

An Editorial Book Review

'The Negro And The Schools'

"In any event, my experience as a journalist in a company of scholars has strengthened my conviction that no problems are beyond resolution by reasonable men—not even the thorny ones that lie in the uncertain area between the polar attitudes of the American white, who does not get accept the Negro as his equal, and the American Negro, who is no longer satisfied with anything less."

ON THAT thoughtful note, Journalist Harry S. Ashmore introduces a new book called 'The Negro And The Schools,' published this weekend by the University of North Carolina Press (\$2.75), which is destined to have an impact on the South totally disproportionate to its size (228 pages).

The book is a summary and an interpretation of a massive research project carried out in the past year by 45 top scholars and scores of assistants, financed by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Its purpose is to make available to the citizens, who operate and support the schools, the objective facts which will help them understand what former Justice Owen Roberts calls in the foreword "the peculiar problem of the Negro and the schooling of the American Negro."

And it is given added importance because it is being published on the eve of Supreme Court decisions in five historic cases in which the constitutionality of segregation in the public schools is being directly challenged.

The author is a native of Greenville, S. C., a former editor of The News, and currently executive editor of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE. Because he directed the big research project, it has come to be known as the Ashmore project.

LAST summer, a group of southern newspaper editors and educators met in New York to discuss the Fund for the Advancement of Education to block out the rough outlines of the study. They knew that the minimum impact of the Supreme Court decisions, in social terms at least, would be a reaffirmation of the "separate but equal" doctrine of the Fourteenth Amendment.

But they expected that such a ruling would be accompanied by increasing court pressure upon the South to bring Negro schools up to standard, rapidly, thus creating an economic problem of considerable proportions. They reasoned, also, that the court might go to the other extreme, and order the early integration of public schools in the five districts involved.

This in turn, being a forerunner of integration everywhere, would strike at the base of the social order in the South. And so it was decided that the study, to be of maximum usefulness, should consider the entire range of possible court decisions and measure their impact upon the region. And it should include a review of the legal history of the segregation cases, an analysis of the political, economic and social background of the southern attitude on racial matters, and the experience of communities outside the South where the transition to integration has already taken place.

Most basic of all was the determination that the Fund "will not undertake to argue the case for or against segregation in public education, and in no sense will it become involved as an advocate on either side of the issues pending before the Supreme Court."

IF THE Ashmore book may be taken as an indication of the three larger volumes to follow, the research project has met admirably the original specifications. Although it is short, it is complete. And it is written with such careful objectivity that extremists at either pole of the segregation issue will find nothing to reinforce their prejudices or their hopes.

The book begins with the 1849 Roberts v. City of Boston decision, which first laid down the principle that the rights of Negro American citizens are not abridged if "separate but equal" facilities are provided.

It continues through the historic Plessy v. Ferguson decision of the Supreme Court in 1896, when "separate but equal" entered federal jurisprudence by a dictum, or side remark of the court, only to become the yardstick for measuring challenges to segregation for nearly half a century.

And it follows, with close attention to expanding concepts of the "separate but equal" doctrine, the series of court decisions which cracked the wall of segregation at the graduate and professional school level—decisions that introduced broad new intangibles for measuring equality, making it not only infeasible but virtually impossible for southern segregationists to maintain the equality of educational opportunity in segregated institutions.

These several court decisions laid the groundwork for the five cases now before the Supreme Court that attack segregation at the public school level as unconstitutional. And the Ashmore book contains excellent capsule summaries of the key issues in each of the five cases, plus an outline of eight possible court rulings "between the extremes of maintaining 'separate but equal' without change, and a court order flatly declaring segregation in education unconstitutional."

But the book does a great deal more than that. While avoiding what the author calls "the persistent temptation to stray off down one of the inviting side roads that open up in the consideration of the past, present and future of bi-racial education," the book:

1. Traces the essential political, economic and social background of the several eras of southern history in which sectional attitudes on race matters were forged;

2. Gives an excellent and concise picture of the disparities that currently exist throughout the region between white and Negro schools and between urban and rural schools;

3. Shows the impact of the great internal migration of the past two decades which is moving the Negro out of the South and, within the region, is changing him from a rural to an urban dweller;

4. Contains a concise set of key statistical tables and graphs which amplify the prose and give it added dimensions.

As a southerner by birth and a southern editor by choice, Ashmore must have convictions about what the Supreme Court should do, but nowhere in the book is there even a hint of his opinions.

As a journalist, however, he reports "the abundant evidence that the South... is undergoing a massive change"—the development of a broad industrial base, the gradual dissolution of the one-party political system, the influx of Americans from other regions who have different social and political backgrounds—all of which is changing the identity of the region. And in his final paragraph, he sets the study in historical perspective:

"In the long sweep of history the public school cases before the Supreme Court may be written down as the last of which the South cleared the path at which the road to reunion—that turning in the road to reunion—that point at which finally, and under protest, the region gave up its peculiar institutions and accepted the prevailing standards of the nation at large as the legal basis for its relationship with its minority race. This would not in itself bring about any great shift in southern attitudes, nor even any far-reaching immediate changes in the pattern of bi-racial education. But it would re-define the goal the southern people, white and Negro, are committed to seek in the way of democracy."

Pierce Harris In The Atlanta Journal

THE HEAD OF THE HOUSE

AN OLD college pal used to boast, "When I get married, I'm going to be the head of my house—or know the reason why." He's married now—and knows the reason why.

Why is it that every man wants to be known as a domestic "major domo"? He's willing to be vice president of his civic club, a "scrub" on his football team, and just a "private member" of most any committee. But when he walks in the door of home he wants to be "head man" and "major domo" and the whole world to know it. And so seldom it works out that way.

What difference does it make? There can't be but one "head of the house," and if the other half of the domestic equation fits into the picture better, why should a mere man worry? But he does. Today, woman is free. All her shackles have been struck off. For centuries, she

has been a creature of great influence. In the home especially, she has ruled with an iron hand. The fact that the hand is more times than not concealed inside a velvet glove makes her domination none the less dominant.

The way a little 90-pound woman can boss of the 200-pounder around and make him LIKE it, is one of the miracles of the ages.

It pleases him everywhere except when he's in the company of a lot of other 200-pounders.

Politics is the art of looking for trouble, finding it everywhere, diagnosing it wrong and applying unsuitable remedies.—GREENEVILLE (TENN.) SUN.

The basic question of the farm price program: Is Parity charity?—KINGSFOOT (TENN.) TIMES.



The Real McCarthy News

McKee Won't Aid GOP Enemies

By JOSEPH & STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON There are several other candidates, however, who will not be smiled upon by the President unless they make the same kind of specific commitment that Bender has made. One example is the Republican senatorial nominee in Illinois, Joseph T. McKee, who sought the nomination as an extra McCarthy enthusiast and regularly attacked Eisenhower policies during his campaign.

After winning his primary, McKee then sent messages to the President that he was really a strong Eisenhower man—that his heart was in the right place, even if appearances were all the other way. He even came to Washington with the aim, among other things, of making sure the White House would be on his side.

But these maneuvers have convinced no one. If McKee wants to use the presidential coat, he is going to have to change his tune. Above all, he is going to have to make a positive and public commitment to go along with Eisenhower in the Senate. Otherwise, the President will probably prevent the President from appearing with McKee at the Republican Day celebrations at the Illinois State Fair next August.

Within the last few days, the President is known to have reviewed McKee's record and to have made a determination to follow this strategy, of withholding the hand of friendship from anti-Eisenhower Republican nominees. Nor is that all.

There will be no foolish paying off of old scores, naturally. Rep. George Bender, who has just been re-elected to the Senate in Ohio, was 100 per cent pro-Taft and anti-McKee. But in the primary, Bender declared that he was now an Eisenhower Republican all in points. Bender will be strongly supported.

WASHINGTON So the President had several copies made of which one went to his House Majority Leader. Or it was this inscription: "Dear Charley: I had hoped to give you the original. This is the best I can do. But some day I hope to get the original away from Mame."

Charley Halleck is very proud as he shows it to friends.

Joe McCarthy's political pal, Robert Jones, is now staging a well-publicized campaign in Maine to defeat the only elected lady Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, who had the courage to circulate the Declaration of Conscience against McCarthy's crude senatorial behavior.

Unpublicized, however, is the fact that McCarthy can cross the report unannounced, or at least without the consent of other Republican senators who stood up against him even more than Mrs. Smith—Hendrickson of New Jersey. Mrs. Smith is going to win. Hendrickson did not.

Sen. Hendrickson not only signed Mrs. Smith's Declaration of Conscience, but went much further. He signed the Senate report on McCarthy's amazing if not scandalous behavior.

Before he signed, he got vigorous pressure from McCarthy, with implied threats of a campaign in Maine to defeat the only elected lady Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, who had the courage to circulate the Declaration of Conscience against McCarthy's crude senatorial behavior.

However, it fell to the White House, not McCarthy, to lower the political boom of Hendrickson. Though the New Jersey Republican is one of the most conscientious in the Senate, and is now conducting a vitally important probe to investigate, Eisenhower pulled wires with New Jersey political bosses to ease Hendrickson out of the race, if Hendrickson

In no less than four of the mid-western states, important Republican Party officials have now announced that they do not want Sen. McCarthy playing around in their back yards. This was the Republican National Committee formerly planned to use McCarthy as the star attraction of this year's campaign.

Yet the state chairmen of Missouri and Michigan, Perry Compton and John Feikens, and the Minnesota national committee man, George Ethel, have all declared against McCarthy speaking in their states this fall. The Iowa state chairman, Donald Pierson, has spoken to the same effect, although less positively.

What is more significant, these leading Midwestern Republicans speak with full knowledge that what they said would be warmly applauded by Eisenhower. In fact the White House stimulated this barrage of invitations to McCarthy to stay home where he belongs.

There is still more to the pattern, such as the behind-the-scenes use of the President's influence in the New Jersey situation. There the state organization was persuaded to get behind the senatorial candidacy of the able, forward-looking Clifford Case, who had been angrily rejected for the governorship just the year before. In all these ways, quietly, without fanfare, but firmly and astutely, Eisenhower is moving to assert his party leadership.

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Western Democrats Profit From GOP Family Fight

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN political managers, who announced a budget of more than three million dollars for the fall campaign, are faced with something in the nature of a sit-down strike by the business and financial sources they had counted on to supply it.

Long-distance calls and letters repeat the refrain that Republican leaders must stop the disgraceful family fight in the Senate Caucus Room and get down to work on the Eisenhower program—or else. The complaints were a chief topic of a Republican Senate Policy Committee meeting. Individual senators report the same story.

The spreading ripples of discontent are touching even such unlikely shores as South Dakota and the oil empire of Texas. SEN. MUNDT (R-S.D.), the reluctant chairman of the McCarthy-Army inquiry, is up for re-election this year. He is expected to be campaigning in part by weekly report to his constituents. His latest number, released today, consists wholly of a copy of the thoroughly defensive, almost martyred, explanation of his present situation.

It contains the interesting observation that "we are not going to be stampeded into injustice by the noisy and ignorant people who wish it hadn't been started," although it was started primarily in conformity with their recommendation.

Part of Sen. Mundt's problem is that John Adams, counsel to the Army and a foe whom McCarthy has vowed to destroy, is from Sioux Falls, S. D., and formerly headed the Young Republican organization in the state. South Dakotans auggers that Adams' announced a budget of more than three million dollars for the fall campaign, are faced with something in the nature of a sit-down strike by the business and financial sources they had counted on to supply it.

They have even produced two candidates for governor, E. F. McKelips and Ed C. Martin. Martin, a banker from Chamberlin, is expected to win the nomination and make, at the very least, a strong race.

Sen. Mundt's predecessors, the sturdy Peter Norbeck, used to say: "We vote in November, not in May." Also, both Sen. Mundt and his pretty intelligent wife are excellent campaigners.

But the farmers are unhappy, and Americans are a very little in the many areas of the state where people of Scandinavian descent are predominant. Political leaders here have shown little respect for state boundaries.

The winning of the Texas oil tycoon is obliging to Sen. Mundt. He is Kenneth Holm of Gorton, a successful farmer active in the rural electrification program.

The principal reason they have so much spare cash to pour into McCarthy's campaign is that the congressional share he secures is that handsome 2 1/2 per cent oil depletion tax.

French Now Say Asian War Must Be Internationalized

By MARQUIS CHILDS

GENEVA THIS seems to pass the decision at least momentarily back to America and specifically to the highest level in Washington. The French proposal here that a peace could be negotiated that would be approved and underwritten by the United States.

The British proposal call for disarming the irregular guerrilla forces infiltrated in great numbers particularly throughout the Red River delta.

The pattern is dispersed with the Molotov security pact for Western Europe and the North Korean proposal for "unification" of Korea. All "foreign troops" are to withdraw, meaning, of course, French troops.

Next door to Indochina, would backstop the Communist take-over once French forces had been evacuated. In the same way Russia, on the doorstep of Western Europe, would, under the Molotov security pact, be permitted to facilitate the march of communism after American troops had been withdrawn.

It is hard to believe that the Communists intend these proposals to be taken seriously even in an opening or bargaining phase. As propaganda they will have a specious appeal in many parts of the world, including perhaps even in France where there is a deep weariness with the eight-year-old war and an upsurge of emotion over the fall of Dien Bien Phu. France must find a scapegoat, and little Bidault, who has put forward proposals for a settlement, seems to be the victim along with other members of the Laniel Cabinet responsible for the conduct of the war.

The French must quickly find help in order to maintain the precarious hold they still have. General De Gaulle in Indochina has said publicly what French Cabinet ministers had begun to say privately a month ago—that the war must be internationalized, since it is evident that the peace could not be internationalized.

Meanwhile, however, Commissioner Doerfer's term expires June 30. And within the next couple of weeks Eisenhower will have to decide whether to reappoint him. With an undistinguished record on the FCC, Doerfer has played the McCarthy line more than Commissioner Lee. If Lee does reappoint him, it will be interpreted as a sign that Eisenhower is still approving McCarthy, and some of the Democrats propose that they make it a test case on McCarthy. If they stick to Lee, they did on Taft-Hartley they can win.

Vice President Nixon has lost his inside drag at the White House—largely because he went too far with that statement to editors about using American troops in Indochina. Charles Wilson, and Admiral Radford now are all muzzled on Indochina speeches. They have the wrong TV and radio program licenses; and recently gave a coveted TV license to McCarthy's pal, H. L. Hunt, at Fort Belknap.

And with a new McCarthyist isolationist faction of the Republicans, the influence of the Eisenhower administration on the FCC is even more important. For instance Texas millionaire Hunt now controls four radio and TV programs which get free time and certain tax benefits—Facts Forum. Answer for Americans, Reporters Round-Up, and State of the Nation.

At one time Mrs. McCarthy worked for Hunt on Facts Forum, as did Robert E. Lee, now an FCC commissioner.

Diew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON Quite spoken Joe Martin, the smooth-tongued Speaker of the House of Representatives, isn't saying anything about it, but he's just a bit liked at the way his chief assistant, Charley Halleck, is intimating he's the GOP leader closest to the White House.

Congressman Halleck did a terrific job for Eisenhower in running the St. Lawrence Seaway through Congress even though he has always been against it, and even though one of his best friends, Frank McCarthy, lobbyist for the Pennsylvania Railroad, was anxious to have it blocked.

"I'd like to tell you," the President confided, when they were alone, "that when I was nominated in Chicago, various names were brought to me. I didn't know much about them then. But I want you to know that your name was among the young men I accepted to run with me on the ticket."

Halleck also tells the story of how Eisenhower, after one meeting of Republican leaders, said he wanted to talk to you alone for a minute, Charley.

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People's Platform

Publish Records Of All The Candidates

Editorial, The News Charlotte

YOUR editorials of May 12, on a state senatorial candidate for election, were indeed enlightening.

The News would be doing a great public service if it would publish records on all candidates running for public office.

Very few people know them personally, and possibly even fewer know how to look up records without a great deal of difficulty.

Please let us have the facts regarding others who are to be voted on May 29.

Iske Day Entertainment Is Plumb Ridiculous

Editorial, The News Charlotte

I've seen more ridiculous things than the "entertainment" lineup for Iske Day.

Charlotte Boys Chorus, Trampoline act, Queens College Quartet, Barber shop chorus.

McCarthy Gauge

Best test of whether Eisenhower is really down on Joe McCarthy, as advertised by White House aides, is what he does about Joe's pal, Robert Jones, a member of the National Communications Commission John Doerfer.

Most people don't realize it, but McCarthy has managed to wrangle two of his friends, Doerfer and Robert E. Lee, on to one of the most important agencies in government. There they can dominate the airwaves, grant news TV and radio licenses; and recently gave a coveted TV license to McCarthy's pal, H. L. Hunt, at Fort Belknap.

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Halleck Gives Ike Strong Backing

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