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The Very Dry Wit & Early Pessimism

THE banter about Sen. Ervin as a vice presidential candidate at Gov. Hodges' press conference Thursday could be called an exercise in the supreme art of political indirection.

Nineteen-sixty is a long way off to be dealing in names except in pure speculation. But the question of whether or not the Democratic vice presidential nominee will or can be a southerner is a timeless one. Sen. Ervin thinks not; Gov. Hodges was rather quick to disagree with "Sam" on that one. "I think his dry sense of humor got a little too dry that time," the governor said.

Two tendencies in national politics may be marked as bearing on this question.

By 1960, chances are that the vice presidential nomination, second only to that for the White House itself, will be the stuff of which many a senatorial (and, let's be quick to add, gubernatorial) dream will be made. There used to be a fable about the woman who had two sons: one ran away; the other became vice president — and "neither was ever heard of again." But that fable has faded fast under Vice President Nixon's use of the office. Under the twin influences of his own ambition and President Eisenhower's incurable whiggery, Nixon has given the office dimensions it has never before possessed. The vice

presidency is, in truth, the shadow side of the Presidency. As the President's duties grow more complex, the vice president will grow with them. So will the prestige of the office.

On the other hand, with this expansion the vice presidency will continue to ripen as a political plum, will be that much less likely to be held out as a mere symbol or sop to the restive tempers of southern Democrats; it will be coveted elsewhere. Sen. Ervin is on the right track — in that those in the "national" party who are increasingly inclined to read southern Democrats out on civil rights will, for political reasons, be less inclined to go along with a southerner for vice president.

These two currents come at an inopportune time, with Dixiecrat sentiment running again at high tide. The need to steer the party around the shoals of an open break-up is clear, both for its own political good and for the good of accommodation on touchy issues in the country. The precedent of southern vice presidential nominees on the Democratic ticket stretches back, now, to Alben Barkley and — if Missouri is allowed — to Harry Truman himself. In 1960, it will face a test for survival.

Our sentiments lie with Gov. Hodges on the matter. Sen. Ervin's apprehensions have their reason; but the fancy of dry wit should not lead to such early pessimism.

It's Essential To The State's Progress

TAR Heels who doubt the wisdom of this state's flexible approach to the segregation crisis may be surprised to learn that the "North Carolina way" is gaining support throughout Dixie.

The reason is plain. In Tarheelia, a "preserve-the-schools" doctrine was established quite early in the game. North Carolina's leaders recognized that what the state does agriculturally and industrially depends in large measure on what the state does educationally. Economic progress doesn't flow from closed schools.

Cooler heads in states threatened by chaos recognize this, too. Here's what Ralph McGill, editor of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, told Georgians the other day.

"The tragedy of the present dilemma is that the South, as a region, seemed on the verge of what might be called an economic breakthrough. What will happen in the years ahead none may say. But that public education should be in danger of abolition in perhaps four or five states is a tragedy the cost of

which may not be estimated . . .

"North Carolina, anticipating that a climate of order and continuation of schools will be helpful, has just announced the construction of a new research center near her three great universities—Duke, the University of North Carolina and North Carolina State. Local banks and corporations raised about \$1.5 million to speed up its establishment. "North Carolina is looking forward to using her universities to assist new business. She is not confronted with the possibility of closing their doors."

"Indeed, the appeal to new industry will be . . .

"Come to North Carolina; the children of your workers and executives will attend excellent public schools. The full research assets of three great universities will assist you with your problem."

North Carolinians can be sure that "a climate of order and a continuation of schools" will not only be "helpful" to the Research Triangle but essential to Tar Heel progress generally.

Dr. Root & The Flapdoodle Market

History there is always a big market for flapdoodle.

Surveying the market presently, we must cite the case of Dr. E. Merrill Root, vigilant pedagogue of Earlham College, Indiana, who devotes his waking hours to finding Marxism in American history textbooks.

We are being brain-washed, he claims, by a cabal of historians. Linked by Dr. Root to this cabal is almost every famous publishing house in America. The historians include men like Walter Johnson, biographer of William Allen White, who has recently endorsed the view that the American Revolutionary War was of dual nature—against the British crown and against the "upper classes" of colonial America.

Here, alas, Dr. Johnson breaks historical bread with Karl Marx and talks "class warfare." In the romantic view of Dr. Root there was no such thing in colonial America and it could not possibly have been a factor in the Revolution. Colonial America was a benevolent brotherhood where coast merchants and farmers grew wealthy, where priggishness, land speculation and an established church did not rile the unfortunate — because they accepted their fate with the stolidity of 13th Century serfs.

When the Revolution broke out, . . . upland farmers were only playfully innocent fun when they drove rich Tories to Canada or when they staged whicky rebellions and Regulator movements. We are to suppose from Dr. Root's view that when Alexander Hamilton exclaimed, "You people, sir, is a great beast," all republicans and democrats across the land rose up and called his name blessed.

We are to suppose that until Marx ennobled his own peculiar theory of class warfare no such thing as a feeling of unity existed. Every historian who reads it into American history is the dunc of Marx.

What shall we who are concerned do about this grave problem — shoot the historians? Liquidation would be so quick. While we rack our already-inflicted brains for an alternative, we would urge Dr. Root to move on to American literature.

Thoreau, for instance, refused to pay taxes to the Concord capitalists; he also wrote about "civil disobedience," and if the truth were told he was probably in the pay of the First International. Then Dr. Root could go on to nursery rhymes. What about Little Red Ridinghood, professor? We may be saved yet.

'Dishing' The White House Whigs Was Fun For Lyndon

By JOSEPH ALSOP

WASHINGTON "But don't you see that we dished the Whigs?" The story is apposite, because Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's new civil rights move is such a beautiful Whig-dishing operation. The Whigs, in this case, are the political strategists of the Eisenhower administration, and Johnson has dished them very thoroughly indeed.

HARD FIGHT Within the administration, a hard fight has been going on for a great many weeks about the kind of civil rights legislation the President ought to send to Congress. Secretary of Labor James Mitchell, reportedly supported by Vice President Richard Nixon, has pleaded hard for a "strong" civil rights bill, meaning the kind of civil rights bill that will be enthusiastically welcomed by the NAACP but cannot pass the Congress. Mitchell argued that the northern Negro vote could only be won for the Republicans by an ultra-strong bill.

The new White House Chief of Staff, Gen. Wilton B. Parsons, has actually opposed the inclusion of any part of civil rights bill in the President's legislative program. Parsons has also been supported by at least one influential Cabinet member, Secretary of State Robert Anderson. Parsons, himself a Texan and the protégé son and Anderson argued that the President could not afford to alienate conservatives with any sort of civil rights bill, when he needed their help so badly to keep the budget balanced.

EYE ON CRUEL PROBLEMS

In the middle of the debate, with his eye squarely on the crucial problems for which he has to find practical solutions, there was the able Attorney General, William Rogers. Rogers argued for a moderate bill, solely aimed to help him solve his problems. Specifically, he wanted supporting powers to strengthen his hand in the effort to protect Negroes' voting rights in the South. He wanted broader powers to deal with obstructing troops, including powers to take legal action against the organizers of such mobs. And he wanted to continue and to strengthen the Civil Rights Commission set up in 1957.

LYNDON JOHNSON The Disher

'We May Have Some Double-Headers'



A Tremor In The Room

Sen. Smathers Speaks Out

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON A mild tremor hit the highly sensitized presidential seismographs when Sen. George A. Smathers of Florida told a Democratic voters dinner here that the country would feel "a lot more so" with Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson in the White House.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, who had just been leading Smathers with the very best but, abruptly stopped smiling. A table of California notables, all pro-Stevenson, visibly bristled. So did the members of the Massachusetts delegation; later they reproached Smathers, saying, "Jack won't like this."

Johnson, a man with the most delicate political antennae, ignored the whole thing and, in a brief and gracious speech, devoted himself to the greater glories of his party.

Smathers now denies that anything more than standard operating politics was involved in his remarks. It is, of course, a poor senator who has not been proposed sometime by a kindly colleague for the highest political office. There are no signs of a Johnson presidential organization, and if it should appear, its spokesman will not be a southerner.

WAR OF THE FLANKS Nor is so brilliant a tactician likely to attempt a frontal onslaught on a difficult objective when he is weak on so many

of the role in order to overcome the disadvantages of his youth, his relative inexperience and his pioneer position as a candidate who is a Catholic.

The risks are harsh. If he doesn't fill the bases every time at bat, it will be said he has fallen behind. He is an inevitable target of those who favor others. He also will be expected to enter state primaries, which have been the political graveyards of many hopeful candidates.

The primary calendar does not stack up so favorably for him. Next year next will be first for the first time. Kennedy should carry it easily, but it has only three electoral votes. He should do as well in New Hampshire the following week, but its four electoral votes will be compared in the 11 of Minnesota on the same day will surely fall to its native son, Humphrey.

CUT-DOWN STRATEGY

The Humphrey forces are now said to be in conversation with Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan on how best to cut down Kennedy in the Wisconsin primary. Each of the two alternatives — and temporary — offers figures he can hold the farm vote and get a fair share of labor. They fear dividing their strength against the attractive Kennedy.

In 1956 the great primary prize was California; it is already ruled out of bounds for next year in honor of Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown and in the hope of immense bargaining power at the convention.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON A NEW farm bill, which will make brother Benson hood with anguish, is being written by Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota representing the wheat and corn farmer, led by Sen. Herman Talmadge of Georgia representing the cotton and peanut farmer. These two opposite Democrats are teaming up this week to write a farm bill that will slash farm surpluses, slash the production of big surpluses, and they believe help small farmers.

The Formula They hope to do this by tightening acreage controls, sharpening marketing regulations, and reducing subsidy payments to big farmers.

Under the formula Talmadge and Humphrey hope to work out, a strict limit would be placed on the production of big farmers representing the wheat and corn farmer, and they believe help small farmers.

Strange Alliance The strange alliance between the trigger-tongued Humphrey from the far North and the deep-mouthed Talmadge from the middle South is some-

A Bill To Make Brother Benson Howl

of a political miracle. One is a rosin-tooth champion of civil rights, the other a filibusterer against civil rights. But when they team up to write a farm bill it's sure to pass.

They were brought together last year by a Talmadge farm speech which Humphrey liked. He congratulated the Georgia senator, remarked that his ideas weren't far apart and suggested they might work together on farm legislation.

Friendly Exchange This was followed up by a friendly exchange of letters. Now they are ready to work together on the details of a farm bill that will bear the official Democratic label. In this, they have the private blessing of Senate leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas and agriculture chairman Allen Ellender of Louisiana.

They will have the opposition of Secretary of Agriculture Benson, but Democratic leaders intend to take the initiative away from the Eisenhower administration on farm policy as well as defense, labor, and housing.

Russian People Congressional leaders pricked up their ears at rumors that Llewellyn Thompson, U. S. ambassador to Moscow, was more favorable than the State De-

partment regarding the visit of Deputy Premier Mikoyan, and promptly summoned him to closed-door sessions before the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees.

They got some important views on Russia. However, piecemeal Assistant Secretary of State William McCumber, listening so intently that Thompson, if he had divergent views from his boss, Secretary Dulles, didn't express them.

Consumer Disarmament What he did report was that consumer demands of Russia are forcing the Soviet high command into a position of partial disarmament.

"Assistant Mikoyan clearly indicated this in his talks with President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles," Thompson reported. "Mikoyan himself, I am convinced, favors at least some disarmament and so do the other top leaders in the government."

Cutback Somewhere

"However, it is a situation that is being forced on them. Russia cannot continue to carry the load of consumer demands of Russia, and it is possible, plus an all-out armament program. There will have to be a cutback somewhere, and it looks like it will be made

at the expense of arms production." In addition to "economic pressures" for disarmament within Russia, Thompson said he thought that Mikoyan felt "neither side could win" in a hot war and that he was "convinced" of the need to concentrate more on improving living standards and less on military spending.

Education Works For Peace "Another encouraging hope for peace is the emphasis Russia has been placing on education," the Ambassador said. "The more people are educated, the more they better their living standards and live in peace. I might add that there has been some criticism of the new education policy under Khrushchev on the ground that students should be afforded even more time for classroom studies."

School Standards

"Many Russian educators think that the 'part-school, part-work' routine, which is compulsory for most students in Russia, is lowering school standards. It is a strong demand for a full academic schedule, without requiring talented students to work part time in industry."

Order Of The Day

WE can stand pat as long as the Russians eat. We can keep them hummed in until their people blow up in their faces. They have told more big lies now than any ever told except the Middle Ages, where lies got to be the order of the day for the nobles and clergy to stay in power.

Russia has 39 million slaves who have committed no crime except they do not believe and think as the Communists do. No one has any fault to find with socialism pure and simple if that is what they want. But each who participates in the thing we call democracy or tyranny. We people of the Western world like to do as we want, and a move of it, would be a thriller.

This morning I had the good fortune of meeting at the kindergarten's eye testing, three of the So-

ciety's leaders who were visiting Charlotte: national chairman John B. MacArthur, North Carolina state chairman Mrs. John B. Brown, Jr., and Mrs. D. S. Sloan of Wilmington. From them I learned the meaning of the amazing things the Society does. The Society is non-profit, the officers and testing personnel are voluntary workers who receive training from a specialist nurse sent from the national office into the region.

In Charlotte, there are 27 kindergartens, many of all the various church denominations, and all are serviced by the Society. Between April and November of 1958, 1300 children's eyes were tested in this way. Two hundred and twenty-two children were tested at the Marine station at Cherry Point. All the funds come from contributions and membership dues ranging from a nominal rate upward, of all who are willing to further the work.

— MATTHEW SCHWARZ

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