

CPYRGHT

come directly relevant, and will be held up to the light of day.

The program is not, however, without danger. If the White community of the South coopts the Negro elite, the mass of Negroes may be more strictly ghettoized than ever. No one disputes that, under the Alabama law, Negroes will continue to be taught in virtually all-Negro schools. If they do so, but are deprived of the company of the most talented and challenging members of their own race, they are deprived of their most natural leaders. The academic flirtation of the Negro student with the white community is not likely to prove more than temporary; yet on returning to his own group, it may be as a stranger; the Negro may find that he has been effectively deracinated.

We persist in believing that the original intrusion of the Warren Court was not merely bad law and bad politics, but bad sociology; and that the Negroes will suffer the most.

can Jewish Congress, calls on the Jewish groups to take a strong stand against 'the intrusion of any religious holiday observance in the public schools . . . the observance of religious holidays of whatever faith has no place in the public school . . . In the words of the Supreme Court, "we have staked the very existence of this country on the faith that complete separation of state and religion is best for the state and best for the religion."'

"Do they think that it is right, just and prudent for a very small Jewish minority to impose its will on the vast majority of their Christian neighbors and deprive Christian children of what is admittedly one of their greatest joys and a source of beautiful reminiscences? . . .

"Suppose they succeed in banning the observance of Christmas in the schools, will that prevent the Jewish children and adults from observing Christmas in hundreds of other ways outside the schools? Will they ban the singing of Christmas carols in the department stores, with Christmas trees and decorations in the streets, parks and other public places? Will they forbid their children to listen to carols on

Do They Think It Is

Right, Just, Prudent?

From the *Jewish Newsletter*, "Independent Thinking on Jewish Problems," edited by William Zukerman, Vol. XIV, No. 24, December 29, 1958:

"Christmas Observance and the Jews: The growth of clericalism in Israel is having an unmistakable effect on American Jews and has already resulted in a kind of propaganda war against the American public schools by Jewish Orthodoxy, supported by 'professional' Jewish organizations . . . The immediate cause of the propaganda war is the fact that this year the Orthodox rabbis in this country, supported by a number of non-religious Jewish organizations, have adopted a new policy towards carol singing and the presentation of Christmas plays by the children, which have become part of the American school scene and a way of life for all Americans, Christians and non-Christians alike. Hitherto the policy of the leading non-religious Jewish organizations has been to follow a liberal attitude toward these observances . . . This year, however, the Orthodox rabbinical organizations, strengthened by the power and prestige of the official theocracy in Israel, and supported by some non-religious Jewish organizations under Zionist influence, such as the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee and the NCRAC, together with the entire nationalistic and clericalist press, have changed this policy and have launched an all out fight against all religious observances in the public schools including Hanukkah and Christmas, on the ground that they are unconstitutional.

"The new policy, as stated sharply by the Ameri-



"Only harm to our country and to humanity can come from entertaining here men whose hands drip with the blood of millions already dead, still dying or being crushed in slave camps."
Walter Judd to Eric Johnston

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the radio, or see Christmas performances on television? . . .

"Can they stop the observance of Christmas by Jewish adults to whom Christmas and its spirit of good-will, gaiety and generosity is the most beautiful symbol of America in contrast to the Old World of prejudice and hatred from which they fled? . . . Both

Seventeen Standards for Pupils Under the Alabama Law

"In the assignment, transfer or continuance of pupils among and within the schools, or within the classroom and other facilities thereof, the following factors and the effect or results thereof shall be considered, with respect to the individual pupil, as well as other relevant matters:

1. "Available room and teaching capacity in the various schools;
2. "Availability of transportation facilities;
3. "The effect of the admission of new pupils upon established or proposed academic programs;
4. "Suitability of established curricula for particular pupils;
5. "Adequacy of the pupil's academic preparation for admission to a particular school and curriculum;
6. "The scholastic aptitude and relative intelligence or mental energy or ability of the pupil;
7. "The psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved;
8. "Effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;
9. "Effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards in a particular school;
10. "The psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school;
11. "The possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others;
12. "The possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community;
13. "The home environment of the pupil;
14. "The maintenance or severance of established social and psychological relationships with other pupils and with teachers;
15. "Choice and interest of the pupil;
16. "Moral conduct, health and personal standards of the pupil;
17. "The request or consent of parents or guardian and the reason assigned therefore."

the religious and non-religious Jewish organizations are basing their fight against the observance of Christmas in the public schools on the principle of separation of church and state. But at the same time, in Israel—a country which all these public bodies hold up as a model of perfect Jewish life, to be emulated by all Jews in the world—this principle is despised, banned and violated in the most flagrant manner . . . If the separation of church and state is so vital that it determines the very existence of a democracy, why is it forbidden by law in Israel? . . . Will such tactics help the Jewish 'defense' agencies in their defense of American Jews against antisemitism which their own actions are sure to bring about?"

Why Some Republicans

Leave Home

We are informed that Richard M. Bissell is about to be made Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the new chief of what are perhaps CIA's most significant activities in relation to the country's security and survival; that Robert Matteson is to become a member of CIA's top intelligence unit, the National Estimate Board; and that Archibald S. Alexander is to be named head of the Free Europe Committee, an influential and much publicized position over which CIA exercises control.

Here are men of good repute, with records of public service. But do these traits qualify them for appointment—by a Republican President, moreover, in a nation supposedly governed under a party system—to three critical jobs of the most delicate and difficult order? Consider.

Mr. Bissell took one of his university degrees at the London School of Economics in 1932-33, the heyday of avowed Marxist Harold Laski, from whom, his entire career indicates, he learned his lessons well. From 1948-51 he was assistant and then acting Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration ("foreign aid"), where he stood for unconditioned largesse to all nations. He is consultant to the Social Research Council, which has financed so many hundreds of left-wing ideologues. Mr. Bissell, a Washington resident, is socially linked to the Washington Post set; and Mr. Bissell is a Democrat.

Robert Matteson is, it is true, a Republican: a Stassen Republican. For nearly two decades, until Harold Stassen's departure from Washington a few months ago, Mr. Matteson was his aide, confidant and brain truster. As such, he performed one of his last and typical services as Mr. Stassen's assistant at the incredible London conference on disarmament.

Archibald S. Alexander is a wealthy and socially prominent New Jersey resident. He has had a num-

ber of Washington assignments, including Under-Secretary of the Army. He also is a Democrat: twice (1948 and 1952) the unsuccessful New Jersey candidate for the U.S. Senate; chairman of the New Jersey delegation to the 1948 Democratic Convention; director of "Volunteers for Stevenson and Kefauver." Mr. Alexander wants to use the publicity attached to the Free Europe appointment to help build himself up to run in 1960 for governor of New Jersey, where by state law Mr. Meyner cannot succeed himself.

Not one of these three men has the knowledge, training or aptitude to meet the exacting requirements of his new post.

And because of the excuse of "security," none of these appointments comes up for Senate confirmation.

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Ring in the New?

General Fulgencio Batista gave up the fight in the dawning hours of the New Year. From the Kremlin to Times Square, the world rejoiced at the fall of yet another Latin American dictator. And the United States was immediately pressured to purge itself of its suspect softness toward strong-man governments south of the border by immediate recognition of the new regime and massive financial assistance. (Two hundred million was the figure Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., himself a notoriously reluctant taxpayer, proposed.)

We are skeptical that the quality of life in Cuba will improve. We have no brief for Batista, though we insisted that his attitude toward Communism was the matter of principal diplomatic relevance.

Now we have the unknown Fidel Castro, a 32-year-old bearded revolutionary. That Castro himself is a Communist is doubtful. His brother Raúl probably was, and in his close entourage there are at least five men with records in Communist operations: Victor Trapote and Alberto Bayo Giroud, who helped train his guerrillas, and are veterans of the Spanish Civil War; Candido Gonzales Morales and Santiago Días Gonzales, who have long records as Communist agitators in Cuba; and Guevara (Che) Serna, possibly Castro's closest associate, who was an officer in the Spanish International Brigade, served in the Arbenz government in Guatemala (which he still claims was not a Communist-dominated regime) and has been involved in Communist terrorist activities in both Panama and the Dominican Republic. Despite the insistence of the press that the Cuban revolt was not a Communist operation, Guevara's first public statement on arriving in Havana was that "the Communists have earned the right to be recognized as one of the legitimate political parties in Cuba." As for restoring democracy to the rebellion-torn island, the only gesture toward so doing to date has been the

almost ritualistic announcement of an election 18 months hence. Meanwhile Provisional President Urrutia and his government will rule by guns and by decree.

The Market Heads for the Moon

The Wall Street professionals say, "You can't argue with the market." In a very important sense they are right, of course. The market price of common stocks resolves such a host of incommensurable variables—yield, earnings, safety, prospects, moods, management, judicial decisions, national politics, world developments—that it is hardly possible to conclude anything further than that stocks are worth what in fact buyers will pay and sellers take.

Even so, one cannot help feeling that in the second half of 1958 the stock market got ahead of itself, that its breathless rise was at a rate beyond what can be objectively motivated in basic economic terms. The average common stock yield dropped by the end of the year to nearly a percentage point below the average yield of high grade bonds (3.24 per cent against 4.10 per cent), a relation that in the past has always foreshadowed a dramatic market decline.

For this 1958 market advance the analysts offer the explanation of "inflation psychology"—a term that is not unrelated to "speculative frenzy." There is another, and novel, factor that may this time have a considerable influence. It seems possible that there is today in the United States a shortage of shares of stock in the same literal sense that there can be a physical shortage of shoes or cigarettes. The number of consumers of common stocks has shot up in a moon-missile curve. Broadened pension, trust and annuity funds, insurance companies, mutual funds and foreign institutions have been added to the millions of new individual stock purchasers (about twelve million today against perhaps half that many a decade ago). But the number of available shares has increased comparatively slowly, partly because the tax structure favors financing by bonds (the interest on which, unlike dividends, is defined as a cost of doing business) rather than by stock shares. The relative scarcity of the commodity brings a fierce competition for existing shares, especially for those of the highly publicized growth companies (IBM, Polaroid, General Electric, Minnesota Mining, etc.) whose presence in a mutual fund portfolio makes a persuasive and almost indispensable "window display" to pull in the mass customers.

If new money keeps pouring, directly or indirectly, into the various stock markets faster than new stock is issued, the average price has got to keep rising, just like the booming prices of the paintings that suit the current public taste. At that, even for fram-

ing, an IBM certificate, even at \$550 a share, may be a better buy than a Picasso at \$200,000.

Not Merely Gallic

The significance of de Gaulle's austerity measures for France is that the nation seems to be taking them with only token resistance. Unions have marched in the streets in protest—but at a gesture from the gendarmerie they have dispersed without violence and gone home in peace. Two eminent Socialists, former Premier Guy Mollet and Eugene Thomas, gave notice on December 2 that they were quitting the de Gaulle cabinet—but, politely, they hung on until de Gaulle was installed as President on January 8. The Left talked of being compelled to take the brunt of the Gaullist subsidy cuts, tax increases and wage freezes—but with the government promising a remission of taxes to industries which shared gains in profit and productivity with their workers, nobody on the Left could really maintain that de Gaulle is anti-labor.

So the Left, in France, goes out not with a bang but a simper. Morality becomes the new fashion—and the patient, tired of sugar pills, decides to take the strong medicine of deflation. The mood is not merely Gallic—it extends to the Argentine, where the Frondizi government is imposing measures designed to halt an inflation which has been going on since Perón's time. In Germany it looks like total currency convertibility before spring. Even in America, the politicians sense something in the air: witness the current Democratic uneasiness about being tagged the spending party. No, the mood is not merely Gallic. And despite the quacks who have insulated the Eisenhower Administration from its promptings, it will still manage to find its American symbol, sometime, somehow, somewhere.

Notes and Asides

From National Review to Mr. Sulzberger to a Reader . . . and Back

NATIONAL REVIEW, December 6, editorial: "The publishing firm of Devin-Adair endeavored to advertise one of its recent books in the *New York Times*. Most of the ad copy consisted in an extended quotation from a review of the book published in NATIONAL REVIEW. The reviewer summarized Mr. Reuther's career, as depicted in the book by Eldorous Dayton (*Walter Reuther: Autocrat of the Bargaining Table*), in language the *New York Times* found unfit to print. The ad was returned to the publisher. . . . The reviewer? John Chamberlain, who once served as daily book columnist of the *New York Times*. . . ."

From Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger to an Inquiring Reader

The incident did happen. Actually, however, there is another side to the story of which you should be advised.

~~We make a careful check of all editorial advertising, particularly with regard to libel, and in this case felt that situation was being rather too closely approached. We were discussing changes in the advertising with the advertising agency which would have eliminated our fear when the advertisement was suddenly canceled.~~

I have deliberately gone over the matter [myself]. . . .

From the Reader to National Review

. . . For the *Times* to be fearful of a libel suit seems a little far-fetched—but not beyond the bounds of possibility. Was the proposed change so important that the withdrawal was in effect forced, or was it a voluntary withdrawal?

From National Review to the Reader cc: Mr. Sulzberger

No proposed changes were made to the advertiser by the *Times* and none by definition would have been satisfactory given the fact that the advertiser's intention was to reproduce a published review by a famous literary critic. Mr. Sulzberger's contention that the offending passages "rather too closely approached" libel rather too closely approaches nonsense to serve as a satisfactory explanation for what was an act of pure censorship. We had published the statement in question, in NATIONAL REVIEW, and no subpoenas were rattled, and none will be for the very simple reason that the generalizations about the meaning of Reuther's program by John Chamberlain are eminently defensible and clearly fall within the realm of fair comment. There is, finally, the matter of a free press, about which you will no doubt continue to read a great deal in the *New York Times*.

Our contributors: WILLARD EDWARDS ("The Senate Stirs to Life") is an ace Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. . . . WILHELM ROEPKE ("A Dream") is the internationally famous Swiss economist. . . . EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER ("The Education of James Agee"), distinguished foreign correspondent, columnist and broadcaster whose career has spanned both world wars, is at present American Editor of *Western World*. . . . K. S. TEMPLETON ("Clio's Tattered Robes") is a writer on history who formerly taught that subject at the Kent School. . . . MORTON CRONIN ("In Praise of Injustice") is Associate Professor of English at Los Angeles College.