact with the Chinese Communists, who are in turn believed to take a major stand in the inner party intrigues in the Kremlin. If Molotov had gone to The Hague, the contact with the Chinese would have been broken. But Molotov did not go, although the Dutch did not object.

UNPRECEDENTED STEP

ITEM: Also prior to the party congress, a much-touted plenum of the Central Committee of the party was held in Moscow. After the plenum, the absolutely unprecedented step was taken of publishing the transcript of the discussions. The main points discussed were the familiar sins of the anti-party group, and the glories of Nikita Khrushchev's agricultural program. The break with precedent implied a desire to intimidate the political opponents. And again, the absentees at the plenum were noteworthy. Those who attended were almost exclusively the provincial party leaders, who have always been mainly pro-Khrushchev. Among the key people on the heights in Moscow, only Khrushchev himself appeared and spoke.

CONDITIONAL POWER

All these items combined suggest that the enormous power now concentrated in Khrushchev's hands is only conditional power as yet. If Khrushchev has indeed tried and failed to discipline his enemies more sharply, and to ship Molotov off to The Hague, then he cannot as yet be the absolute master in the Kremlin house. He must have enough opponents, probably old Stalinists in the main, to prevent him from carrying all before him in the most crucial of all areas, the area of inner party politics.

That fact in turn undoubtedly has enormous meaning in terms of the Berlin crisis. To be sure, it may mean that Khrushchev has threatened Berlin because he had to conciliate the Stalinist advocates of a hard line. Or it may mean that Khrushchev is taking a great personal gamble, in order to win such a victory that no one will dare to oppose him. Either way, however, it may not be easy for Khrushchev to back down in the manner so hopefully predicted by the American policymakers.

Behind The Walls, Strange Enigmas

How A Republican Can Be Elected President In 1960

By DAVID S. BRODER

WASHINGTON

A REPUBLICAN candidate can be elected President in 1960 even if the party as a whole does no better than it did in 1958.

He can be elected without carrying a single state of the once-solid South. He can win without carrying one of the border states.

He can also lose Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon and Rhode Island to the Democratic nominee — and still he will win.

All he has to do is run between 1 and 5 per cent ahead of the Republican congressional ticket in the 23 remaining northern states, and he will win—even if the congressional Republicans in those states do no better than they did in 1958.

That is the surprising fact that is demonstrated by an analysis of official 1958 election returns by Congressional Quarterly.

The analysis released today makes available for the first time a breakdown by congressional districts of the official returns on the 1958 races for governor, senator and representative.

Is it reasonable to suppose that anyone the Republicans nominate in 1960 can run 1 to 5 per cent ahead of the GOP congressional ticket?

This is what the CQ figures show:

Mr. Eisenhower ran 5.6 per cent ahead of the Republican congressional ticket in his 1952 victory, and 8.7 per cent ahead in 1956.

More to the point, New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) ran 5.8 per cent ahead of the state's congressional ticket in 1958.

Four other Republicans — Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), Gov. Mark Hatfield (Ore.), Sen. J. Glenn Beall (Md.) and Gov. Christopher Del Sesto (R.I.) — ran even farther in front of the GOP ticket in their states in 1958, but none of them is considered a presidential hopeful.

NIXON'S SHOWING

In his last solo race, when he ran for the Senate in California in 1950, Vice President Richard M. Nixon ran an even 7 per cent ahead of the Republican congressional ticket. But that showing is marred somewhat by the fact that Nixon's 1950 running-mate, then Gov. and now Chief Justice Earl Warren, ran 12.8 per cent ahead of the congressional ticket and 5.6 per cent ahead of Nixon.

Rockefeller, Goldwater, Hatfield, Beall and Del Sesto, on the other hand, all topped the tickets in their own states in 1958.

Here is exactly how a Republican presidential victory could be achieved without any basic improvement in the party strength:

In 1958, when the Republicans took a fearful drubbing in the congressional races, GOP candidates for the House received a majority of the statewide vote in only six states, with 30 electoral votes. Those states were Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

First, suppose that in 1960, Republican congressional candidates do not improve their showing anywhere, and suppose the GOP presidential nominee runs exactly even with the congressional ticket.

JUST SUPPOSE

Obviously, he would win only the same six states and 30 electoral votes.

Next, suppose he runs 1 per cent ahead of the congressional ticket. Immediately dramatic things happen. He wins Arizona, Delaware, Iowa, Kansas, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania, with an additional 98 electoral votes, bringing his total to 128.

If he runs 2 per cent ahead of the ticket, he gains Idaho, South Dakota, Vermont and the big prize of New York—another 56 electoral votes.

By running 3 per cent ahead of the ticket he gains Minnesota's 11 electors, and his total is up to 195.

He runs 4 per cent ahead of the ticket and he gains 50 more electoral votes in Indiana, Maine, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Finally, he runs 5 per cent ahead of the ticket in Illinois, wins its 27 electoral votes and has 272 in all — three more than he needs for election.

A numbers game? Perhaps. But remember: Rockefeller ran almost 6 per cent ahead of the ticket in New York. Nixon, with a boost from Warren, ran 7 per cent ahead of the ticket in California.

It's enough to give pause to the Democrats.

Painting As A Hobby

People's Platform

'No-Tax Tags' For Those On Pension?

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

I'D LIKE to tell you what I'd like to see passed by Congress. It is a no-tax bill for the ones who receive a small government pension.

Every time I go in a store the clerk takes out a couple of pennies tax. It's tax here and tax there . . . If the government would not want almost a quarter of my check back maybe I could buy a needed pair of shoes . . .

They could make tags of a light metal and put a person's Social Security number on it . . . These tags would enable a person with a government pension, old age benefits or public welfare assistance to buy things tax-free.

—MARY E. LEARY

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

U.S. In Middle Of Caribbean Tempest

Editors' Note: Drew Pearson, who has been traveling through the revolt-torn Caribbean, today begins a series of columns on the problems faced by the U.S. in that vital area.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti

IF YOU sit on the shore of northwest Haiti and look out across that 50-mile stretch of azure blue Caribbean called the Windward Passage you would never guess that trouble lurked beyond. A native fishing boat meanders by, pushed by a home-made sail. An ocean freighter cuts a slim rift of white in the blue as it follows the route taken by British frigates, Spanish pirates, and Carib revolutionaries since the days of Columbus 450 years ago.

New Menace

Barely discernible behind a clump of trees, however, and pointing out toward the 50-mile stretch of sea is a French 75 cannon of World War I. Lolling beside it are Haitian soldiers stripped to the waist, enjoying the spring sunshine. They are supposed to be guarding northwest Haiti from the new menace which worries the Caribbean—Castroism.

Just 50 miles across that blue water is Cuba's Oriente Province where Fidel Castro hid and fought. Across that passage thousands of Haitians have sailed seeking work on Oriente sugar plantations. Across that passage, three times a week until recently, have been beamed broadcasts from Radio Progreso, exhorting Haitians to rise up against President Duvalier. And from across that passage President Duvalier worries over the Haitian exiles and Haitian sugar workers and Castro's bearded warriors expected to invade his country.

Castro's Target

The invasion might be classified as just another tempest in a country which has been racked by tempestuous revolts ever since Toussaint L'Ouverture kicked the French out of the world's first Negro republic. But for Americans it will be extremely important for two reasons: 1—The U.S. will be right in the middle; 2—Castro has his eyes on the entire Caribbean.

His invasion of Haiti would not be aimed at President Francois Duvalier, the Michigan University-educated country doctor who holds uncertain reign over the black republic, but at Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, who holds tight reign over the Dominican Republic just beyond.

'Death To Dictators'

Fidel Castro has sworn "death to dictators!" and Haiti is in the path of the No. 1 dictator of the Caribbean.

He also has his eyes on the son of another famous dictator, President Luis Somoza, whose swaggering Marine Corps-trained father so long ruled the tropical republic of Nicaragua.

Embryo Nasser

In fact, Castro may have even larger aims. He has become an embryo Nasser of the Caribbean with an ambition to cement these strategic islands with Central America into a sort of "United Carib Republic." And just as Nasser electrified the Arab world by taking Suez, some of Castro's cohorts advise him not to stop until he has demanded the Panama Canal be operated for the benefit of Carib countries.

This may be a long time in the making. For the moment, the lineup in the Caribbean is the Three Democrats versus the Three Dictators—President Betancourt of Venezuela, Gov. Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico, and Castro, versus Somoza of Nicaragua, Duvalier of Haiti, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic.

Uncle Sam Sweats

The description is not entirely accurate, since Duvalier was elected, and Somoza has inaugurated democratic reforms, while Munoz Marin governs part of the U.S. Nevertheless, in a loose way, that is the line-up of Caribbean rivalry with the United States sweating in the middle.

Our predicament results from the embarrassing fact that we don't want to back dictators, yet at the same time we can't tolerate war. Under the nonagression pacts of the Pan American Union, the United States is pledged to intervene, with other nations, to protect any member from attack. Yet if we intervene to protect Haiti and the Dominican Republic we are put in the position of defending the No. 1 dictator of the Caribbean—Generalissimo Trujillo.

From The Manchester Guardian

DANGERS OF BRITISH TELEVISION

MANY are the ills to which television has exposed man. Almost every physical affliction has been attributed to it in recent years. (We say nothing of its mental effects.) Children get eyestrain through sitting on the floor and looking up at the screen and dental trouble from cupping their chins in their hands and grinding their teeth. Everyone eats too many sweets and biscuits while watching television. The more elderly get digestive trouble from eating a heavy meal first and then reclining in an armchair at the wrong angle for digestion. Spinal ailments also develop from this wrong posture. There must be cases innumerable but unrecorded of cold feet, hot feet, aching necks, chilblains, shaking hands, and bad tempers. The latest thing to be found, recorded in the current BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL, is angina pectoris brought on by excitement. Those of us who have been long inured to death and disaster on the home screen may be surprised at this, but so it is.

The oddest point about this discovery is perhaps that "Westerns," which are mainly responsible for the trouble, "leave the Welsh patient unmoved." Can it be that Wales, as we know, is not only full of mountains but so full of Welsh ponies charging about in do-or-die dramas that Welshmen never turn a hair? That the screen is less strange than the truth? What are they doing in Wales that they can see all this excitement on the screen and never get angina like ordinary mortals? It must be the Welsh Sunday that keeps them always at concert pitch.