

## Those "Immutable" Facts

In its January issue *Harper's* publishes an article by Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Chronicle*, called "The Southern Case Against Desegregation." The magazine explains that it prints the piece not because it agrees with Mr. Waring, but because he represents a point of view held by a significant proportion of the citizenry and that such opinions should be given national hearing. We agree with the principle, but have doubts on the instance.

The trouble with Mr. Waring's claim of a right to be heard is that what he says is what we have been hearing for years. He gives five reasons for opposing segregation:

1. Negro children, on the average, are dirtier and more diseased than white children. Figures are lacking, but it is "generally accepted in the South" that the Negro population is riddled with venereal disease.

2. The bulk of Negro children come from working-class homes; whereas the bulk of white children are little middle-classes.

3. Negroes are immoral as compared to white. Marriage is a casual affair and illegitimacy carries little stigma.

4. Crime is more prevalent among Negroes than among whites. A mingling of the races in the schools would likely produce gangsterism at the juvenile level.

5. Negro children are on the average two grades behind their white contemporaries.

Finally, Mr. Waring suspects, though he has the grace to say he cannot prove it, that responsible Negroes don't want their children to go to white schools. They just want good schools of their own and by and large, says Mr. Waring, they are now getting very good ones, considering what small taxes they pay.

The sad thing about this is that Mr. Waring is neither stupid nor wicked; he cannot help that bigotry is bred in his bones and he honestly believes that his argument is cogent. The dirt, disease, servility, immorality, criminality and intellectual backwardness of the Negro are deplorable, but they are "facts." And to him they are immutable facts, because the colored folks (bless them!) are just that way.

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# DEMOCRATIC GIVEAWAY

## The Natural-Gas Bill . . . by Edgar Kemler

BEFORE this session of Congress is ended, New Deal-style Federal Power Commission regulations will almost certainly be lifted from the Southwestern gas producers. At the same time, the nation's 20,000,000 natural-gas consumers will almost certainly be gouged with higher gas bills, the rise being \$25 to \$40 per year. It is on the contrary contention, however—of lower rather than higher gas bills—that the present bill squeaked through the House last year by a six-vote margin and that it is expected presently to squeak through the Senate under the benign Rayburn-Johnson Democratic leadership. This argument is absurd on its face. Apparently logic was one of the victims of the \$1,500,000 campaign chest which a year ago the American Petroleum Institute disclosed it had available. Furthermore, it is difficult to escape the big-business atmosphere that now pervades the Senate

cloakrooms and offices, with Senator Monroney admitting that he can't stand up to the gas-producer lobby, while another Senator, Margaret Chase Smith, loudly orders a gas-minded editor out of her sight.

As is so often the case, industry officials are much more forthright about their objectives than their congressional mouthpieces. In *Baron's Weekly* of November 5, 1954, where the producers let their hair down, there is no idle chatter about protecting consumers. There is, however, a firm declaration of producer policy to let low-cost natural gas become as expensive to the consumer as high-cost coal or fuel oil. During the freewheeling seven-year period from 1947 to 1954, before the Supreme Court ordered controls reinstated, prices did skyrocket in that direction, rising from 4 cents per thousand cubic feet to 10 cents. Most, if not all, of this increase, was passed on to the consumer—a \$282,000,000 gouge in three years. For the gas producer in his Southwestern

natural-gas fields was then the only unregulated unit in the gas-transmission system, with the interstate pipelines subject to the Federal Power Commission and local gas utilities subject to state or local regulation. Moreover, since the pipelines own and control about 22 per cent of gas production, since their interests are producers' interests, they did not resist the gouge. That a new gouge, with field prices rising to 20 cents or 25 cents for windfall profits of one-half billion dollars, might result in declining markets rather than expanding ones for the producers doesn't particularly bother them. With 20,000,000 consumers committed to natural gas by their \$11 billion investment in gas furnaces, stoves and water heaters, the producers are convinced they will get away with it.

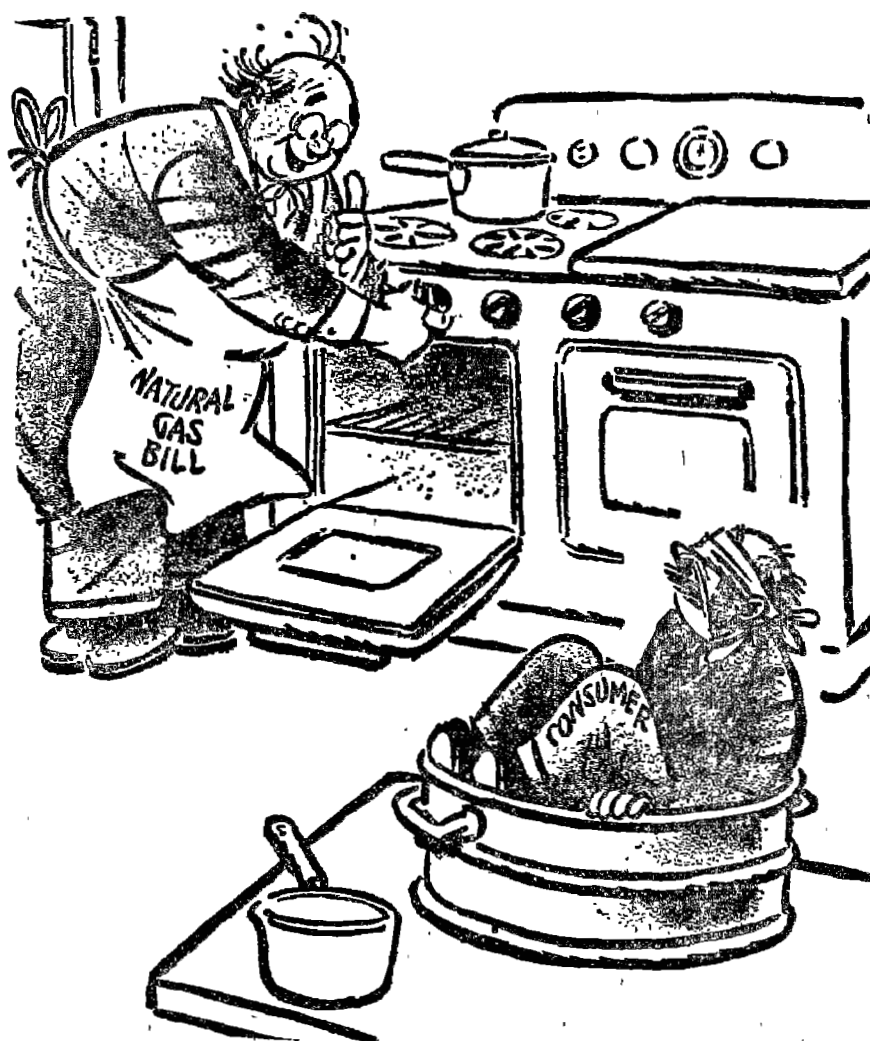
Added to the myth of the "consumer-minded" producers is the myth of a price-depressing competition among producers based on the fact that there are about 6,000 of

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them. However, only about fifteen giant companies, including Standard Oil of New Jersey and Phillips Petroleum, account for 50 per cent of gas production in Texas which is 50 per cent of the U. S. total. As to price policy, so small is the influence of the many small companies against the giants that nobody objects to freeing them from regulation. It should be noted, further, that these giants are considerably more interested in the oil that they extract from their holdings than in the gas, which explains their reckless drive for sky-high gas prices. Once this aim is achieved, they would make the best of both interests, securing maximum windfall profits on gas, while protecting oil from gas competition. Under the present Federal Power Commission freeze on gas prices, they are apparently restricting gas production as well as gas exploration in an all-or-nothing gamble. Within the past two years, gas reserves have shrunk appreciably with only a twenty-two-year known supply now in hand. While sympathetic Senators make much of this to illustrate the evils of regulation, it could also be cited as grounds for more regulation—for prying loose the gas industry from oil-industry domination, for example.

THE bipartisan opposition to the gas bill is led by the 64-year-old ex-economics professor, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. When the decisive debate began on January 16, the Douglas group, consisting roughly of twenty-one Northern Democrats and eleven liberal Republicans, faced a more potent gas-minded group consisting of twenty-six Republicans (mostly right-wingers) and twenty Democrats (mostly from the Southwestern gas states—Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arkansas, etc.). Disavowing a filibuster, Douglas has played for time, for an additional two weeks over the planned two weeks. This is in hopes that once the "gouge" has been fully explained, public indignation will bring new Senatorial converts. Douglas himself has held the floor for four days with a book-length dissertation on "why the bill is against the public interest." Nor has the strategy altogether failed insofar as the influential Senator George of Georgia, hitherto considered pro-gas, is now leaning over to

February 4, 1956



Herblock in Washington Post  
*"Don't peek—it's sort of a surprise"*

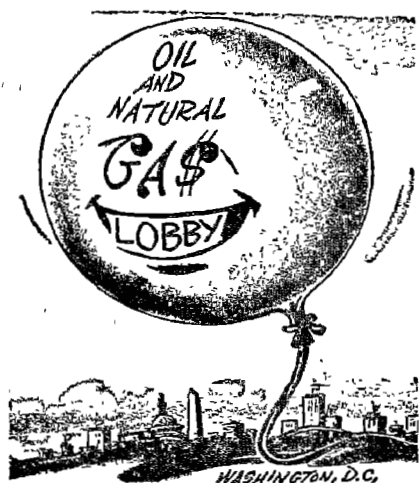
the antis. However, by politely ignoring the real drama of wirepulling and intrigue that surrounds this "high-level" debate, the debate itself has languished.

Had the gas interests pitted Senator McCarthy, or Bridges, or even Lyndon Johnson against him—if they had confronted him with some unmistakable symbol of their power—perhaps Douglas would have been forced down from his ivory tower. But in letting his learned Democratic colleagues, Monroney, a former Scripps-Howard political writer, and Fulbright, a former president of the University of Arkansas, as their floor leaders, carry the fight against him, the pro-gas forces have completely boxed him in. Privately, Monroney admits that he cares no more about the gas producers than he does about General Motors which he is now investigating in connection with dealerships. However, he says, in his gas-dominated Oklahoma, it would be "political suicide" to oppose them. As to Ful-

bright, who is also up for reelection this year, the backsliding is less noticeable since he has never been strong for government regulation as he showed in his abortive Wall Street hearings last year. Douglas is very compassionate about the political realities of their apostasy. At worst, he has questioned their assumption that what is good for the gas producers is necessarily also good for their home states, pointing out that only one-eighth of the industry's windfall profits will be shared by local property owners, while the consumers will suffer there as elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the spokesmen for the producers have been counterattacking vigorously the gas utility companies, the middle men of the industry who have now joined the consumers against the producers. At first glance, the adherence of such a powerful force of trained lobbyists to this good, but threadbare, cause looks like a very good thing, indeed. Among its other boons, it has con-

verted such stout Republicans as Wiley of Wisconsin and Potter of Michigan into vigorous opponents of the bill. However, insofar as the utilities were co-partners with the producers in the recent consumer gouge mentioned above, they make very convenient whipping boys for producer spokesmen. Monroney has been particularly eloquent on this point. In the case of the Washington Gas Light Company, he says, the cost of the natural gas at the city gate is only 30 per cent of the rate charged to the gas consumer. How does the company account for the remaining 70 per cent? In a desperate effort to prove that he is no utility-company stooge, Douglas gave the Senate Parliamentarian \$5 so that local utility consumers could prosecute a case on gas rates before the local Public Utilities Commission. However, to judge by the resulting flood of letters to Washing-



Partymiller in York Gazette  
Consumers, Beware!

ton newspapers, the apostate Monroney now looms larger as a consumer champion than the dedicated Douglas.

This topsy-turvy debate, of course, plays into the producers' hands, and

partly explains their continued dominance in Senate cloakrooms. Nor have the Eisenhower and Stevenson straddles cleared the air. Both have declared for a bill that would favor consumers and producers alike, which is manifestly impossible. Yet in the final analysis, the failure lies chiefly on the Democratic side where liberals have, in effect, been condoning a giveaway that is more shocking than the much-touted Republican giveaway because it is also more open. It is an added indignity that oil interests helped to finance McCarthy's four-year anti-Democratic crusade. In order of priority, there will be many more important issues this session in which the old crusading Democratic tradition might reassert itself. But if the liberals continue to operate under the present rule of moderation and high-level evasion, they'll never get off the ground.

## U.S.-CHINA DEADLOCK

### Soviet Union's Role . . . by Harold Greer

WITH a barrage of documents and press statements, the United States and Communist China have disclosed that their respective ambassadors have reached a deadlock after four months of private talks at Geneva. Diametrically opposed positions on the status of Formosa have been established which reveal that the principals are still as far apart as ever on the more basic questions of what constitutes China and therefore of who should represent China in the U. N.

For a brief span of several hours on December 13, 1955, it seemed as if this most passion-inspiring and yet most inscrutable problem of modern diplomacy had suddenly disappeared. Dr. Tingu F. Tsiang, the representative of Chiang Kai-shek at the U. N., had that afternoon vetoed the application of Outer Mongolia, thereby killing the Canadian package deal for the simultane-

ous admission of eighteen new members to the U. N. In the delegates' lounge, there was an undiplomatic thirst for revenge. The more moderate talked of a special session in the spring for the purpose of kicking out Tsiang; a few hotheads even wanted it done immediately, although adjournment of the Assembly was only three days away. But all agreed that Chiang, who had been amply warned, had committed suicide and that the tortuous problem of Chinese representation in the U. N. had suddenly and with a supreme irony been solved. One could almost see Chou En-lai grinning at the bar.

Then overnight things changed. Next morning, word got around that the Soviet Union had asked for an immediate meeting of the Security Council and that another classic flip-flop was in the making. And so it was. Russia, A. A. Sobolev announced, would not insist on an eighteen-or-nothing deal; it was willing to drop both Outer Mongolia

and Japan. For two hours the West sought frantically for an escape; Japan had been the key to the membership deadlock, the nation which the Canadians had urged upon a reluctant Molotov so they could sell the deal in Washington. Now Japan was being relegated to the status of a pawn for future Soviet diplomacy and the West was being asked to acknowledge the fact openly. But there was no other choice: it was imperative to salvage something out of the mess created by the Chinese veto; indeed the future of the U. N. itself was at stake. Reluctantly, the West went into the Security Council and accepted the Russian proposal.

Why did the Kremlin do it? One can dismiss immediately Krishna Menon's boast that it was the result of Nehru's personal appeal to Khrushchev and Bulganin in New Delhi. Mr. Menon himself was leading the fight to kick out the Chinese Nationalists even as the Russians were telephoning for a Security Council meeting. It is also obvious

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