

Politics, Public Opinion Put Dulles In Straitjacket

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON — THE EXTENT to which American foreign policy has been taken out of American hands is one of the deepest disturbing facts of the present world situation. It is one reason for the sense of drift reflected in headlines by the balance that threaten to swing the balance of power or beyond the power of America to influence the course of those events.

In a time of revolutionary upheaval this may have been in part inevitable. But less than six months ago we were here in America had taken the initiative. What has happened in this brief period to bring about a change seemingly so drastic?

FLEXIBILITY VITAL

For those who formulate and conduct foreign policy—the President, the State Department and its associates—there is one prime prerequisite. They must have the power to negotiate, to bargain, to give and take through the ordinary channels of diplomacy and across the conference table.

This we is, certainly, a must of any qualified in a democracy by public opinion and policy.

But when it's almost completely circumscribed, as it has been in recent years, then the conduct of foreign policy becomes all but impossible. This is the situation in Indochina, by the effort to form a European Army, and by the conflict over foreign economic policies.

The effort to end the war in Indochina short of total defeat is the most difficult illustration of what is meant to put policy-makers in shackles. It was said that America suffered a major defeat in the opening week of the Geneva Conference. But it was hardly a defeat, since there was no contest. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles went to Geneva under such restraints that he felt he could not even glance in the direction of Red China's Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, without offending the prejudices of those who had put the shackles on him.

Six weeks before Geneva, at about the time that Gen. Paul

Ely had come to Washington with an emergency appeal from the French for help in Indochina, this reporter talked in Paris with many of the officials in the L'Asie Libre government. They already knew the military deterioration had gone so far that only massive direct assistance could make any difference. The following exchange with Defense Minister Rene Pleven left no doubt as to the real position of the French in Indochina.

PLEVEN'S VIEW
 Reporter: What additional military help would you need to turn the balance in Indochina?
 Pleven: We would need a thousand bombers and three to four paratroop divisions. And even with that degree of assistance it would still be a long struggle.

REPORTER: But help of that magnitude—the bombers and the pilots to fly them, to say nothing of the divisions—can come only from America.
 Pleven: That is quite obvious. At that time these officials were

saying, in effect, that only two courses were open. France could be obtained by concessions made to Communist China sufficient to persuade the Peking regime to call off its Chimera's guerrillas. Or America could take over the brunt of the war by direct intervention. To be sure, there was a third way which no one cared to speak about—defeat, rout and disaster. One official put it as bluntly as it could be put when he said:

"If America cannot bargain for the peace, then America must bargain with a war."

RECOGNITION OF CHINA
 The French were considering what concessions they themselves could make to Communist China. One was recognition of the Peking regime. But in the French view these concessions would be considered negligible by the Chinese since the only real bargaining power lay in the larger concessions which only the United States could make.

One of these concessions was for America to withdraw its opposition to Red China's entry into the United Nations. The French talked hopefully of this possibility, and of the prospect that the United States might grant economic aid in return for a report for calling off the war. Deputy Premier Paul Renaud actually went so far as to inquire the report that this would happen, a report carried with a large headline in the Sunday Times of London.

Dulles came to Geneva shorn of the power of negotiation. Politics and public opinion, against the background of the publicly declared intransigence of the Communist delegations, had placed him in a straitjacket. Only by indirect and after Dulles had been replaced by Under Secretary Walter Bedell Smith could America participate in the effort to work out a reasonable armistice that might end the war short of complete disaster.

The Type Of Man The Senate Needs

THE NEWS had hoped that Charlotte's able Robert Lassiter Jr. would be appointed to the Senate seat left vacant by the death of the late Clyde R. Hoey. But if the appointment had to go to another, there was no better man than the one selected Saturday, Justice Sam J. Ervin Jr. of Morganton. He is the type of man the U. S. Senate sorely needs. We commend Gov. William B. Umstead on the appointment.

Judge Ervin is a skilled lawyer and jurist. He has spent 14 years on the bench, two years as judge of the Burke County Criminal Court, six years as a Superior Court judge, and six years as an associate justice of the state Supreme Court.

He is an experienced law-maker. He served three terms in the General Assembly. He represented this 10th Congressional District a part of a term in the U. S. House of Representatives in 1946-47, filling out the term of his brother, Rep. Joe Ervin. There he exhibited a keen knowledge of and interest in foreign affairs.

He knows North Carolina. He gained insight into many state problems as a member of the State Hospital and Medical Care Commission, the boards of trustees of the university and Davidson College, as chairman of his county labor mobilization board and of the N. C. Com-

mission for Improvement of the Administration of Justice.

He is respected for his fine mind, ready wit, and speaking ability. These qualities, along with his rich background, will stand him in good stead in the Senate.

His appointment will profit not only the Senate and North Carolina, but the state Democratic Party as well. His record, and the reaction of state Democrats, indicates that he will be acceptable to both factions of the party. Thus a fight among members of the executive committee will probably be averted, and he will be nominated by the committee to serve the remaining two years of the term. And Judge Ervin may be able to help Judge J. C. Sedberry in his race against Republican Rep. Charles R. Jonas.

There are two interesting sidelights to the appointment. One is that the political orientation of North Carolina's Senate representation is shifting to the left. The combination of Ervin and Kerr Scott will be more liberal than the Hoey-Smith combination of a year ago, or the Hoey-Lennon combination of a month ago, ever was.

The other is that Gov. Umstead, since the how appointments were puzzling to many observers, has this time made an appointment which satisfies the stern demands of real statesmanship as well as practical political considerations.

Liars Can Fool The 'Lie Detector'

SEN. JOE MCCARTHY wants witnesses in the Army-McCarthy hearing to submit to the lie detector tests. He has offered to be the first man strapped to the machine.

His advocacy of its use is nothing new. In a previous bout with the Army, during the investigation of the Malmady massacre, he told Army witnesses they "cannot fool the lie detector."

For one thing, it would make quite a spectacle on television, with the cameras picking up the squiggles on the machine operator's face.

An article in the JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW & CRIMINOLOGY by Maurice Floch, a penologist, suggests another reason why McCarthy may be eager to submit to a test himself.

Floch writes that three kinds of persons cannot be tested effectively by the machine. They are:

(1) "The child childish personality type who feels no guilt about lying."
 (2) "The person of high intelligence whom 'a lie is a perfectly acceptable instrument preferable to any silly concept of truth'."
 (3) "Pathological liars, who have 'lost the ability to distinguish between reality and fiction.'"

The person who operates the machine is the lie detector by reason of his interpretation. Whenever the human element enters into an interpretation of anything, there always is a variance.

Why, then, if the lie detector tests are fallible, because the humans who interpret them are fallible, is Sen. McCarthy so anxious to use the machines?

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People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the editors. The News reserves the right to condense.

Segregation The Root Of South's Social Ills

Charlotte Editors, The News:

I HAVE read with much interest, and amusement, the thoughts and ideas of the hate-dispensers since the decision of the Supreme Court. And so is this letter to the hate-dispensers, that this letter is directed.

The more I read, the more firmly convinced I am that the words of a great southern educator are true. Said he:

"What has the worshipping of this god segregation, done for the South? It has stultified the South and kept it down. It has circumscribed, twisted, and warped the South's life. It has brutalized the heart of the South. It has perpetuated poverty; it has contributed to the South's illiteracy; it has made us covetous; it has made us touchy and sensitive. We are always defending the South, but we are never attacking it. It is worse than any other people. Defending segregation is our one consuming passion. Segregation is the root of most of the social ills of the South. We are an abnormal people."

The Negro is not ashamed of having been a slave. The great disgrace of slavery lies at the door of those who kept him captive. We are proud of the progress which we have made during the ninety years since the emancipation. We are ready for integration and the color of skin having to do with it and the hate-dispensers know it. It is time for them to stop meddling themselves in and trying to fool the world. It is time that they rid themselves of that false security of soul obtained because of their peculiar ration, allying with our Heavenly Father regarding their attitude toward the Negro. Are they trying to fool God, too?

We are American citizens and we make no apologies for our desire to cast-class citizenship. The blood, sweat, and tears of the American Negro are on every field upon which American has fought for her freedom and the freedom of the world. We are a part of American history, literature, art, and culture. We sing, with pride, along over the world, "The Star Spangled Banner," and "America" for they are the national songs of our country.

I repeat with confidence and conviction we are ready for integration. We are ready for the future with hope and trust in God, for God and democracy are real to us. After 90 years, are you not tired, too?

—ONE GWENDOLYN JONES

beloved North! It suits me to take up a collection to send his black brothers right along with him.

Mr. Wickland says quite, "I am a Yankee, proud of it. I have been tolerant of so-called Southern hospitality, put up with high taxes, ignored the fact that I am by smooth-talking politicians."

It is just so happens, Mr. Wickland, that you do not have such high taxes, if you did not have to feed and clothe the North. If he wasn't up in Washington trying to stir up a death down here, we wouldn't all be out of work, and there would not be so much dread in the South. It wasn't like that before the North decided the South wasn't doing right, and took over to rule the South.

—J. D. LUDWIG SR.

Vote On Integration Of The Schools

Marshallville Editors, The News:

I AGREE 100 per cent with Mrs. Tom Waters regarding the mixing of white and colored. I hope they leave segregation to the colored fathers who voted against it. I don't know about the governor being asleep, but if he is I hope he will wake up and see the colored fed the same way. In our county the colored have better schools than the white.

—MRS. S. G. CAULDE

Music Club Liked Bergamini's Articles

Charlotte Editors, The News:

THE BERTALLO Charlotte Music Club, I wish to thank you for the fine news coverage you gave us this past year.

We are grateful for the reports of Mr. Ed Bergamini on the days of the school year, and the comments he made about our programs. Thank you.

—ETHEL B. MALLY, President

It's Dull In Korea Since Truce Signing

Pohang-dong, Korea Editors, The News:

WE ARE three Marines stationed in Korea. Lately we have received little, if any, mail from all sides. The truce we find ourselves with little to do after our working day ends.

We would appreciate it very much if you would put our names in one of your columns. We would be glad to talk with young women between the ages of 18 and 25.

—PFC. W. J. CUNNINGHAM, HAM, 135271
 —PFC. WILLIAM D. WAX, 1294320
 —PFC. JOHN GAMPER, 1280779
 V.M.C. —1 M.A.C.G. —2 M.F.F. 1st M.A.W. U.S.M.C. —F.P.O. San Francisco, Calif.

Will Help Pay Cost Of Moving Yankee

Albermarle Editors, The News:

I WOULD like to reply to a letter written by D. E. Wickland. If Mr. Ralph N. Jones wishes to help, I'll be glad to pay half of what it will cost to move Mr. Wickland back to his home in the States.

Wilson, who returned last week from a lengthy tour of the Far East, is dead set against sending American infantry, even if it means the loss of the entire country. Private Wickland has informed the American embassy the Communists will agree to a cease-fire in Indochina. Nehru says his personal representative Krishna Menon has been assured of this by both the Russian and Chinese Communist delegations. Nehru says he has told Nehru, Russia's Molotov said the Reds do not want all of Indochina but only the northern half which they may have captured. Molotov has warned, however, that the Reds absolutely must have the French stronghold of Hanoi and all the critical delta area. Nehru thinks this is reasonable and will favor

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON — Wilson Against Indochina Use Of G.I.s giving it to the Communists for the sake of a compromise peace. Meanwhile the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, an armistice in Indochina, if the two sides can reach an agreement, India is preparing to send a military mission to Indochina, Nehru said, to supervise the armistice.

The Sperry Case
 When Tom Morgan, head of the Sperry Corporation, said in judgment against Dr. Oppenheimer, builder of the atom bomb, he may not have remembered an occasion when Tom Morgan's government dealt more tolerantly with him.

On Sept. 1, 1942, 10 months after Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into the war, the Justice Department dropped a proposed prosecution of Tom Morgan of for exchanging priceless secrets with the Germans, the Japanese, and Fascist Italy. Instead, the Justice Department agreed to a consent decree.

When the three-man loyal board set up by the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, he found him loyal to his country, but decided that he was a poor security risk. He did not give any secrets, but they feared he might.

In the case of Tom Morgan, a member of the three-man board, however, Nehru had already given vital information to countries which later became

Cost Of School Equalization Can South Foot The Bill?

Editors' note: This is a series of articles prepared by Congressional Representative Tom Waters regarding the mixing of white and colored. I hope they leave segregation to the colored fathers who voted against it. I don't know about the governor being asleep, but if he is I hope he will wake up and see the colored fed the same way. In our county the colored have better schools than the white.

—MRS. S. G. CAULDE

HOW MUCH would it cost to close the gaps that now exist in the school systems of the states that maintain mandatory segregation? Recent estimates figure the costs several ways, Congressional Quarterly found:

1. To close the gap between Negro and white schools, current operating expenses for the 1953-54 school year would have to be raised by about six per cent or \$9 million in some communities. The gap is nearly closed now. In others, local taxes would have to be doubled.

2. To close the gap between the South's rural schools for both races, and its urban schools, current operating expenditures would have to be raised by about \$250 million. That would bring the average for all pupils up to the present urban average, estimated at \$300 per pupil.

Together these two increases amount to about 23 per cent of the estimated present outlay for current expenses; they would raise the total from \$1,450,000,000 to \$1,780,000,000.

3. The deficit of the region on capital account — buildings and other fixed assets — is harder to measure. On a "book value" basis (original cost less depreciation) the per-pupil deficit in Negro facilities as compared with white adds up to about \$100 per pupil, or \$350 million.

The deficit of the region as a whole, in substantial schools for Negroes and whites, is estimated by some educators at \$1.7 billion. (But the extent of the recent building program can be measured by noting that two years ago this deficit was estimated at \$2.1 billion.)

OUTGROWING FACILITIES
 In addition to estimating existing deficits for the present school population, school administrators must also look ahead, following population trends. Because of high birth rates in recent years, present facilities will shortly be almost too small to accommodate the nation's population, particularly in the South, where a relatively high proportion of the school-age population lives.

By 1962, average daily school attendance in the South is expected to reach 9.1 million, or 18.5 per cent more than this year.

To take care of this increase, and to provide new schools where the deficit in population from farm to urban areas, some \$1.3 billion of new money will be needed by 1962. That is \$75 million a year for the next eight years.

If a moderate amount, over and above these costs for equalization and new facilities, say \$25 million, were added, to help bring the level of southern standards more nearly in line with those of the country as a whole, the South's education bill in 1962 would be \$2.5 billion.

At present, the South is earmarking 3.3 per cent of its income for federal grants. Southern income has recently been rising rapidly and if it continues to rise at a rate of 3.1 per cent a year, the 1962 school bill could be met with the present percentage of school expenditure.

Equalization would of course be accelerated if federal grants for school construction or other purposes were available to supplement state and local taxes. In some areas, federal grants introduced into Congress to provide such grants have been resisted by many Southern representatives on the grounds that the money should be used as a lever to force the South to abandon segregation. With that grant removed, southern leaders like Sens. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), Lister Hill (D-Ala) and John M. McChesney (D-Ark), all of whom have favored such grants, may get additional support.

Somewhat the debaron Roy was able to obtain the memo from the desk of Committee Counsel Ray Jenkins in 1939. He then showed it to INS Reporter Jack Letto in the men's room of the Senate Office Building.

Letto went to several portions and filed his story at 3:30 p. m., several hours before the document was made public at the Senate hearing next day. Meanwhile the redoubtable Roy slipped the document back on Jenkins' desk.

Fluoridation Is Beneficial And Safe

PROGRESS is attended by controversy. This is true regarding medical as well as other kinds of progress. Thus milk pasteurization, water chlorination, vaccination (most recently use of the Salk polio vaccine) were bitterly opposed. And now water fluoridation is encountered what in some areas is concerned opposition.

It is charged that fluoridation may:

(1) poison the water,
 (2) cause or accelerate the growth of cancer,
 (3) adversely affect human organs.

The greatest weight of medical opinion, derived from years of testing, gives unqualified support to fluoridation. But, because the charges have been aired, they should be examined.

Some fluorine compounds are poisonous. That fact apparently perpetuates the notion that fluoridation could be poisonous. Of course many common substances — aspirin and bicarbonate, for example, can be poisonous, if taken in excess. In fluoridation programs the ratio is usually about one part of fluorine to a million parts of water. In some localities water naturally has 15 times that much fluorine in it, and the only effect of this excess is a mottling of the teeth.

The second charge, that fluoridation may induce cancer, apparently stems from publicity given to an experiment with mice, which were given a heavy diet of fluorine. However, the tested mice, according to the current issue of CONSUMER REPORTS, had been bred for susceptibility to tumors, and at least 96 per

cent of this strain eventually succumbed to mammary tumors.

The effect of fluoridation on human organs has been exhaustively studied in the neighboring cities of Newburgh and Kingston, New York, each year since 1945. Newburgh's water is fluoridated. Kingston's isn't. Every grade-school child, or every other one in both cities, has been given a complete check-up each year. There have been no significant differences in the health of the two groups, except for the fact that the rate of dental decay is about 50 per cent lower in Newburgh.

Last week the American Dental Association assured a House committee that fluoridation is safe "beyond any reasonable doubt." The fluoridation has been endorsed by the U. S. Public Health Service, American Medical Association, National Research Council, American Public Health Association.

Not only is it safe. The important thing, as parents in city after city are finding out, is that it reduces by about one-half the incidence of tooth decay among children.

However, just in case Junior thinks Charlotte's fluoridated water will take care of his molars without his help, here's some parting advice from CONSUMER REPORTS:

"Scrupulous attention to toothbrushing immediately after meals is perhaps the most important single prophylactic measure that the individual can apply to prevent dental decay."

THE TRUTH ABOUT OLD ABE

NOW, sirralls, let us put an end at once to this contemptible business of Abraham Lincoln and the Illinois license plates. It's popped up again. In Illinois. In Robinson, Ill., a man was halted into court, tried, and fined for mutilating an auto license plate because he cut off the slogan "Land of Lincoln." He explained, said the judge, that he was "planning a fishing trip to Tennessee and was afraid if he went down there with that slogan on his plates they'd bust the windows out of his car."

That's nonsense. It's nonsense in, of all places, East Tennessee, where the fishing is. Come Lincoln Day dinners of a spring,

the populace is as well stuffed as at Thanksgiving time.

Illinois is suffering from an overdose, as to its diet, of anti-Southern propaganda.

In all parts of the modern South there is high regard for Mr. Lincoln. In fact, Honest Abe is regarded as a great Republican.

In fact, in some partisan areas he is regarded as the last one.

Children don't know what to do. Sometimes they are punished for not telling the truth and at other times for overdoing it. —ELLAVILLE (GA.) SUN.

