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## Convict Labor: Sunlight In The Maze

THERE was, in the governor's manner and phrasing, just the suggestion of triumph.

Luther Hodges told assembled reporters at his Thursday news conference that he was beginning to "see sunlight" through the maze of uncertainty over separation of prisoners from the State Highway and Public Works Commission.

"I think we are going to be able to do something," he said confidently. Then, almost as a footnote, the governor added that there are now "great possibilities" that work can be found for North Carolina's prisoners other than road building.

The remarks cut to the heart of the problem. It is not solely a question of eliminating an example of pyramiding bureaucracy within state government. It is simply that the mass use of prison labor in highway construction is inefficient and costly and has limited value in rehabilitating inmates for useful lives after they are returned to society.

Gov. Hodges' indication that long-awaited estimates of the employment potential of prisoners on state farms and in prison industries are forthcoming is encouraging, to say the least. For his part in producing Tar Heel politicians into a kind of grudging awareness of the problem, the governor deserves considerable praise.

North Carolinians have no reason to be proud of the state's record of progress in this field. In that it has the entire responsibility for the operation and financial support of the prison system in the highway commission, North Carolina is unique. No other state is plagued with such antediluvian backwardness.

Consider the economic side of the question. Maintenance work to which prisoners can be assigned is limited. So are the skills of convicts. Modern roadwork has become mechanized. Most of it is done by machinery. Because of security requirements and a lack of ability on the part of many convicts hired labor is considered best.

An out-of-state engineering firm which surveyed the problem in North Carolina

last year noted:

As to the efficiency of prisoners compared to hired labor, the general consensus of opinion was that the hired laborer could out-produce a prisoner by 100 to 150 per cent.

...very often so many prisoners must be kept busy that they begin to get into one another's way. It was also determined, from the division engineers and from actual observation, that replacement of prisoners by mechanized equipment is not only possible but desirable.

On a pure economic basis, a major portion of the funds expended on prison activities is serving no useful purpose, directly or indirectly, and must be considered a diversion of highway-user revenue.

As for the humanitarian side of the question, it should be pointed out that there is an acute problem in developing programs which will eliminate objectionable idleness in prison industries. Each year, thousands of prisoners are being released to society. They cannot be expected to go from a prison cell to an unfamiliar employment without the benefit of some conditioning process.

To a large extent, North Carolina depends on its road camps to provide this conditioning. But too many men are herded into these camps. Road work may benefit some but not all — not by a long shot. Many need more complex forms of rehabilitation. They need activities that will be more likely to improve their minds and attitudes. Some need to be taught new skills which will be useful to them upon release. This is the social territory North Carolina must pioneer in.

The opportunities are many and varied — in manufacturing, in agriculture, in the forestation of state-owned land, in many other fields.

North Carolina can and must meet the challenge. As soon as the appropriate data is available, we urge Gov. Hodges to submit a detailed study to the 1957 General Assembly — both as to separation of prisoners from the highway commission and the establishment of a new and improved program of prisoner rehabilitation.

## Packaging Culture For The Provinces

THE concept of a National Theater has received lavish lip service for years but U. S. captives of culture have made woefully little progress toward the commendable goals set out in 1935. It is now being specifically mentioned in the preamble of Senate Bill 2642 which granted a federal charter to the National Theater and Academy. ANTA was defined as:

"A people's project organized and conducted in their interest to foster cultural, mercantile, but with the firm intent of being, as far as possible, self-supporting. A National Theater should bring to the people throughout the country the heritage of the great drama of the past and the best of the present, which has been too frequently unavailable to them under existing circumstances."

The depression, troublesome world conditions and war sapped ANTA's early vigor. Its revival in 1946 ushered in new waves of optimism but Executive Director Willard Swire lamented two years ago that the group was "no nearer to the concept called for in the charter than it was when that charter was granted."

It was disappointing.

But an obscure news report out of Chapel Hill this week sounded a happier note. It contained, in addition, a promise of significant progress.

A plan to "bring the theater back to the country" is being initiated by ANTA leaders—including Samuel Seidel, chairman of the University of North Carolina Dramatic Arts Department and a member

of ANTA's board of directors. Mr. Seidel reported that a 40-theater circuit is under discussion. Dramatic centers in four regions of the United States would be established. Plays would be produced separately in these four areas and then tour 10 cities in each of the areas.

"The regional play-groups will do their own producing," said Mr. Seidel. "And we hope that they will take the initiative in play production under advisors from New York."

The plan deserves encouragement. The provinces deserve good theater fully as much as New York and other huge metropolitan areas. The Little Theater movement has done much to satisfy this need but the cultural void is too large. Little theaters also have a habit of confining their efforts to lightweight productions—high in commercial value but low in artistic value.

The National Theater, on the other hand, has a responsibility for the educational and cultural growth of the people. It can and should help mold a great dramatic heritage in America.

Seidel is fortunate in having an unusually imaginative and successful little theater—many cuts above the norm. It can also boast of a group like the Mint Museum's Drama Guild, dedicated to artier and slightly costlier productions. But Charlotte deserves, would welcome and, we hope, would support, one of ANTA's touring play-groups.

## Teeters On A Middle Eastern Brink

AMERICANS and edgy, war-weary millions abroad have a right to expect a bit more prudence and common prudence from the U. S. Dept. of State than was exhibited in the unfortunate blunder involving a shipment of tanks to Saudi Arabia.

That the plan was hastily called off is only a little reassuring. The State Department apparently had every intention of going through with the deal—but the White House wisely intervened. Considering the extremely delicate state of affairs in the Middle East it is beyond anyone's comprehension how U. S. diplomats could suffer such a dangerous mental lapse. Sending arms into Saudi Arabia for any reason is unthinkable at this time.

Relations between Israel and the Arab states have been strained for months. The Middle East today is a virtual powder keg. Preservation of peace in the area

was one of the reasons for British Prime Minister Anthony Eden's recent visit to the United States.

Furthermore, in stalling Israel's request to buy \$50 million worth of U. S. arms for several months, the State Department has told the world that it wanted to avoid arms races in the Middle East. The sale of Communist arms to Egypt was viewed with official alarm in Washington. It was charged that the transaction tended to upset the power balance in that troubled area.

Had the shipment gone through, the Soviet's would have had a perfect excuse to pipe more military aid to Arab armies on Israel's frontiers.

The most charitable explanation of the plan was that it was the result of lower echelon stupidity. Where such highly combustible touchpoints are involved, there should be better coordination and more enlightened leadership.

From The Chattanooga Times

## NO TIME FOR WORK

RESEARCHERS have come up with these facts concerning how the average person spends his lifetime:

One third of your life is spent sleeping.

A man uses up five months of his lifetime simply typing his shoe laces.

He spends five years washing and shaving.

Two to four years are taken up in smoking a quarter ton of tobacco.

Telephone calls take up one year, six

months are spent playing cards.

Six years are spent eating and drinking; three years being sick.

Traveling to and from work takes five years.

Men spend four years in conversation, but women spend five years in the same pursuit.

Which leaves, as we've suspected all along, very little time for work.



"... And, if elected, ladies and gentlemen, I promise to help the farmer, cut taxes, give federal aid to schools, and raise the pay for cameramen... er... ah... er..."

## Lunch Program Jeopardized

# Race: The Widening Breach

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON

THE widening breach over integration of the races in the public schools is now seen to threaten not only the proposed federal school construction bill but many current programs under which much-needed aid goes to the states.

It can extend so far as to halt many functions of government considered essential to the nation's welfare.

With the growing bitterness fostered by extremists on both sides, there is talk of legislative action to prevent funds for current grant-in-aid programs going to the five southern states refusing to comply with the Supreme Court's order. This could mean a stop to the aid to vocational education, the school lunch program and the federally-supported hospital construction program.

**HALT FUNCTIONS**

It can extend so far as to halt many functions of government considered essential to the nation's welfare.

**NEW HOSTILITY**

Pushed to even further extremes, the existing hostility could block federal support for highway construction. After all, in the South segregated buses run on the highways and on construction jobs there is racial discrimination.

The gravity of what can happen should serve as a warning to politicians who would exploit this issue for their own political purposes.

**RACE AGAINST RACE**

The Republicans can put the Democrats on the spot by the same time they can help to set race against race and region against region in an atmosphere that has begun to generate something like the hatreds that led to the terrible tragedy of Civil War a century ago.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Gov. Averell Harriman may serve their own political ends by their recent use of the school-race issue, but they do the country a deep disservice by bringing it up at this time.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (D-N.Y.) who is pressing his amendment to the school construction bill, which would deny funds to school districts that fail to initiate integration, suggests that it may be necessary to take similar action with current aid programs.

Mr. Powell, he points out, the five southern states that set their rights above federal authority on this issue get about \$75,000,000 a year in grants in aid for education and hospital construction. This is more than the estimated \$68,000,000 a year they would get under the school construction bill.

So while Powell has not made a final decision, he may feel

compelled to offer prohibiting amendments to appropriations for these purposes.

The political pattern of response to the Powell amendment has been set by the Republican leaders in the House. Reps. Joseph W. Martin Jr., of Massachusetts, and Charles Halleck, of Indiana, declared for the amendment to the school construction bill. Having taken this stand, they could hardly, in all logic, refuse to follow Powell if he decides to try to stop current funds going to states practicing segregation.

**EASY OUT**

That is the easy political out. The southerners led by such extremists as Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, respond with a filibuster and the legislation is killed.

But a compromise solution can

be found if there is any real desire to get federal help in building desperately-needed schools. A proposal has been put forward by Rep. Stewart L. Udall, (D-Ariz.) which, he says, he will reintroduce on the floor when the Powell amendment is brought up.

The Udall amendment provides that part of the money voted for school construction be earmarked for direct aid to areas where the problem of integration is especially costly and difficult because of a large Negro population and where integration has been initiated.

**SUBSTANDARD**

It recognizes that most Negro schools have been substandard and that, to raise or even maintain the level of education without either a ruling by the Supreme Court or a federal law mandating integration, funds must be spent for new classrooms.

Under the Udall proposal, this would be done by amending Public Law 815 which has served to cushion the effect in "defense impact" areas of the huge government installations put a heavy and uninvited burden on local facilities.

This middle-ground solution contains no prohibition against federal funds going to districts that refuse to integrate. But legal action could be taken to challenge the right of the government to send federal money into areas that deny the integration of the integration order. The courts then could pass on the question.

**PROHIBITION**

The Eisenhower administration has held that it does not have the power to withhold funds without either a ruling by the Supreme Court or a specific prohibition written into the law as is proposed under the Powell amendment.

President Eisenhower, has suggested that if the President will guarantee in advance of construction of the school construction bill that no school aid funds would go to segregated areas, the Powell amendment might be unnecessary. Such a guarantee would take the Democrats off the political hook. The White House has indicated it will wait a long time before responding to the Powell amendment.

The political battle lines in this explosive issue are clear enough. At the end of the road is a frightful kind of showdown that can only mean more hatred and violence and a reversal of the progress achieved in the past.

What is not clear, perhaps because it has received so little consideration either in or out of Congress, is the course of a reasonable compromise which should draw the support of all men of good will.

EISENHOWER  
A Reply Delayed

## Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON

IN testimony so electrifying it stunned congressmen, but so secret only few details can be told, missile expert Trevor Gardner charged that the Defense Department has failed to follow up vital scientific discoveries that could revolutionize air warfare. He warned fervently that the Russians may be pursuing these scientific concepts, thus gaining a military advantage that could spell disaster for the United States.

**Frank Talk**

Gardner has just resigned as assistant Air Force secretary in protest against the lagging research program. He was promptly summoned behind closed doors by the House Military Appropriations Subcommittee to explain his stand. For three hours, he talked frankly about the internal conflicts that are holding back military research. Here are highlights that can be safely told:

### Promise

1. Gardner revealed we have broken through the scientific barrier on propulsion ideas and aerodynamic concepts that hold a "tremendous promise." These could boost the range, altitude and

speed of our planes and missiles, he said — if we are willing to take the financial risk. He estimated he urged an increase of \$316,000,000 in the research budget for 1957.

Gardner insisted there was nothing personal in his charges. He still counted Secretary of Defense and Secretary of the Air Force, Donald Quarles, his friends. But he took sharp issue with their judgment. They believe in an orderly, step-by-step research program, he said, whereas he believes in following up scientific breakthroughs with an all-out effort.

### Dollars First

3. He warned that our defenses against enemy attack have been crippled for economy's sake. The military needs, outlined in the famous Killian report, cannot be met under the present Air Force budget, he charged.

4. Gardner objected vigorously to the Defense Department's priority system, which puts equal emphasis on the intercontinental ballistic missile and the medium-range guided-missile. He warned this might mean the Russians get the ICBM first.

### Dangerous Cut

5. He charged that the total Air Force budget had been dangerously slashed.

## People's Platform

### Is Education Goal Of Autherine Lucy?

Charlotte

WHILE reading the various newspaper accounts over the controversial issue of whether Autherine Lucy should be permitted to go to school at the University of Alabama, one felt quite keenly that her enrollment seems to be for an altogether different purpose than that of learning.

If she sincerely desires to go to college then why over a period of three and one-half years didn't she seek an open door to education, Tuskegee Institute, for example, rather than battering on a closed door. Certainly she could get a better education by being a living part of the mass rather than with those who would resent her presence.

### STRONG ELEMENT

Love is said to be and has been proved the strongest element on earth, even stronger than that of loaded weapons. Any human being seriously interested in getting a higher degree of knowledge would most assuredly need friendship and love from her fellow students. In placing herself where Autherine Lucy is today, she has more or less applied the principle of leper among healthy people. Can Gov. Folsom or anyone else recognize such as a desire for education?

If Autherine Lucy had a case, were she fighting for the love of man, then we, the people of the South, would lend our hearts and our hands.

### MENTAL NEAL

Patrick Henry, one of our past great men, once said, "Give me liberty or give me death!" His entire speech at the time would serve a good mental meal for our final law-making body, the Supreme Court. We are a free people believing in the natural process of laws of both God and man. As our highest legal intelligence group, I don't believe the Supreme Court can champion such a cause.

I quite firmly believe that God helps those who help themselves. The NAACP boasts of having quite a few colored schools in Alabama. Are members of her own race not fit to help her own race? If they are, why not let her own color as her teacher? Isn't this an indirect method of recognizing "white supremacy?" I can say any other intelligent individual, my heart and my mind say in union, she actually doesn't want to go to college.

—LILL DEESE

### What's The Proof Against Equality?

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

AS AN answer to letters printed in the editorial page of your paper which were written by a Mr. Connelly and a Mr. Fraiser on the subject of integration, I may as well state something to try to stop the habit of drinking, and they don't go to the right place. If an alcoholic really wants to stop drinking there is only one from whom you can get relief. That is to fall on your knees and beg God to take your thirst away and make you a new man or woman. That is the only hope.

—MRS. MAYME BARGER

### Heroic Determination

## America's Love Of Protocol

By PETER QUINNELL

In "America Unveiled"

A FURTHER (American) trait by which I have frequently been impressed is American love of protocol. Coexistent with all of this is an extreme degree of respect for convention, which operates even at moments when, in a great many European social circles, the rules of the conventions are generally thrown overboard. Protocol is maintained in the pursuit of pleasure itself.

It is the European who has been involved by good-natured transatlantic hosts in a typical American "good time" have had the time was attending a solemn rite with its own ceremonies and regulations, consecrated by tradition. The rules of the game must be rigidly adhered to. So much alcohol must be consumed, such and such a state of exhilaration or disintegration

procedure as being a true one, but may be, would be advantageous for those who are opposed to integration to do just that.

### FACILITIES

Mr. Connelly also stated that the Negro should be satisfied with what he has. No doubt he would be if he had access to or even equal facilities comparable to those of the majority groups. It is not the desire of the Negro to associate with the white man, but he is interested in having access to the things which he helps to maintain and to have jobs which he is just as capable of holding as any other person.

To Mr. Fraiser, I propose that he think about what he wrote. My question is—just what does he mean by permission to say that man was not created equal? From what source does he get such information, and how did he arrive at such a conclusion? Frankly, I think it is just a result of unsound rationalization resulting in a form of compensatory scapegoating.

—WALTER J. HILL

### Voters To Remember

## Scott's Gas Stand

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

THE poor boy operators, they need a few million to keep the congressman in office, who cut the check rent so they could run wild in rates the users of gas from the western wells, who received the support of Senator Scott.

### MEMORY

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—S. C. VAUGHN

### The One Way Out

## Of Alcohol's Grip

Charlotte

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ALCOHOLICS Today I am thinking of one of the pitiful people on earth and of the awful disease that has taken hold of him. It is like smoking. You start smoking and you can't wait until you can get to another cigarette. They are just something to try to stop the habit of drinking, and they don't go to the right place. If an alcoholic really wants to stop drinking there is only one from whom you can get relief. That is to fall on your knees and beg God to take your thirst away and make you a new man or woman. That is the only hope.

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## Missile Man's Report Stuns Congress

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The Air Force would need \$3 to \$4 billion more than has been budgeted for fiscal year 1957, he estimated. He urged an increase of \$316,000,000 in the research budget for 1957.

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### Precious Asset

Gardner charged that Wilson's approach "takes a lot longer and may even cost more money." He warned that the research and development program, affecting the security of the country, can't be run "the way you build automobiles."

"Our most precious asset is time," Gardner declared. "I can very well be wrong about the need for more research and development, but I don't think I am. On the other hand, they (Wilson and Quarles) could be wrong. I would rather see me wrong than see them proven wrong, because there is no prize for second place."

Gardner, himself a Republican, was hit by a few hostile questions from Republican members attempting to defend the administration.

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff told us they were satisfied with the defense budget," said Chairman Ernest S. Brown, Kansas Republican.

Gardner waved a secret document which he had sent to Secretary Quarles, requesting more money for research and development.

"General Twining (the Air Force chief) was one of the endorsers of this document," Gardner retorted. "He is the only member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff I am concerned about."

### Bookkeeping

Servier then pointed out that the past record showed more money had been earmarked for research and development progressively each year.

"If you read the fiscal reports, it looks like the money for research and development have been going up each year," Gardner agreed. "But what happened was a major change in bookkeeping. Actually, we received less money last year than the year before. And this year we received less than last year."