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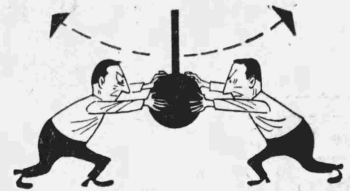
Republicans Were Architects Of Their Own Adversity

By JOSEPH ALSOP

WASHINGTON
THE BIG secret of the 1956 election has been a pretty open secret for a long time in horse-racing circles. In brief, you cannot expect to win many races if almost all your entries are spavined or lame or afflicted with glanders.

Herter Jr., who ran for attorney general.
Young Herter did not win, but he was a strong contender. A direct intervention of the Almighty could have carried him to victory when the leading Democrat, Sen. Jack Kennedy, was literally taking just under three-quarters of the total vote.

Mark Hatfield, and he was tidily elected in this increasingly Democratic state. In Pennsylvania, once again, the Republicans found another good man to run for the Senate, in the person of Hugh Scott, and Scott won quite comfortably. But the only respectable Republican on the Minnesota ticket was Sen. Ed Thorpe, and his case turned out like that of young Herter. He did not win, but he made a decent showing that contrasted sharply with the general debacle in that state.



The Shifting Balance Of Power

PROVING THE RULE
Minnesota also provided one of the instances that prove the rule from the other side of the medal. Rep. Coya Knutson, in addition to her celebrated family troubles, was a thoroughly lightweight candidate; and in Minnesota the Democrats therefore lost Mrs. Knutson's House seat. In Maryland, too, the Democrats decided they could force the unappealing senatorial candidate, Kenneth Keating, to safe harbor behind the Oregon steams, like the wren who stole a ride in the fable.

It is perfect nonsense, in fact, to talk of these 1956 results in terms of a gigantic, irresistible tidal wave. What looked like a

tidal wave was first of all the sum of a long series of local Republican choices of candidates obviously likely to repel the maximum number of votes. Wherever the Democrats committed comparable follies, as they did here and there, they also suffered. In several states the false semblance of a tidal wave was also assisted by another kind of Republican folly. For some reason, many Republicans have always liked doing meaningless ideological gymnastics better than running for victory. The consequence, this time, was the intersection of the so-called right-work issue into several state elections, with results that were dramatic enough to require separate analysis.

Editorial Book Review

The Field Marshal And The Warden

By EDWIN M. YODER
Charlotte News Editorial Writer

THE MEMOIRS of Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. K. G. World Publishing Company. 568 pages. \$6.

THERE are probably a thousand ways to review a book, especially a book which has drawn veritable platoons of world brass into an ancient controversy about war strategy.

The most eccentric way is not to talk of strategy, about which I know less than nothing; and not to talk of the great warrior whose book it is, Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein was already something of a legend when I was growing up in a small North Carolina town during the war. I remember trooping with many others down to the theatre to see the documentary film, Desert Victory, which came out of his North African campaign. I remember sitting spellbound, at the age of ten, watching the tanks kicking dust across that faraway desert, seeing the highest of intelligence Brigadier E. T. Williams, and their uniforms alight with the flash of night-fire.

Yet I have only admired "Monty" at distances; and I choose to write about someone who was very close and vital to him during the war — his chief of intelligence, Brigadier E. T. Williams. In Montgomery's words: "a major in the King's Dragon Guards... an Oxford don (who) had a brilliant brain... He went right through the rest of the war with me."

Monty gives Williams credit for the idea which led to the first great crack in the Axis at Alamein: "In a conversation one day... he pointed out to me that the enemy's German armor troops were what he called 'corsetted'; that is, Rommel had so deployed his German infantry and parachute troops that they were positioned between, and in some places behind, his Italian troops all along the front, the latter being unreliable when it came to hard fighting. Bill Williams' idea was that if we could separate the two we would be very well placed, as we could smash through a purely Italian front with any great difficulty. This very brilliant analysis and idea was to be a major feature of the master plan for the 'crumblin' operations, and it paved the way to final victory of Alamein."

Field Marshal Montgomery recalls, "Bill Williams was the main source of inspiration; intellectually he was far superior to myself or to anyone on my staff, but he never gave one that impression... In the Second World War the best officers in the Intelligence Corps were civilians; they seemed to have the best brain for that type of work, trained in the 'rules of evidence,' fertile and with great imagination, and Bill Williams stood out supreme among them all."

READING all of this, I remembered vividly the first time I set eyes on Montgomery's "Bill" Williams, now warden of Rhodes House at Oxford. It was any great difficulty. This very brilliant analysis and idea was to be a major feature of the master plan for the 'crumblin' operations, and it paved the way to final victory of Alamein."

Warden Williams is, I must say, a Tory — or more accurately a Tory democrat after the Lord Randolph Churchill tradition. "Yes," he confessed one night, "I am a very, very far to the right Tory — though I understand that's much to the left of anything you have in the United States."

I CAN, indeed, remember one night last December when I presumed too much on his Toryhood. A distinguished American-born Oxford don had said of Suez: "Britain has nothing to be ashamed of," he ventured to agree with that; and I believed enough, and not sure that it "hotted" (his expression) the warden.

All in all, I found the brain behind Monty deeply fascinating, and I don't fancy that I by any means plumbed his depth.

But what does this have to do with Monty? Little of course, except that I suspect that when all the war memoirs dispense their pomps many colorful men behind the scenes are left without illumination.



Viscount Montgomery

know he was "the warden." To understand the position "the warden," Monty's ex-intelligence officer, commanded at Oxford, one has to imagine a father-confessor to a bewildered flock from the distant corners of the English-speaking world, a sometimes almsgiver, a sometimes Richelieu of academic politics, a dispenser of port and brandy in the most haughty tradition of English academic gentility — and of holdogs, coffee and cigarettes.

The Senior Common rooms of Oxford, domain of the dons, the "monks" whom Gibbon portrayed as "steeped in port and prejudice," had trained this exemplar of his manner and ethos well. It had trained him in both his wisdom and his indomitable wit, and it was the warden's rapier-wit that most of us will recall, not because it outdid his wisdom, but because no other atmosphere in the world is, I imagine, fuller charged to frustrate the solemn ass. The warden was at his best with a glass of something and a good cigar. Out of reams of wit, I remember one about Dr. Harold Urey, the great physicist — who was Oxford's Eastman Professor in 1936-37, just before George Kennan.

TO imagine a meeting between Warden Williams, the quintessential Oxford don, and Professor Urey is to imagine a meeting between a merry and polite Falstaff or Puck and a scientist schooled in the poker-faced American academic tradition where levity is often frowned upon. I can imagine a deadly serious scientist with mesons and graphs and formulae buzzing through his high dome set down in this lustrous academic where a physicist never talks atoms but instead cracks jokes about Dante. Where the Italian literature man will fill your ear with incessant witticism, not about Dante of course, but about atoms. Warden Williams, though you knew in respected Dr. Urey, handled him concisely: "We tried to talk," he said, "but — do you know? — I think he found us frivolous."

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There would be a grave injustice to Brigadier E. T. Williams, major memoirist of Alamein — and to me "The Warden"

MACABRE EXPERIMENTS
The minor cases of this sort were almost more impressive, in some ways, than the big, glittering, attention-getting ones. In Massachusetts, for example, the Republicans seem to have composed their ticket by searching under stones, tracking down candidates that were making odd noises in the wall, and other macabre experiments in natural history. The sole candidate apparently chosen on the theory that he might attract a few votes, was Christian

NEW YORK STORY
The story in New York is too obvious to need underlining. There if another image may be borrowed from the animal world: Nelson Rockefeller turned out to be a political eagle. He carried the senatorial candidate, Kenneth Keating, to safe harbor behind the Oregon steams, like the wren who stole a ride in the fable.

The 'No-Sayers' Get A Dose Of Their Own Medicine

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON
THE voters elected a contemporary Congress and contemporary governors Tuesday.

In almost every instance the voters elected more alert than the men they will replace. The future that they will shape may not be much of a future in the eyes of many of the losers, but it is all the future the present generation has.

ROCKEFELLER'S VICTORY
It is highly significant that the outstanding Republican survivor of Tuesday's avalanche, Gov.-elect Nelson Rockefeller of New York, and a good cigar. Out of reams of wit, I remember one about Dr. Harold Urey, the great physicist — who was Oxford's Eastman Professor in 1936-37, just before George Kennan.

With their present numbers and strength the Democrats offer no such golden opportunity to any one man. In their efforts to capture the 1960 prize, Democratic front-runners will be jostling each other, counselled to compete harshly within the family.

Only one small, underappreciated Republican, Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona fought his campaign largely against his personal rival, labor leader Walter Reuther, and defeated a Democratic conservative, Gov. Ernest McFarland.

New York almost alone gives the Republican Party a true center of power today and a claim to be a viable institution, able to expand and grow.

Thus Rockefeller emerges as more than a potential rival of Vice President Nixon for the Republican nomination for president in 1960. He can be the rebuilder of his party — the task for which the President once seemed ideally equipped but for which he has shown neither inclination nor talent.

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Rockefeller will vote appeal, energy, ambition, lashings of money and ties with many wicks of American life Albany will test his political skill, but he will have the best help money can buy and he has shown — in a nice way but

unmistakable — that he can be ruthless.

There the Democrats triumphed, as forecast. It is further evidence that the party's center of gravity is shifting westward and that it has greatly expanded its Old South-big city machine base.

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was to stress the local issues, which affected the outcome. Unquestionably they are very important in midterm elections.

But the Democratic victors in nearly every case also discussed and criticized the foreign policy of the administration. From Maine to California, and including Wyoming, they demanded new solutions in world affairs.

OPPORTUNITY FOR IKE
The opportunity is thus afforded the Eisenhower administration to be more imaginative and flexible than it has been in the past.

Old Guard Rebuffed By Bright, New Political Warriors

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON
"YOU WILL admit, of course, that your country is run by the old guard, the Mellons and the Fords."

The speaker was a Soviet citizen encountered in Kiev on a visit to Russia last summer. So indoctrinated was he with the official propaganda line that it was little use arguing with him. He was politically speaking, no doubt, but further from the truth. In the naive propaganda out of Moscow Nelson Rockefeller's victory in the race for governor of New York is being hailed as another piece of evidence in the rule of big money in America.

LIBERALS LIKE HIM
Certainly Rockefeller's wealth, his name and his family's influence helped. But unlike other men of great riches who have tried to sway in American political life, whether directly or indirectly, he made a broad appeal to moderates and liberals. It was the appeal of a friendly, likeable human being who was assuming in his campaign that under the leadership of the liberal-minded he was born to would not be held against him.

At the same time Rockefeller was demonstrating that a rich man could do it the hard way by getting into the thick of the political fray. Oliver's victory in the close bracket were following the old course of trying to buy their way home. Many were contributing, as Vice President Nixon plaintively pointed out at the start of the campaign, to the hate peddlers only too eager to promise that the good old days, of William McKinley would be restored.

HATFIELD'S EXAMPLE
On the other side of the continent another hard campaigning young Republican, who had also been shocked off the Old Guard, was winning a less conspicuous victory. Mark Hatfield, the young star of Oregon, defeated an old-line Republican candidate in the

primary and went on to do his own intense, friendly, handshaking campaign.

He remarked wryly 10 days before the election that the Old Guard still believed you could buy elections by putting up enough billboards and getting enough television time. In a once-Republican state in which the Democrats had captured virtually every office his Congress professorial political science used a new approach and

new techniques. Determined to remake the Republican organization in Oregon, Hatfield at 36 will bear watching if the Republican Party has a future it lies in realistic success as Oregon's newly elected young governor.

An exception to the liberal-

moderate tack is Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who won re-election on an all-out-with-Reuther campaign. But in Arizona the roles of the two parties were the reverse of what they were almost everywhere else.

Goldwater set out to create the image of the modest, earnest, even though his words were those of reaction.

LONELY FIGURE
In the new Senate Goldwater will be a lonely figure. The extreme right had already lost Sens. Joseph McCarthy and Hiram Wadsworth. In announcing his retirement, Sen. William E. Jenner of Indiana had a forecast of the handwriting on the wall, and he failed by a wide margin to put over his hand-picked successor, Gov. Harold Handley in the Democratic sweep the right wing lost Sen. John W. Bricker in Ohio and Sen. George Malone in Nevada, and Sen. William F. Knowland, on whom they could usually count, went down to a foreordained doom in California. In Wyoming, the right lost to Sen. Frank Chappell, who almost always voted on the conservative side.

Presumably the leader of the greatly shrunken Republican flock in the new Senate will be Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. He will be far from an easy task during the last two years of a President who cannot succeed himself and who has been in effect, repudiated by the voters.

INTERESTING ERA
But if Dirksen is bound to have troubles with his old minorities — so will the majority leader, Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, with his greatly swollen majority. Johnson, who believes in a place for everyone and everyone in his place, is going to have to cope with eager beavers taking new confidence from the liberal-liberal sweep.

Whether it promises to be an extremely interesting two years. And it is Rockefeller who would emerge as the Republican candidate, not to Good Knight, Republican as in the least surprised.

From The Christian Science Monitor

THE FITTING GUIDES

OF the migrating waterfowl the poet Bryant wrote:

Whither... dost thou pursue Thy solitary song? Lone wandering bird, not lost.

Whither? To its winter feeding grounds, perhaps 5,000 miles away. Or back to where it mates and nests, not simply to the same latitude or to the same upland or plain, but perhaps to the very marsh from which it set forth last autumn.

How? Here has been one of the great mysteries of nature. Some students of ornithological lore have ventured that migrating birds are guided by sensitivity to magnetic currents of the earth — and admit they have yet to prove it. Others suggest that birds, with the extraordinary

optical instruments they have for eyes, pilot by familiar landmarks. But then comes the fact of crossing trackless oceans.

Now a West German ornithologist reports that by tethering birds in a planetarium and observing their behavior as the skies of various seasons are projected upon the domed ceiling he is convinced that migrating birds are guided by the stars.

Of course, how fitting! How could it — how should it — be otherwise? For if there is anything more utterly thrilling than gazing up into a starlit sky, hearing distant, impersonal multitudes and an occasional hawk, and then seeing a phalanx of geese slip across the velvet brilliance of a full autumn moon, it has yet to be celebrated in song or poetry.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

ONE man who knows Nelson Rockefeller, governor-elect of New York, better than most is John Dickie, president of Hartman Rich Rockefeller, attended as a boy and on whose board of trustees he now sits.

'It's A Good Thing'
Commenting on Rockefeller's race for governor just before the election, President Dickie told a friend, "It's a good thing that Rockefeller, the governor of New Hampshire, in New York he'll have plenty of room for his energy. If he were up running for the building new highways it'll be all right. If he were governor of New Hampshire the

Is New York Big Enough For Rocky?

state wouldn't be large enough to hold him."

Secret Phone Call
A secret telephone call last June had a lot to do with the fact that the man known in Southern California, defeated well-known, popular Gov. Goodwin Knight, Republican, for the Senate of the United States.

The telephone call took place immediately after the primary election in which Knight was opposed by his fellow Republican, George Christopher, mayor of San Francisco. Christopher rolled up a surprisingly large bloc of votes, but it was expected that in any normal runoff election in November these Republican

votes would go to Knight. The Republican nominee for the Senate.

However, shrewd Congressman E. P. Taylor, not to Mayor Christopher, but to George E. Johnson of Sacramento, Democrat, a close friend of Mayor Christopher, Republican.

Favor Asked
Favor Christopher is the first American of Greek descent to become mayor of a top American city, and George E. Johnson is one of the few Americans of Greek descent to run for high state office.

Christopher's votes to me in the final election." "That's a big assignment," replied Johnson. But he proceeded to tackle it. Two days later, he buddied with Mayor Christopher in San Francisco, who let it be known that the Christopher, was not going to endorse Gov. Knight for the Senate.

Success Story
From that point on, Christopher and Johnson met frequently. Christopher gave Johnson pointers on how to win over his local Republican leaders. Result: A good part of the Christopher vote went to Clark E. Knight, Democrat, not to Good Knight, Republican. Engle was elected.



HERBLOCK