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Some Racial Break-Through May Save Public Schools

By WILLIAM T. JOYNER
Vice Chairman, N. C. Advisory Committee On Schools

Editors' Note: What is North Carolina's next step in the dispute over segregation? Col. Joyner, a member of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Education and one of the architects of the Pearsall Plan, submits the question and offers an answer. The following is condensed from a recent address to the North Carolina State Bar in Raleigh.

Worst thing that could possibly happen to our state and to the people of both races in our state would be to mix the races thoroughly and completely in the public schools of this state now or at any other time. With that view I am in thorough agreement. I will not debate the point whether that view is sound morally and ethically for it is not the issue I raise with Mr. Carlyle. The plan fact is that the people of North Carolina will not stand for any substantial racial mixing in the schools throughout the state in the first grade or in any other grade. That fact was made very plain to the Unstead Committee in 1954. It was made very plain to the members of the Pearsall Committee in 1955 and in 1956. It was made plain to everyone who was in contact with the members of the 1955 regular session of the legislature and in contact with the members of the 1956 special session of the legislature. It was made plain for argument in the astonishing result of the Sept. 8, 1956, vote on the school constitutional amendments.



The Road Ahead

Let's Get To The Bottom Of This

ANY SUGGESTION—however slight—that there were irregularities at Mecklenburg County's polling places Tuesday is serious. Such an allegation would involve wrong-doing which strikes at the very heart of the democratic process. It should not be made lightly or taken lightly.

Other Tar Heel cities use them with great success. But let's take the first things first. The purchase of voting machines can wait a bit. The matter of certain "laxities" at the polls cannot. If there were irregularities when the election was in progress Tuesday, appropriate action should be taken. "Laxities" cannot be tolerated in the polling places of a democracy where every vote counts—and must be counted.

Stevenson: 'Prophet Without Office'

There is radiance and glory in the darkness, could we but see and see, we have only to look. IN A SEMON, or in a book by Winston Churchill, those words might have been accepted thoughtfully by the Democrat at the luncheon table. But coming from Adlai Stevenson's epilogue to the '56 campaign the words were as tasteless as the Democrat's cold coffee. "What the devil is he talking about," the Democrat snorted. "I never could see in the dark."

The menacing aspects of this age was morally courageous. By lifting the curtains, he showed Americans to see the true face of the times. They did not enjoy seeing what was behind the curtains of H-bomb secrecy but, having seen, they are better equipped to exercise mature judgment when events force armaments on the future of hydrogen armaments.

Avoid This Course

If we take the left of the road and start to mix the races throughout North Carolina in any grade now, we will certainly destroy our schools. They will be closed quickly or starved to death more slowly. I cannot advise the taking of that course.

On the other side, I understand that the very large group which holds the views expressed by Dr. Lake says that the only course to pursue is that of massive, inflexible resistance. This appears to me to be the course adopted by Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. In the last state, Mississippi, its governor has just said flatly that the Supreme Court was wrong and that Mississippi does not propose to obey the erroneous decision of the Supreme Court.

Mixing The Races

As I understand it, Mr. (Irving) Carlyle expresses the view that the complete mixing of the races in the schools is inevitable, that the more quickly we get about it the better; that to save our schools and to obey the law, we should start now mixing the six-year-old children throughout the state in the first grade.

I do not agree with that position. I think that it is not realistic. The great mass of the people in North Carolina do not believe in either the ethics or soundness of forced racial mixing in the schools. They think that the

Keystone Of Plan

Assignment of a child to a school shall be controlled by the consideration as to what is for the best interest of that child and assignment to a school shall be done locally, in a school district. There can be known by the facts about the child and about the local conditions affecting his welfare. That assignment statute is a keystone in the North Carolina plan and its most important feature is local action and control.

Transfer Objectors

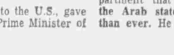
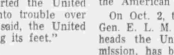
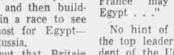
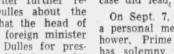
No child is compelled to attend a mixed school if he objects to mixing. Objectors will either be transferred to an un-mixed school or receive a grant-in-aid of private school education. That is one of the so-called safety valves.

Plan Is Constitutional

Time does not permit an argument about constitutionality. I merely say that the plan is obviously constitutional. There is no one phase of the plan which deprives any child of a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Every charge of unconstitutionality which we have heard is based on either of two assumptions.

With The Greatest Of Ease

With the greatest of ease and with the least of effort, we can have a school system in which the races are mixed in the first grade.



This Democrat wanted two things straightaway: A cup of hot coffee and new leadership for the Democratic Party. He got the one for the leadership is coming, surely. It is not likely that William Jennings Bryan will soon lose the distinction of being the only three-time standard bearer in political history. Probably Adlai Stevenson's future political activity will be confined to raising money to pay party debts.

If now is not the time to cease H-bomb testing, the day will come. And it is entirely possible that it will be the citizens of the world, rather than the warring leaders, who will have to force the decisions.

Mr. Stevenson, it seems to us, saw clearly the state of the world and the state of the nation, as well as the ideal purpose of a political campaign. That is, the offering of alternatives, the posing of questions, the pursuit of truth through intelligent debate.

The practical purpose of a campaign, of course, is to get into office. That he did not do so is a failure. The failure one must ask: What Democrat could have won against Mr. Eisenhower? The answer to that question would bring the dining Democrat his new leaders as quickly as hot coffee came.

Adlai Stevenson lost two campaigns for the presidency. But in doing so he clothed his party with a maturity and dignity it did not have when the banner was handed him in 1952. And if he did not leave Americans cheering for Adlai, he left them better informed about the world they live in.

That is enough and, quite often, too much to ask of a political leader facing the task he undertook in 1952 and '56.

A Disreputable Law Needs Revising

WE HAVE it on the word of Edward Corsi that President Eisenhower "appreciates the need of a fairer immigration law." So does Mr. Corsi, who was bounced out of the State Department as an immigration adviser last year because his appreciation was so keen. But he has had a conference with the President and is "encouraged."

over-ridden. The Eisenhower administration offered the special Refugee Relief Act as a substitute for a complete overhauling job during the 83rd Congress but even that law expired this year with some \$6,000,000 still unused.

Immigration changes proposed by President Eisenhower during the 84th Congress died quietly. They were simply not pushed hard enough.

With U. S. influence in a rather threadbare state around the world, the need for fairer immigration policies is urgent today. They would serve our national interest and give new vitality to America's role of leadership. All of the President's rather considerable powers of persuasion should be employed in 1957 to convince Congress of its duty.

The Price Of Political Victory Is High

IT WAS Will Rogers who once said, "Politics has got so expensive that it takes a lot of money to even get beat with."

tures between Jan. 1 and Oct. 21 at \$8,750,000 for the Republicans and \$3,887,000 for the Democrats.

The rather startling imbalance in funds available to the two parties and the increasing influence of wealth in political campaigns should be subject to some rather close scrutiny in the years ahead. The need is for new laws and new ideas governing campaign contributions and practices.

From The Raleigh News & Observer

RURAL SCENE IN NOVEMBER

NOVEMBER stands alone in the no-man's land between frost and sun and the great white wolf of winter. Along the rural lanes in November, the woods, at eventide, are drowsy as an old man cat-napping by a feeble fire. A lone bird sings a morbid requiem for all the wonders of splashing color and shadow that are now gushed down in June's musty album. But the woods are an old man nodding at supper-time, almost indifferently, it seems, awaiting the quills of ice and wind and snow.

porarily from playing games, the moon dips low and the landscape is a yellow ed g purring in the night. The farm boy who has stayed out far too late at football rounds up his last cow and the tardy stray goes over the hill clanging her bell like an evening hymn, bringing to the woodland in November in brassy monotone the old story of the Ninety and Nine.

That jazz about baldness being a sign of brains is revived by a scientist, and wives of baldheaded men all over the country rush to cut the item out of the paper before they have to listen to old skinhead read it aloud. — COLUMBIA (S. C.) STATE.

If drink drowns Khrushchev's career as the life of the Communist Party, he should have no trouble forming a Moscow chapter of the A.A.'s. The Russians are just masters at making past politicians thoroughly anonymous. — WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Anybody who is mistaken for a moose and is shot is better off dead anyway. — CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON THERE have been allegations in high places of late that this writer has been telling the truth. In view of the fact that he is still in the East, it might be interesting to review the record of who was telling the truth in regard to a situation which could endanger the peace of the world.

Proof Positive

On Aug. 8, this writer reported: "Secretary Dulles arrived in London to find Prime Minister Eden seething over the Suez Canal seizure. He was almost as irate against the United States as against President Nasser. . . . The French were equally aroused, possibly more so, both were resolved to use force to take the canal back from Egypt."

Danger Of War

Yet Dulles, returning to the U.S. gave no impression that the Prime Minister of England was irate and bitter. Bitterness of this kind can help lead, and in this case did lead, to war. On Sept. 7, this column reported: "In a personal message to President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Anthony Eden has solemnly warned that Britain and France may be forced to invade Egypt."

Plans Withheld

On Oct. 10, I reported: "The British and French have been so peevish at John Foster Dulles that for a time they refused to give him any inkling of their plans."

Saving The Schools

If I should be called upon to give advice on a local school board, I would advise, I think, just about as I have talked with you today. I would say to that board that it must pass upon every application for transfer honestly and sincerely and that its decision must have some reasonable factual support; that it is inevitable that there be some instances of hardship cases which will result in the admission of some Negroes to schools theretofore attended only by white students; that when such a case is presented (unless the board has good reason to fear bodily harm to the Negro pupil), it is better that such admission be by a board assignment rather than by a court compulsion.

Plans Withheld

On Oct. 11, President Eisenhower stated the opposite. He had been so split with England over Suez. Neither he nor Secretary Dulles, he said, had been given "any intimation from anyone in British officialdom" that "they were dissatisfied with our plan."

The American public can decide who was telling the truth.

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