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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1949

COAL FACT-FINDING BOARD

THOUGH the fact-finding board procedure has inherent weaknesses, it appears to be the only means at hand for determining the issues in the smouldering coal dispute and suggesting a settlement.

Mr. Lewis has indicated that he will call his miners out of the pits again on Nov. 30 if no agreement is in sight. Though there have been signs of rebellion in the ranks of the Mine Workers, there is nothing to indicate that they would refuse to obey another strike order. Coming in the dead of Winter, with supplies already short, a new strike could cause real hardship and distress.

Although there is tremendous public interest in the coal dispute, the public does not yet understand what the fight is all about. Mr. Lewis has been extremely vague about his demands. Apparently he wants a higher royalty per ton to reinforce his shattered union welfare fund, and he may also be seeking a shorter work week and higher hourly pay.

A Presidential fact-finding board, with power to make a recommendation, would at least be able to clarify the issues. And it probably could serve a real national purpose by assessing the ability of the coal industry to absorb ever-higher labor costs and still maintain its competitive position with other fuels.

Mr. Truman can not use the Taft-Hartley Act until the coal dispute becomes a serious national emergency. It was approaching that stage when Mr. Lewis called a temporary truce, and there were signs that the White House was about to act.

Mr. Truman has no love for Mr. Lewis, and may prefer to see the mine boss dangle awhile in the noose he walked into. But the national welfare, transcends Truman-Lewis animosities at this stage, and an impartial board seems to be in order.

JAYCEES TACKLE A BIG PROJECT

WE HAVE noted from time to time that members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, individually and collectively, display an uncommon amount of aggressiveness and determination in pursuing their objectives.

They will need a generous measure of both if they succeed in their latest statewide project—to engender public support of the Hoover Commission recommendations for reorganizing the Federal Government.

This is not a campaign which lends itself to the gala showmanship and promotional drama at which the Jaycees excel. Government economy is a tremendously important subject, and most everyone agrees that we should have more of it. But people don't get very excited about it.

The Jaycees recognize that, and know full well that it will require prodigious effort to overcome public inertia and build up great voter pressure for the Hoover Commission report. Hence, they are not stopping with the passage of resolutions, but will fan out into a grass roots campaign, which will reach into virtually every community of the State.

Each of the 77 clubs will set up speakers bureaus and advertising committees. Individual members of the clubs will study the Hoover Commission reports in all of their complex and confusing detail, and will then carry the message to groups and organizations of every type.

This is not a political move. The Hoover Commission reports were made by non-partisan task forces. They do not concern themselves with philosophy of government, but are limited to the operations of government. They strive for efficiency of public service at the lowest possible cost in waste and duplication.

The national Citizens Committee estimates that reorganization plans accepted by the first session of the 81st Congress represent twenty per cent of the Hoover Commission objectives, and that they will mean an annual savings of approximately $1.5 million. The big test will come in January when the Congress reconvenes for its second session.

Every letter, every petition, every resolution, every personal message to a member of the Congress that the Jaycees can elicit from Tar Heels will have its effect.

REFLECTIONS ON FOOTBALL

FOR A long time—at least until the game at South Bend next year—faithful Tar Heels will be speculating on what might have happened had Mr. Charles Justice been on hand in Yankee stadium Saturday.

For, of them, even the most enthusiastic believe North Carolina could have defeated Notre Dame, even with the assistance of Mr. Justice who has a knack of crossing up goal line defenders and either passing a football to someone like Mr. Arthur Weiner, or scooting off tackle or, around end himself.

Perhaps North Carolina would have scored another touchdown or two. Perhaps the confidence from doing so would have inspired them to an even greater defense in the second half, bringing the opposing scores closer together at the final whistle.

But Mr. Justice was on the bench, and the young men who have played through four seasons with him found that they could do very well indeed without him. The thirty or forty thousand students and fans who made the long trip to New York to witness the affray went away well satisfied with the deportment of the Tar Heels, but still hungry for victory.

There was a day when such a gallant stand against a foe of Notre Dame proportions would be enough. That day is gone. College football, which had reached the stage of frenzy before the war, has now become a hysteria. Spirit, enthusiasm, initiative have given way to sheer mechanical perfection. And a fine football team gains national acclaim merely by standing up to the most perfectionist team of them all.

We are not disposed to lament the trend, but would merely observe that, fortunately, most American colleges and universities manage to sandwich a hefty slice of education in between layers of football. As long as they can do that, no harm is done.

RESEARCH AND THE SOUTH

HENRY GRADY, prophet of the New South and once publisher of *The Atlanta Constitution*, summed up the "raw material" status of the South many years ago in a justly famed story about the Southerner's funeral in which everything from the coffin bands to the tombstone came from the North. Mr. Grady pointed out that the raw materials for the burial equipment were all around the grave into which the Southerner was lowered, but had been manufactured elsewhere.

Things have changed some since Henry Grady put his finger on the South's weakness. The South now has about ten industrial research workers per 10,000 industrial wage earners.

While this is a vast improvement over our status in Henry Grady's time, it still leaves us at the bottom of the nation's list in industrial research.

Such organizations as the Southern Association of Science and Industry and the Southern Research Institute are moving to overcome that unhappy situation. They are keeping businessmen and industrialists posted on new developments in research and are also doing an excellent public relations job to stress the importance of research.

This week, as the Southern Research Institute released a resume of its five-year history, the South is learning more and more that it will never achieve the prosperity it deserves if it remains a "raw material" area.

Intelligent understanding of the value of research, intelligent use of the findings of research scientists will raise the South from the bottom of the nation's economic pyramid.

The New South is being built on research.

From The Gastonia Gazette

SAD COMMENTARY

THE FACTS behind the attempted escape of four teen-criminally insane Negroes at Goldsboro are a sad commentary on the conditions there.

"We ain't gettin' no treatment by the doctors," they said.

How many doctors are on duty there? Eight.

How many patients are housed there? 2,735.

The Raleigh News and Observer points out that if the doctors at Goldsboro saw a patient every 15 minutes of a 10-hour day, they could see only 320 a day, and 15 minutes is a brief period for psychiatric treatment.

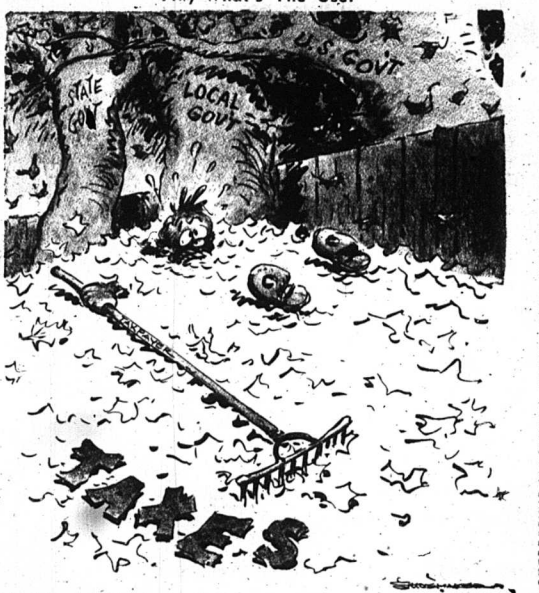
Truth of the matter is that these patients can not possibly be given the care and treatment needed. This is true not only of the criminally insane but of the innocent insane as well.

The people of North Carolina have got to awaken to this fact, get behind the legislature, and make some improvements.

Where has the old time grandmother who used to sit by the fireside and knit gotten off to, asks a paragraph. She may be on the golf course, or at the neighbors in a bridge game. Anyway, she's getting a lot more out of life now.—*Pelham (Ga.) Journal.*

A day isn't long enough for some people to get rid of the dirty look they gave their alarm clock on getting up.—*Greeneville (Tenn.) Sun.*

Aw, What's The Use?



Henry C. McFadyen

How Times Change

(Mr. McFadyen is principal of the Albemarle High Schools—Editors, The News).

IT is no secret that there has been a big drop of youngsters recently and that it is going to take a lot of new school buildings to hold them. There are not many communities that will not have some building going on in the next few years. Perhaps there is a new school plant being constructed in your locality right now.

Don't expect it to look just like the school that you used to attend. If your school board is putting up a building no different from the ones built 30 years ago, they ought to be run out of town. A building should be planned according to how it is to be used, and schools don't operate exactly as they did in 1910.

A school used to be a sort of filing cabinet for children. A room was provided for every 30 or 40 children. During the school day they were packed away conveniently in that room, and that was that. School designers now-a-days think of the school as a place where children are living from day to day and try to make it attractive and convenient.

Here are some of the interesting trends in school buildings. School planners today want plenty of space around the building. For the average school twenty acres is probably not too much. The majority of older schools in towns and cities are cramped for playground space, and wise school boards will not make that mistake again. You increase an interest in physical education makes a larger playground a "must". You probably never think about it until you attend the senior play, but most schools need considerable parking space. Usually the school provides the only auditorium for a community, and every function brings hundreds of automobiles.

So I hope your school committee will not skimp on land. It costs something to buy fifteen or twenty acres of land, but in comparison to the cost of the building it is not high. Keep in mind too that once school buildings are built they are used from 50 to 100 years. That is a lot of future, and the school authorities had better plan for it.

The fashion now is to build elementary buildings all on one floor. In that way each classroom has an entrance right into the room. Classes coming in and out do not have to tramp through the halls disturbing all other classes. Rooms are larger than they used to be in order that children may move about in the type of activity commonly in teaching today. There will be a place for children to wash their hands right in the room and probably a full length mirror so the kids can check on their appearance. It will be interesting to see if this brings about any drastic changes in ten-year-old boys.

In the rooms that will house the first and second grades toilets are provided right in the room itself. And the fixtures are the right size to suit the little folks who will be using them. Some buildings have brightly-colored doors. A six-year-old will find the music room pretty easily if he knows it is the one with the green door. Rooms are finished without too much decoration. The children themselves will enhance their rooms with their drawings. I know of one building which has walls of pine so that art work can be thumb-tacked anywhere. These walls will be sanded down every few years and made brand-new.

On up you will find the furniture blond, the lights fluorescent, and the blackboards green. It was hard to see in the old-fashioned dark schoolroom. And that is being changed in the new ones.

A Political Analysis

The Republican Policy Problem

By ARTHUR KROCK
(In The New York Times)

WASHINGTON

ONE swallow does not make a Summer, and one off-year election in New York does not assure to President Truman that length of tenure and party control which are required to carry out the legislative program of his "Fair Deal". But former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman won the seat held by Sen. John Foster Dulles after a campaign in which that program was the major issue—at least on the surface—and the Administration suite reasonably considers this outcome a harbinger of more good things.

In view of the circumstances, including the fact that New York has the largest Congressional delegation and the greatest number of Presidential electors in the Union, Mr. Truman's comment was far more moderate than that of the Republicans would have been if Mr. Dulles had been elected. He merely replied to a question at his press conference that he thought Mr. Lehman's victory would bring stronger support for the attainment of what has been called the "Welfare State", and few realistic politicians will disagree with him. Whether that support, fortified by local election results to which only New Jersey provided a large exception, will break down the bipartisan resistance to the President's principal domestic proposals at some time before his current term ends is the political question now brought into sharper focus.

IT INVOLVES not only the "Fair Deal" but a definite decision by the Republican Party and its leaders. Mr. Dulles made the strongest challenge of the Truman program any Eastern Republican has made, although he was defeated by a not an impressive number of votes. The five New York City boroughs gave Mr. Lehman plurality on two tickets, 247,000 more votes than they gave to Mayor William O'Dwyer, opposition on one and the Republicans have basis for the belief that if the American Labor Party, which cast 356,000 votes for Vito Marcantonio, had nominated a candidate for the Senate enough of this excess would have been diverted from Mr. Lehman to elect Mr. Dulles.

Hence, on the domestic side of national politics this decision confronts the Republicans: Does the New York result assure that any Republican who makes the clear-cut issue Mr. Dulles made will be defeated in the most populous state by the combination of parties and groups which claim to be the majority in most urban areas? And, if so, must not its national and Congressional candidates in 1950 and 1952 in order to win, adopt at least as much of the "Welfare State" as Sen. Robert A. Taft and Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey have done on Federal housing, education and aid? Or can the Republicans win a national majority by making the frontal attack Mr. Dulles made, provided they can regainture the farm areas they lost to Mr. Truman in 1948?

In the field of foreign affairs the defeat of Mr. Dulles brought to a head a difference of opinion in the Republican Party which has been growing steadily during 1949. With Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Mr. Dulles is in the forefront of Republican supporters of what is called the bipartisan foreign policy.

And there was never any doubt that, whatever kind of campaign Mr. Dulles made, the Administration would do whatever it could to elect his opponent. Accordingly, say the Republicans, there is no political health for us in the bipartisan foreign policy as practiced and conceived by the Administration. Our acceptance of its system of making the policy without us and then demanding our support as a matter of patriotism has robbed us of a traditional partisan asset in this democracy without endangering national security or weakening the influence of the United States in the world. (This overlooks the partisan Senate battle with Woodrow Wilson, at least.) Also, the Democrats, instead of showing gratitude for what men like Mr. Dulles have done for their foreign policy, subtract from the bipartisan front by retiring such Republicans from Congress when they can.

THESE broodings, growing as much out of the resentment Mr. Truman has revealed against Mr. Dulles as out of his defeat, have brought the Republicans to the point where they must decide which counselors to follow in foreign affairs. These counselors are divided, but it is probable that many fewer Republicans in Congress than before will deal with the Administration in these matters as generously as Mr. Dulles and Mr. Vandenberg have. And their turn will be to Senator Taft.

He is not an isolationist as that term has been understood in the United States. His proposal to extend the Monroe Doctrine to Europe, whatever its tactical weaknesses, is advanced internationalism. But he does not believe in the bipartisan foreign policy as conceived by the Administration and accepted by the Republican majority. And the new ballot which has been adopted in Ohio, was opposed by the Democrats and the CIO on the ground that it would virtually clinch his re-election.

In the forthcoming and final session of the Eighty-first Congress, therefore, the Republican problems outlined above will proceed toward solution; and to that process the future of the President's "Fair Deal" is closely related. His health-insurance bill, major details of Social Security legislation, Taft-Hartley repeal, the farm-prices support plan of his Secretary of Agriculture and the size and character of foreign aid will have harder sledding than in the first session if Republican strategy shapes up somewhere between Mr. Taft and Mr. Dulles on domestic issues. And they will move nearer to enactment, though in modified form, if the Republicans should decide on a position somewhere between Mr. Taft and Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

ON THE so-called civil rights program the Republicans have made it clear that they intend to take the lead from the deeply divided Democrats in Congress. While these are Mr. Truman's proposals, they get specific endorsement in the Democratic platform of 1948 over the resistance of his convention spokesmen who were trying to coddle the Southern wing; and the Republicans see nay dirt more definitely here and in broadening the Displaced Persons Act than anywhere else.

In sum the New York election and its nature, as the President said, brought the "Fair Deal" stronger support and it pushed the Republicans to the brink of hard and perilous decision on domestic and foreign policy. But to achieve substantially the "Welfare State" Mr. Truman will have to have another national victory—in the Congressional elections of 1950.

Stewart And Joseph Alsop

No More Titos

WASHINGTON

A THOROUGHLY disturbing conclusion was reached at the recent Paris meeting of American diplomats from Eastern Europe. The chief purpose of the meeting was to analyze the possibility of the emergence of Independent Tito-like regimes in this area. And those present at the meeting agreed, without dissent, that for the foreseeable future, there will be and can be, no more Titos in Eastern Europe.

This conclusion is disturbing for an obvious reason. It has been a basic assumption of American foreign policy that the Kremlin's grip on its European empire could ultimately be loosened. And in fact, the Kremlin's grip is tighter than ever before.

The Kremlin's reaction to the challenge of Titoism was given by Moscow's "Pravda", when it ordered "merciless liquidation," and warned the satellite countries against "magnanimity". Bulgaria provides probably the most striking example of the "ruthlessness—and effectiveness—of this policy.

What has happened in Bulgaria is not merely the purge of a leader or two the better to encourage the others. Instead, there has been a total making over of the entire structure of the state and the Communist Party. The agrine brilliant, Georgi Dimitrov, the man who defied Goering, died first in Moscow; no one, of course, knows whether his death was natural. The second to go has been Traitcho Kostov, acting Premier and Secretary General of the Bulgarian Communist Party, universally recognized until his arrest last August as second only to Dimitrov.

Kostov was extraordinarily tough. His "immediate trial" has been repeatedly announced, only to be postponed. Apparently it is requiring an unusual amount of time to prepare him, by the usual delicate methods for the abject confession of guilt which is expected of him. But the purge does not end with Kostov.

The fact is that the whole state and Communist apparatus in Bulgaria was heavily weighted with Kostov men. These have had to be uprooted en masse by the only man in Bulgaria the Kremlin trusts, Vasko Chervenkov. Among hundreds of others, the Ministers of Finance, Industry, Public Works, and Transport, the Deputy Foreign Minister and the Chief of the General Staff have recently been arrested and are awaiting trial. A roughly parallel situation would exist here if, say, President Truman had died mysteriously abroad, and half the Cabinet and the Pentagon chiefs had been jailed, together with a host of lesser functionaries, and were awaiting almost certain death.

Even this, of course, does not suggest the full extent of the terror. The most extreme measures must be used to hold the peasants in collect food (this has been particularly difficult, significantly, in the areas near the Yugoslav border) and on the workers to prevent "wrecking" in factories and on the railroads.

This "merciless liquidation" has led to something like a general revolt in Bulgaria. But the point is that the terror is achieving its object. For the foreseeable future, Bulgarian Titoism is unthinkable.

Moreover, the same thing is true everywhere else in the Soviet Union's Eastern European empire, although there are wide variations in the superficial pattern of control. In Poland, a particularly significant variation has occurred, with the appointment of Soviet Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky as Polish Defense Minister and Army commander.

That the Kremlin has been able to impose Rokossovsky on Poland is a sign of strength rather than weakness. If the Soviets decide to withdraw the Red Army from Eastern Germany, Soviet power will thus be firmly maintained on the Polish border. Moreover, if in their drive to capture Germany through the medium of German nationalism the Soviets decide to offer Germany the territories awarded to Poland, actual power exercised directly on the spot will be required to keep the Poles in line. But again the point is that the Soviets have this power, and mean to exercise it.

This does not mean that Titoism has not imposed a strain on the Soviet power structure. Both within the Eastern European empire and outside it, the effect of Titoism on the world Communist apparatus will be examined in a forthcoming report in this space. The strain is there, and it is real. But the American experts who met in Paris agreed that the Soviet structure of power is fully capable of absorbing this strain indefinitely. The net effect of Titoism in Eastern Europe has been actually to strengthen the Kremlin's hold.

This suggests that an underlying premise of American policy—that a continued policy of containment would progressively weaken the power of the Kremlin—may be an illusion. And this in turn suggests that some very, hard thinking on the whole direction of American policy is in order.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

California's Downey Losing Respect

LOS ANGELES

JOHN KENNEDY, live-wire publisher of The San Diego Journal, recently took a man-in-the-street poll as to who represented California in the U. S. Senate. After some hesitation most of those polled were able to remember the name of Senator William Knowland, who has been in office less than a full term, but almost none was able to remember the name of California's senior Senator, Sheridan Downey, now rounding out his twelfth year in the Senate.

Some political object lesson can be derived from Downey's anonymity: you can't be on every side of every issue and still keep the people's interest and respect.

In 1938 Sheridan Downey was elected as a new and flaming liberal. The oldsters, the labor leaders, the small farmers rallied behind him. He promised them what they wanted and they believed him.

Becomes Senate Mute

ONCE elected, Mr. Downey went to Washington in a blaze of glory, made a spectacular and simply sat. He made no vigorous stand on any issue. And it was only after many years as a Senate "mute" that the much-heralded gentleman from Southern California finally got active. Believe it or not, his activity was then cast on the side of those who originally tried to defeat him.

Sheridan, for strange reasons best known to himself, came out on the side of the big ranchers and the big utilities.

Some attributed this weird about-face to his brother, an astute attorney who represents some of the big boys. Others attributed it to the idea that Sheridan knew Truman was sure to fall of re-election in 1948, so he, Sheridan, plunged to bow out of the Senate and start practicing law for some of the big boys himself.

At any rate, the Senator from California became a mere rabid spokesman for the big land owners than any one else in the Senate, even publishing a luxurious book on reclamation which had little sale and which could not have been financed very easily from a Senator's salary.

Threatened To Block Adjournment

MOST people didn't know it but, at the wind-up of Congress last month, Downey threatened to block adjournment with the filibuster if the Senate voted salaries to his twin enemies, Reclamation Commissioner Mike Straus and Regional Deputy Richard Boke.

For some time Downey has intimated that Commissioner Straus should not enforce the 160-acre limitation on land irrigated by the Federal Government. Unable to get Congress to abandon the 160-acre limitation, Downey did not want the law enforced. And when Straus and Boke insisted on enforcement he succeeded in voting a rider through the Republican-controlled 80th Congress cutting off their salaries.

Later, the Democratic 81st Congress put back the salaries and even voted to restore five months back pay. And it was that that caused Sheridan to smash his teeth and threaten a filibuster. Downey made such fierce and ferocious noises that kindly Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona, in a closed-door conference of Senate and House committees, begged that the salary issue be postponed until January.

"If not, Downey will filibuster and keep us here for weeks" Hayden urged.

"You don't know Downey," snorted Congressman Mike Kirwan of Youngstown, Ohio. "He hasn't got the guts. He talks big but runs out when you say boo at him. The Supreme Court," continued Kirwan, "has already held in the cases of Lovett, Dodd and Watson, that these back salaries are payable. We also have a legal opinion from Lindsay Warren, the comptroller general, telling us that Straus and Boke have an even stronger case. I, for one, refuse to be bluffed by Sheridan Downey."

Congressman Kirwan was right. The conference committee restored the back salaries of Downey's mortal enemies, and the Senator from California did not filibuster.

Desperate For Re-Election

TODAY, Senator Downey has changed his mind again, has decided there's life in the Democratic Party yet, and is running for re-election. In fact, he's running desperately. His opponent is one of the ablest members of Congress, Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas. And Sheridan knows that this time he can't count on the oldsters, the small farmers and labor.

He can count on thousands of dollars of campaign contributions from the utilities and the big ranchers. But that will be in the primary. If Downey by some miracle squeaks through the primary, the big boys will vote against him in the final election and for a Republican. For they, like so many others, in California, have no respect for both-sides-of-the-fence Sheridan Downey.

'Who Are You, Anyway?'

A MANHATTAN urchin tugged at the gold-braided sleeve of Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, as he and Mrs. Nimitz were emerging from a church service on Fifth Avenue.

"Hey, mister," said the kid, "give me your autograph?" And he held out a bit of paper.

Nimitz was willing. "Have you got a pencil?" he asked.

The boy begged a pencil from a bystander, and the onetime commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet, using Mrs. Nimitz's hand-bag to write on, produced his signature.

But as Nimitz started to move on, the boy said, "Hey, mister, who are you, anyway?"

The admiral chuckled; Mrs. Nimitz laughed. "There," she said. "There's one for your ego!"

Merry-Go-Round

THE two greatest entertainment palaces in the world are controlled by Government officials. Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer owns a majority interest in Coney Island, and Ambassador to Egypt Stanton Griffis acquired control of Madison Square Garden in 1933. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission kept its tongue in cheek when it ordered the railroads to cut down passenger service by 25 per cent on coal-burning lines. What the railroads didn't realize is that the commission over-stepped its authority. The law under which the order was issued limits the commission's emergency powers to freight carriers.