

An 'Accepted Rule' Is In Danger

IT WAS in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory to all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled.

So spoke an exultant James Russell Lowell in a moment of cool, 19th century eloquence on the merits of public education.

There is need for such eloquence in North Carolina today. For the first time in years, public education is in danger.

For the first time since the dawn of the new century, in fact, powerful voices are suggesting that private schools might better serve the "needs of the people" (i. e., preserve segregation).

A particularly pointed suggestion that "the private enterprise way" offers North Carolina a solution to the school segregation problem was offered this week by TAR HEEL BANKER, official magazine of the North Carolina Bankers Association.

"There is nothing sacred about a public school system as such," said the publication.

"... We are far from convinced that the public schools are the only way to make education available to our people."

"There is the private enterprise way which offers the same wide horizon for enlightenment. And with private enterprise as the keystone in education, political sociologists would forever be unable to dictate an agenda of procedure to the people of America regarding their schools."

Free universal public education is properly the accepted rule in America and throughout western civilization today. It was not won, however, without a fight. Ellwood P. Cubbery wrote of

that battle in the ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA:

A great struggle for the creation of a series of tax-supported, publicly controlled and directed and nonsectarian public schools was in progress... Excepting the battle for the abolition of slavery, perhaps no question has ever been before the American people for settlement which has caused so much feeling or aroused such bitter antagonisms.

The struggle was won because Americans wisely recognized that education has its proper place in what has been called the domain of order, or as lawyers phrase it, "affected with the public interest."

It is the clear duty of the community to see that all citizens get at least their minimum quota of education. This is a steering and planning job as much as any other else—a job the people themselves must direct and control to insure the maximum of efficiency and equity.

Any other system would not provide the necessary safeguards.

North Carolina's public school system has served the state and its people well. It is and must continue to be one of our leading articles of faith.

Along with universal suffrage and independence of thought and action as the birthright of every individual, it provides a sure means by which our society can be advanced to a higher level of civilization.

North Carolina's segregation problems are indeed large and weighty. But the answers cannot be based on negatives or fears or temporary expedients. The state can put its house in order without abolishing one of its oldest and finest institutions.



In The Storm's Gusts Were (l. to r.) Eisenhower, McCarthy, Matusow, Bunche, Brownell

Riddle Revisited: Do The Ends Justify The Means?

By JOSEPH ALSOP

AN IMPORTANT new trend has clearly started in the country. It is marked, for instance, by the attention that is being given to the Fund for the Republic's cool, factual but utterly devastating report on the workings of our so-called security system.

Only a few instances need be cited to show what can happen when the country really decides that the worthy end of suppressing the Communist conspiracy does not justify unworthy and unconstitutional means.

Consider, for example, the all but incredible inner history of the famous case of Dr. John P. Peters.

Dr. Peters, a professor at the Yale Medical School, has been refused security clearance for a classified government project. He took his case to court on one ground and one ground only.

As is the almost unvarying practice in security cases, he has not been permitted to confront those who accused him of subversive activities and/or association. This he declared, was grossly unconstitutional.

Inevitably, this direct challenge

to the constitutionality of established security procedures became an issue of high policy in the Justice Department. The primary responsibility for deciding the issue naturally fell upon the Eisenhower administration's able and courageous Solicitor General, Simon Sobeloff. And although it may be especially demoralizing, it is an unbounded fact that Solicitor General Sobeloff informed his chief, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, that Dr. Peters had the constitution entirely on his side.

OVER-PERSUADED At first Sobeloff in fact persuaded Brownell to confess error, by refusing to contest Peters' suit.

Then Brownell was over-persuaded by the politicians who have acquired an immense vested interest in the security system's abuses. Sobeloff was informed that Brownell would not keep his promise.

The solicitor general thereupon fairly refused to sign the government's brief against Peters. He further pleaded with Brownell not to sign the brief either, and there is some evidence that Brownell hesitated long before doing so.

As the world knows, the Supreme Court finally ducked the great constitutional question posed by Dr. Peters, and decided in his favor on other grounds. But the real point of the inner history of the Peters case lies in the fact that Sobeloff is still a solicitor general, and has now been nominated by President Eisenhower as judge of the Fourth Circuit of the U. S. Court of Appeals.

LONG JOURNEY In other words, the chief feature of the American government, who has now been proposed by the President for a very high place on the bench, is a man who believes that perhaps the most prominent feature of the existing security system is grossly and patently unconstitutional.

The attorney general knows that his superior general holds this belief, and he knew it when he approved Sobeloff's nomination to the bench. That, one might say, is proof enough of how far we have come.

But there is much other proof. Consider, for instance, the matter of the so-called turnabout witness. Great efforts have been made to convey the impression that the ex-Communist Harvey Matusow is the only one of the government's more conspicu-

ously hired informers who has retracted his past testimony. In fact, however, at least one other, these hired informers, Frank Lowell Watson, has declared that in the case of the radio station owner, Edward Lamb, he gave testimony at the request of government attorneys which he knew at the time was phrased in confession carefully to avoid any accusation of actual subornation of his perjury, has not been brought to trial.

Another confessed false witness in the Lamb case, Mrs. Marie Natvig, has been tried and convicted—but not for her original perjury. And, rather because her confession charged that her perjury had been suborned, Matusow like Mrs. Natvig, is to be tried, not for the perjury he has confessed, but for declaring that his perjury was suborned.

PERJURY PERMITTED? The cases of several more anti-Communist informers have been officially referred to the Justice Department for investigation of perjury, because of extremely flagrant and disturbing confessions. Most important, probably, is the case of Manning Johnson, former No. 2 man on the list of the gov-

ernment-hired informers and professional witnesses. Investigation of Johnson was requested because of his testimony impugning the loyalty of Dr. Ralph Bunche. Any visible action has been taken by the Justice Department in any of these cases, including one in which the fact of the perjury has been officially admitted by the Justice Department itself. The rule applied seems to be that perjury is all very well as long as it is the right kind of perjury.

MEANS AND ENDS No informant, however, that the new public tendency to think of means as well as ends has deeply alarmed the leadership of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the others who have made a good thing out of the period of hysteria which has produced the result abovementioned. These people are now bitterly denouncing the Fund for the Republic and all other persons and groups who dare to say that the constitution of the United States does not require that the mere fear in their clamor is easy to detect. What they fear, quite obviously, is that the President, who has taken the lead in this hysteria, will take the next logical step of reforming the monstrosity we now call a security system.

Smile On Face, Lock On Door

INTERNATIONAL trade is a two-way street. If a nation wants to sell, it must also buy—unless the traders are to be replaced by Santa Claus.

This is an old economic fact but a good one. Nobody seems to understand it better, at times, than Dwight D. Eisenhower. He can talk merrily of the need for a fair exchange of goods. He has even liberalized the old depression "Buy American" act and issued a glittering "come-trade-with-us" invitation to friendly nations around the globe.

In practice, however, new trade policies are not as neighborly as they look. The words are extravagantly big and beautiful but the deeds do not delight dollar-conscious capitalists abroad.

Take the recent rejection by the United States of British low bids on more than \$6 million worth of hydroelectric equipment. An American firm got the contract for six generators for a dam project in the Columbia River Basin even though its bid was \$775,140 higher than one from an English firm. Another U. S. firm won a contract for three transformers even though its bid was \$85,903 higher than the British offering.

Before the old "Buy American" act was liberalized, a brushful of foreign contracts was common. But last year President Eisenhower chopped the amount by which a foreign company must underbid a U. S. firm to win a

government contract to 6 per cent. Under this arrangement, the British bids on transformers and generators should have qualified. However, the government took advantage of a convenient loophole— one permitting Uncle Sam to ignore foreign bids for the six generators and three transformers because their acceptance would cause "substantial unemployment" in the Pittsburgh area.

Such actions may be well-intentioned and necessary from the U. S. point of view. But the British are hopping mad. They find it difficult to understand why the United States is constantly prodding them to increase foreign trade with one hand while using the other to make it as difficult as possible.

Furthermore, the action on the generators and transformers came just after President Eisenhower raised bicycle tariffs 50 per cent.

Then came another fine smiling U. S. statement urging the British to boost exports.

The United States cannot talk out of both sides of its mouth at the same time and maintain any semblance of dignity or integrity. To do so is to embarrass the nation and anger its friends abroad.

Trade is, or ought to be, a fair swap. Let's get the problem out in the sunlight. Let's not say one thing and do another. If we are actually ready for some swapping on a fair basis let's say so—and do so.

Too Late For Mencken To Mellow

IT IS A LITTLE difficult to grasp at first—like a hedgehog at a picnic—but a plot is afoot to make H. L. Mencken respectable.

The exasperating sage of Baltimore is not only the cover boy for this week's SATURDAY EVENING POST but also the subject of two tender tributes inside—one comparing him to Samuel Johnson, the other to Bernard Shaw.

As if this were not enough, reports keep seeping down from the Chesapeake Bay area that the No. 1 literary reputation of the roaring twenties is actually getting mellow in his old age. After denouncing both Roosevelts, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Truman, he has been quoted recently as saying that President Eisenhower is a better-than-average President—"for a general." It was an amazingly benevolent concession.

But is Mencken mellowing in his old age? The world has never had a more cantankerous critic. Not one of America's sacred institutions has escaped his wrath. It will take more mellowing than Mencken has time for to mend all the wounded spirits.

Even if he does begin to soften some views at 75, he will not be accepted in Dixie's family circle again. Mencken made it pretty clear back in 1920 that if a tidal wave washed away everything south of the Mason-Dixon line, the nation would have lost nothing at all.

Neither Mencken nor the South have spoken to each other since.

But he never cared for New York either ("a third-rate Babylon"), preferring the frowzier charms of Baltimore and the "immense protein factory of Chesapeake Bay."

"Philadelphia," he said, "is the most pecksniffinian of American cities and probably leads the world."

"The real charm of the United States," Mencken commented later, "is that it is the only comic country ever heard of."

Places, however, are not his only victims. Mencken's favorite targets are people. He once wrote that the average

schoolmaster "is and always must be essentially an ass, for how can one imagine an intelligent man engaging in so puerile an avocation?" He also observed that the great artists of the world are "never pure and seldom even ordinarily respectable."

More recently he described Gen. MacArthur as "a dreadful fraud who seems to be fading satisfactorily."

Mencken was, first of all, a journalist but even this occupation once received a traditional broadside. "All successful newspapers are ceaselessly querulous and bellicose," he wrote. "They never defend anyone or anything if they can help it. If the job is forced upon them, they tackle it by denouncing someone or something else."

And there was a special gleam in his prose when he was working a politician over. "Nero fiddled while Rome burned," he snorted during the '20s, "but Coolidge only snoozed."

He also observed that "nothing is so abject and pathetic as a politician who has lost his job, save only a retired studhorse."

No, it will do no good for Mencken to mellow now.

He has burned all his bridges behind him.

Old Dobbin had his faults, but the buggy tires didn't squeal in turning a corner. — GREENSBORO (GA.) HERALD-JOURNAL

Many in a crowd in an air-conditioned building can remember when air-conditioning consisted of a palm leaf fan with an undertaker's ad on it. — MALTON (ILL.) JOURNAL-GAZETTE

News from Brazil is to the effect that a frost there may result in higher coffee prices to Americans next year. It appears that whatever happens in Brazil, Americans are always having to pay higher prices for coffee. — LEXINGTON HERALD



"I know you'll be glad to get back to college... have a nice time, don't party it up too much, dress warm at the football games, and, for heaven's sake, don't join any liberal movements on campus..."

People's Platform

Most Americans Prefer Segregation

Charlotte

Editors, The News: "NO SEGREGATE or integrate?" That is the question. I say, let us continue segregation 100 per cent.

The majority of the people in the South want segregation, and if the truth could be brought out, the majority of the people in the North would prefer segregation.

Let's have no more of that very true expression, "law of the land," as propounded by the nine politicians of the "Supreme Court" and the NAACP. If any ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.

WALTER SIZEMORRE

autobiography, written in 1821: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably."

Abraham Lincoln (speech made at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858) "I will say then, that I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of making any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. That I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of qualifying voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

Again in an address to a group of free Negroes at the White House on Aug. 14, 1862: "You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to both, as I think, if this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated."

Booker T. Washington (in an address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895): "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet all as one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

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ANCHORS AWEIGH! The Ananias Club

THE NATIONAL magazines are currently printing an advertisement sponsored by the Treasury Department to sell U. S. Savings Bonds.

We quote from it: "And Mr. Josephus Daniels, the Navy secretary, said he was prepared to base himself on the deck of a battleship and let Gen. Mitchell take a crack at him with a bomb-thrower."

We don't believe a word of it! If any member of the Cabinet had actually made an anime statement, he would have been disgraced indeed. Billy Mitchell, if any ordinary American citizen had been guilty of such stupidity, President Roosevelt, who fancied himself as a naval expert, would never have appointed him ambassador to Mexico.

TRANSPARENT EFFORT The present secretary of the Treasury is an Ohio Republican, and he has obviously set out to smear the memory of North Carolina's great liberal Democrat. One of the leading architects of the New Deal. We were shocked at this transparent effort by the Republicans to rewrite history in their own image, and we Democrats must rise in our wrath to repudiate such slander.

We were also shocked last week to read a book issued by the United States Naval Institute, and written by a Japanese officer who written by a Japanese officer who Harbor and was present at the Battle of Midway. The title of the book is "Midway: The Battle That Drowned Japan—The Japanese Navy's Story."

OPEN SECRET Captain Fuchida says that the Japanese decided in 1918 to fight the United States, Japan was then ostensibly our ally, and busy helping us to fight a big slice of territorial pie at Versailles. He says that the attack on Pearl Harbor was discussed and debated by all branches and all ranks of the Japanese government, so it would seem that everybody in Japan knew about it from the Emperor to the elevator boy in the Tokyo Hotel. He claims that it cost only 25 planes to immobilize the whole Pacific Fleet. But he must be wrong or we wouldn't still be spending billions on our fleets.

THE BOW on the Burning Deck is still our national hero, and our sons are going to that same hero's tomb, even if the winches are operated with atomic power, and the breeches boys give way to helicopters.

IF SECRETARY Daniels' successor continues to build carriers, then he should resurrect Adm. Hattata to defend us against the next sneak attack by land-based planes in his birch bark canoe with an outboard motor.

THE unauthorized construction of a super carrier, and what the text says, is that those who built battleships yesterday, rode horses the day before, and wore armor last week. Their muscle-bound mannequins are replaced by restored Spanish galleons with twin turrets.

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Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Editors: Note: While Drew Pearson is on a brief vacation his column is being written by members of his staff.

WASHINGTON In a nation as health conscious as ours, 21 per cent of poultry in interstate commerce is inspected for wholesomeness and sanitation. Moreover, the inadequate inspection of poultry is purely voluntary. There's no obligation on the processor.

Texas Turkeys If he does seek inspection, he must pay for it. But even when diseased poultry is rejected, it may still be someone's table. In a recent report, the Congress, not as yet made public, the AFL Meat Cutters and Butchers Union

Diseased Poultry Can Be Sold In S.

year, making it the third largest source of farm income in the country.

However, while more than 90 per cent of all red meats are processed for sale under federal inspection, only 21 per cent of poultry in interstate commerce is inspected for wholesomeness and sanitation. Moreover, the inadequate inspection of poultry is purely voluntary. There's no obligation on the processor.

Texas Turkeys If he does seek inspection, he must pay for it. But even when diseased poultry is rejected, it may still be someone's table. In a recent report, the Congress, not as yet made public, the AFL Meat Cutters and Butchers Union

elicited the sale of 60,000 turkeys by a Brazos Texas poultry plant.

The Army rejected the turkeys because they had been hit by the 1954 Texas outbreak of psittacosis, the AFL union charged. But instead of disposing of the carcasses, the processor sold them for consumer consumption. Public health authorities traced them to East Coast cities—many of them carrying live psittacosis virus.

FMA Ineffective The Printing office of the Production and Marketing Administration of the Department of Agriculture "often permits the owner of a poultry business or one of his employes to serve as official sani-

tarian and grader," the AFL report further charges.

"The PMA is little worried that the PMA has been ineffective in its inspection, for the PMA was not intended primarily to safeguard public health. Instead, it was established to promote the marketing of poultry and other farm products."

Tied Hands The Food and Drug Administration of the new Department of Health has the right to seize any adulterated food, but its hands have been tied by congressional fund slashing and the lack of an iron-clad law for the compulsory inspection of poultry.