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From The Dust Of Past Impermanence

EDITOR Russell Kirk of the fledgling conservative review, MORNING AZA, turns the fall issue of his journal and an editorial, "Norms, Conventions, and the South," to southern regions.

As any reader of his previous work will note, Mr. Kirk puts down his old ideas on conservatism and delivers the package to us in old rebel gray. But coincidentally, certain of his observations hit home—because the South does remain arch-conservative.

Southerners do live by highly-revered norms, "an union of ardent personality with attachment to convention," as he suggests. And Mr. Kirk remains accurate when he observes: "The convictions and customs of the South perpetually irritate the radical reformer, who is impatient to sweep away every obstacle to the coming of his standardized, regulated, mechanized, unified world, purged of faith, variety and ancient longings."

Certainly, the South has known, and recalls, such humiliation and bitter word-seasoning as makes its patriots distrustful of any scheme to make things over hurriedly after a divine image.

But for all his good will, we fear Mr. Kirk indulges his southerner a fallacy when he calls the South "the Permanence of the American nation." Even in the South, which has managed to cling to a bit of stability during the 182-year national rush-hour, permanence is an illusion—just as monolithic uniformity of feeling is an illusion.

Even before the advent of legal decisions which are being based upon old "norms," there is evidence that change was working quickly—because naturally. Even before the impatient demands of federal law came to bear, Tobacco

Road was being torn up for the macadam thrives way to the taken hydroform project; Ralph McGill's wan shaver in denim overalls was giving way to the factory worker with a washing machine on his front porch and a car in the yard; politically, the iron hatred of "Black Republicanism" was fading among the switch-voles of urban white-collar workers.

But this crumbling of Mr. Kirk's idealized "permanence" is not merely an oddity of today; it has been an historical process, of forces that sometimes seemed to extend from the control of human endeavor, of the sort which manufactured secession from tremendous variety of feeling on the slavery question of the sort which made from a series of odd post-reconstruction political coalitions—between Bourbon and Negro, between populist and Negro—the edifice of legal segregation. Examine any "permanence"; it is made of the dust of past impermanence.

So go the lessons of history and sociology; yet Mr. Kirk, like many southerners, is reluctant to acknowledge the lessons, preferring to lambast their images as the instruments of impatient and fiery-eyed reformists. But as Dr. Howard Odum, who participated in both southern history and sociology, always said, they but provide mirrors where we see images of ourselves.

It is because that image tells us that times change, and consequently violates the fond and idealized picture we entertain of ourselves, that the beautiful woman growing old, we hate the mirror. Many southerners, honorable in their proud caution, are only futile in their shrinking from what we must learn.

More Policemen Or More Efficiency?

DOES Charlotte need more policemen to cope with the rising responsibilities of law enforcement in a growing metropolis?

Perhaps. But municipal authorities ought to give consideration first to more efficient use of manpower already available.

For instance, isn't it true that Charlotte noted the success of other cities in having with one-man patrol cars?

The two-man system is, in many areas, a waste of talent.

According to the 1958 MUNICIPAL Year Book of the International City Managers' Association, more and more U. S. cities are assigning just one policeman to a car.

Seven cities out of eight used some one-man patrol cars in 1957. Nearly one-fourth of the 1,170 cities surveyed used only one-man cars.

Just two years before, only four-fifths of the reporting cities used some one-man patrol cars and only one-fifth used one-man patrol exclusively.

How History Points To Rocking-Chairs

A QUOTE breeze blew the other day through our Dept. of Sweeping Generalizations.

Lo, it was Mr. Shane MacCarthy, director of the President's Council on Youth Fitness, proclaiming, "History has shown that citizens of every great nation in the past become soft and flabby when the nation got to the top, then it went downhill."

We would probably have to divide the world between "history has shown" people and "history hasn't necessarily shown" people. We're decidedly of the latter camp.

History has shown, a better argument-stopper than any stone wall. And what a glittering tool in the hands of one who presumes to use it! You are talking away, expounding your side, when all of a sudden your opponent lets go with the magic words: "Wait," he says, "history has shown..."

We guess a lot of "history has shown" people would kiss their pet idea goodbye if they merely saw what it leads to, and the last thing a really reputable historian would say seriously is "history has shown..." A historian might say, on the other hand, "there are certain incidents in history which might support (or refute) your argument." For historians go in for fatalism of the kind our Mr. MacCarthy's words imply.

There was once upon a time a vague, started by a pompous German historian named Oswald Spengler, who wrote in this view: It had all happened this way or that way before; and it would be the same in the future. Spengler himself has all set up about Darwin. Why, he wondered, couldn't you find great pat-

terns in history as you find great patterns in biology? Nations would become organisms, and would go through infancy, adolescence, youth, manhood, old age. They might develop, and with what a pattern, but sooner or later it would happen just the way "history has shown..." Hegel, 19th Century German Idealist, even went so far as to endow "History" with a character, like that of some divine being, and with what he called a "cunning" to manipulate people like toys or like pawns on a chessboard.

A present huckster of the "history has shown" school is Arnold J. Toynbee, who in his "Survey of Historic" implies the same fatalism about "civilizations." And Marx analyzed economic institutions as holding the springs of inevitable change along a pre-determined course. Marx was, like many of his fellow historians (to use the high-powered words) a "history will show..." person.

The logical trouble with the "history has shown" idea is that to prove it you have to stack the evidence. The human trouble with it is that, it is true that "history" has fore-ordained a certain course which events must follow, our efforts to change things are rendered pretty silly. Mr. MacCarthy, for instance, is trying to tell us that history has shown that nations become soft and flabby and then decline. And that's that. We imagine he'd have trouble producing text and verse for that little generalization. But if he ever does produce it, we'll just hang up the sword and shield, and go sit in the rocking-chair and sip bourbon and branchwater—all on the theory that if you can't beat "history" you'd better join it.

From The Atlantic Monthly

NO NOOSE IS GOOD NOOSE

I RECOMMENDED thinking up mystery titles as a method of getting to sleep at 3 a. m. One day when I was at a drug store pocket book display, it occurred to me that the way mystery writers get their titles is simply to take any common phrase and ugly it up. This turned into

a fine going-to-sleep game: A CORPSE OF ANOTHER COLOR THIRTS (WINDING) SHEETS TO THE WIND TWO'S COMPANY, THREE'S A SHROUD, MURDER MACHREE, A FINE OLD CELTIC LUTE OF PEAT BOGS AND IRISH WHISKY.

'What D'You Mean, Did I Get Th' Turkey Or Th' Bird?'



Public Needs Neglected?

The 'Spending' Is Necessary

By WALTER LIPPMANN

FOR THE next two years the President must live with Congress which has a strong Democratic majority, and in this majority the northern Democrats will have more to say than they had before. In the shrunken Republican minority, the "moderns" will have more to say than they had before the elections shattered the Old Guard. Much will depend upon how Mr. Eisenhower decides to deal with the new political lineup and how he interprets the changes which it reflects.

For it would be a mistake to suppose that nothing important is changed, and that somehow Sen. Johnson is a worker of miracles who can, or will wish to make the new Congress act as if it were the old one. To be sure, Sen. Johnson is a moderate and cooperative man, but he is also a professional politician and he has actively made it plain that he knows that there is a new tide running in our affairs.

SPENDING

No doubt, it would be wrong to regard as being definite and conclusive Mr. Eisenhower's first reaction to the morning after election day. Yet there was truth—though it was not the whole of the truth—in his saying that the electorate "obviously voted for people that I would class among the spenders."

In Mr. Eisenhower's definition, the new governor of New York is a "spender" in that he stands for a much enlarged effort to meet public needs which, if they are to be met at all, must be financed publicly. There can be little question, it seems to me, that Mr. Rockefeller did not win the election only because he was an attractive man with a celebrated and greatly respected name. He won it because he is identified in the public mind with a long, persistent, varied, and expert concern with the public needs of this growing and expanding nation.

CODGERS AND CRONES

Before the President adopts a stubborn and sterile opposition to what the younger generation is up to, he should make a careful study of Mr. Rockefeller's victory. For there, more clearly perhaps than in any of the other elections, he can see what is happening. There is a "tide" but it is not primarily a Democratic tide. It is Democratic only in the sense that the Republicans act like a lot of complacent old codgers, like the cronies of Colonel Blimp, fighting in the present the battles of their youth.

The tide is largely Democratic because the Democrats, at least outside the South, are on the



Rockefeller: A 'Spender'

whole younger and more modern and less stolid than are most of the Republicans who run for office.

PUBLIC NEEDS UNMET

What is this tide which has brought in both Mr. Rockefeller and a great Democratic majority? It is propelled, I believe, by the growing conviction, based on personal experience of living in countless American communities, that our public needs are not being adequately met. The face of America has changed since Dwight D. Eisenhower was a boy in Kansas. We have become in large part a mass society living in congested urban agglomerations. One half of our people live in metropolitan areas; in the six northeastern states four-fifths of the people live close together in such metropolitan areas.

This is not only a reason, but it is an important and sufficient reason, why the country today is compelled to spend on civilian projects more public money than it used to spend, out in the country or even in small villages, the individual can do many things for himself which in the city must be done by public enterprise. There is no need to labor the obvious. When a community grows from,

let us say, 10,000 inhabitants to 100,000, the cost of the public services required is bound to go up more than ten times. For the larger community requires extensive facilities—as, for example, wider roads and underpasses—which the small town does not have to have at all.

Because of the great cost of the second World War and the very large cost of the cold war, this country, which is a very different country from what it was 20 years ago, is in a predicament in which the things that money can buy and it is, speaking comparatively, poor in the services and facilities that private enterprise cannot supply.

From now on, barring a great war, our internal policies will be dominated, as they may be reasonably certain, by this predicament. "Spending" is the problem of the future. The problem is whether the productivity of our economy can be increased so that public spending can be increased without forcing a decrease in private spending, perhaps even without permitting an increase in private spending. This will be the subject of a great debate in the years ahead of us.

FACING THE FUTURE

For the future, which he must face for another two years, will be greatly concerned with the lag in the provision of schools and colleges, with the lag in hospitals and medical services, with the deficiency of highways and the backwardness of much of our transportation, and with city planning and slum clearance. The future will be concerned with the conservation and the development of our natural resources, with the water supply of large areas of the country, with the contamination of the air, and with many other consequences of the extraordinary growth of our population.

If Senator was fabulously rich, he would have been more so. Other consequences of the extraordinary growth of our population, such as the need for more mass transit, and with the shaking up of the people's habits due to the application of modern science.

You Can't Take It With You



Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Alaska Goes To The Polls Tomorrow

WASHINGTON

TOMORROW the 49th state will hold its first national elections in history.

From Eskimo villages along the Bering Sea to the great forest near British Columbia, candidates of both political parties have been beating the bushes and the leopards wailing votes. Democratic candidates are certain to sweep the state.

Seaton Campaigns

Most interesting and effective campaign has been the Cabinet official in charge of Alaska, efficient, popular Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton. Flying in a chartered DC-3 with the top Republican candidate, Seaton has been passing out bubble gum to Eskimo children and greeting gushing Eskimo women.

"I met you, big shot," rhapsodized one Eskimo lady at the Bering Sea village of Unalakleet on a Sunday morning. "I miss church but I meet big shot."

Flabbergasted

She pumped the hand of the slightly flabbergasted secretary of the interior, Fred Seaton, who had been more so, accusing "spendthrifts." Democrats in Washington, Fred Seaton was promising "spendthrift" schools, bridges, and pipelines to Alaskan voters. The School Board of Clinton, Tenn., which wasn't even able to see Eisenhower to get help

A Royal Portrait

This Is Hussein

By JOSEPH ALSOP

THE line head is far too big for the short, slender body. The dark, deep-fringed Arab eyes are far too penetrating, the set of the mouth far too resolute for the boyish face. Even the musical voice is far too deep and resonant for so small a man.

By these odd contrasts, at just 21 years of age, Hussein, King of Jordan, achieves what few men twice or thrice his age ever achieve: a genuinely commanding presence. Even in a very ordinary business suit, sitting at a very ordinary desk in a quite ordinary office, he does not look like a boy playing at being King, or like a King playing, in the modern manner, at being a good bourgeois. He looks, quite simply, like a ruler.

King Hussein: Icy Guile

"That was the worst moment," the King admits, "I needed to go away after it was over."

Or finally, for contrast, consider the strange night-scene at the great Arab Legion camp at Zerka, when they celebrated the King's 23rd birthday, the other day. All the grave, elderly nobles of the kingdom are there to salute him, and he is as grave as the old men until the soldiers dance.

VIOLENT DRAMA

Dance, endlessly they dance, great stamping, weaving circles with a bagpiper, a flute player, and a star performer taking the lead part in the center of each circle. The star performers will lead, ribald cheers when they parade the belly dance. But the roaring is loudest when the King, looking like a boy for one, Sunday night, is in the center of the circle. He, who turns out to be a specialist in simultaneous dancing and sten-shooting. And so the party of the great wild Levant continues all but mob the King's

COOL CUSTOMER

The question is posed—indeed it is almost shouted—by the extraordinary scenes from Hussein's story which seem to crowd into the room whenever you see him. Consider, for example, the last incredible scene.

When the Syrian MIGs attempt to trap the well-laid trap, the young King quietly hands over the controls of his little plane to his former flying instructor, the veteran Wing Commander John Dalgleish. Flying just ten feet above the ground, Dalgleish sets a sweeping zig-zag course. The King coolly takes over the observer's role, warning Dalgleish of each new pass that the MIGs make. "But though he had been talking about the weather," Dalgleish says later.

SERRA'S TRAP

One pass all but drives the hunted little plane into a hill-face. But the end is disappointment for the war of the trap, Nassar's Syrian victory. Col. Abdel Hankid Serraj, Serraj has been intended victim since early morning with an eager little company of the Jordanian exiles who have vowed to kill the King in 1957. But they wait in vain.

"I had died before landing at Damascus," the King remarks about his frustrated reception committee. And so, of course, he gives the real reason why he got away.

Or consider those other scenes in 1957, when Hussein's best friend, the chosen heir of Army Staff Ali Abu Nuwar, many of the Army's other senior officers, and all the members of his government joined to destroy the King, and were defeated only by Hussein's naked courage. Or consider his cool firmness when the bloody coup in Baghdad shook Jordan to its foundations, and another coup in Amman was expected every hour.

People's Platform

Tax Money Should Be Spent At Home

Cheraw, S. C.

Editors, The News: WHY just after the recent Democratic victory at the voting precincts does the minority party in Congress make the statement that they plan to fight the pending giveaway of our country's wealth to other nations? Yet in the past six years of their control of the executive department, the Democrats have from time to time had to trim the appropriations asked for by the Republican administration. And they call the Democrats the spendthrifts who tax away money!

The people proved at the last election that they know what has happened and that had it not been for the Democrats more money would have

been handed over to the President to spend where he wished. It's time for our house of government to be put in order and every dollar to be put to the benefit of all the people of America, not for just the wealthy and other nations.

We have many in our country in need of help. For instance, the textile workers and their families in Rockingham, N. C., who are out of work and who are desperate for help, are exhausted because of no fault of their own. The small city of three cannot alone carry the burden and care for these American workers who have been laid off and are unemployed, to our federal government and their state. Why not help them and assist them in their hour of need and suffering?"

—J. A. GRAHAM

Desperate Reversal

Bureaucrats Overruled

Point Barrow

For a dozen years people in Point Barrow have been trying to get natural gas piped in from the Navy's remote Alaskan field, the natural gas field of Bartlett. But Seaton's Bureau of Indian Affairs opposed it. I'm glad Seaton has finally got around to

overruling his own bureaucrats." Bartlett knew what he was talking about. He had urged repeatedly that Point Barrow should get natural gas.

The fast-moving secretary of the Interior also promised hearings leading toward a gas pipeline. This is something Alaskans have wanted for years. The traps favor the big canners, hurt the individual fishermen who seek their living in salmon fishing divide every year.

Delighted Eskimos

In Point Barrow, Seaton promised a new National Guard armory, a new water system, a natural gas line from the Navy's nearby gas well, and a high school with manual training shops, machine shops, housekeeping department, things that delight an Eskimo's soul.

Overruled Bureaucrats: For a dozen years people in Point Barrow have been trying to get natural gas piped in from the Navy's remote Alaskan field, the natural gas field of Bartlett. But Seaton's Bureau of Indian Affairs opposed it. I'm glad Seaton has finally got around to

Desperate Reversal

Twice Mike Stepanovich, the Republican who secretary of the Interior has voted against the abolition of fish traps. But, campaigning in Alaska, he had to support the traps. Seaton reversed his own candidate and declared against fish traps.