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THE KENNAN VIEWPOINT

THE views of George F. Kennan, whose just-published book is reviewed on this page today, are backed by many years of experience in responsible positions in the Department of State.

Speaking of World War II Kennan has given an eastern statement "would not have been in the years prior to hostilities to have shaped their policies in such a way as to bring the totalitarian powers with one another."

He referred to the totalitarian powers of Germany and Russia. His query, "Would it not be wiser to embroil China and Russia with one another?"

Some responsible men believe it is possible to cleave the Russo-Chinese alliance. One of them, Columnist Joseph Alsop, concluded last month that "there is, for the first time, a possibility of serious trouble between the Soviet Union and Communist China."

"The definition of Mao Tse-tung has been substituted in China for the definition of Joseph Stalin... credit for the Chinese revolution is given to Mao and the Chinese Communist Party."

Perhaps wishful thinking overemphasizes the possibilities of driving a wedge between Mao and Stalin. However, in many ways the dictatorships of China and Russia are more dissimilar than were the dictatorships of Nazi Germany and Russia.

Certainly it is difficult to augment the Russo-Chinese differences when we are fighting an undeclared war with China. But we do not presume to suggest that the Kennan position is the best course for U. S. foreign policy.

THE FUSS ABOUT PAROLES

AT HIS press conference this week, Governor Scott reiterated his full faith and confidence in his Paroles Commissioner, Dr. T. C. Johnson, and predicted that "the good doctor will take care of himself."

Reporters were left to draw their own inferences. The only one we can draw is that Governor Scott suspects that the continuing agitation about the parole system is motivated by politics—perhaps of the 1952 gubernatorial primary variety.

If that is what he meant, the Governor may have something to say. So far as we have observed, no one has yet done that. Dr. Johnson's integrity in office in connection with any of the disputed paroles.

AUTUMNAL OBSERVATION

AS THE tender touch of Fall gilds the foliage, so too does the first session of the 82nd Congress—also, bereft of the Midas magic—enters its autumn. And in the political climate this change of season always features the emergence of the power of the "third house"—the conference committee.

Differences in House and Senate versions of pending bills are ironed out in these committees which usually include the two chairmen in charge of the disputed measure and their ranking majority and minority members from each wing of the Capitol.

"During the next week or so several conference committee will pass or two important measures which have been left until the last minute. The Senate struck \$200 million from the \$7.5 billion House foreign aid bill, and also voted down a House stipulation that the foreign aid be administered by a single agency.

The Story of U. S. Foreign Policy American Diplomacy

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1904-1950, by George F. Kennan. University of Chicago Press. 146 pp. \$2.75.

"THE half century from the Battle of Manila Bay to Kaesong winding country in North Korea is a world political, as well as military power. During this period the action—or inaction—of our foreign policy formulation has been directed by Americans, but most Asians and Europeans as well."

"What concepts animated our statesmen in their efforts to meet the new problems? What assumptions had they made concerning the basic posture of this country in the field of foreign policy? These are the questions, in the light of retrospect, the proper ones?"

To find an answer to these and related questions, George F. Kennan, director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, betook himself to Princeton, on an extended leave of absence from his post as director of the Policy Planning Staff, to study, think, and write. His evaluation is found in these six lectures, which continue, along with two of the author's articles reprinted from Foreign Affairs, "American Diplomacy, 1900-1950."

This succinctly written book is no apology for the present or past officials of the Department of State. It is a penetrating and readable study of the basis of our foreign policy, yet it is direct and concise. Mr. Kennan finds that our foreign policy has been, and to a large extent still is, founded on a set of ideas which he describes as "the dogma of emotionalism, and high-minded principles unsupported by facts. It has largely ignored, and been poorly applied, technical means of international relations which balance off one potential adversary against another."

"The 'Open Door' China policy of the U. S.," writes Kennan, "introduced a pattern destined to become characteristic of American diplomacy for 45 years." This significant policy was established quite by chance, in a haphazard, if not droll, fashion.

"When Hay became Secretary of State he had no adviser on Far Eastern affairs, so he brought in a friend, Rockhill, who had been in China seven years previously. Following the Washington custom of the day, Hay hired off to New Hampshire during the summer of 1899."

Meanwhile an Englishman, name of Hippolyte, came to the U. S. Mr. and Mrs. Hippolyte and Mrs. Rockhill knew each other in China, and together in Washington to talk over old times. Hippolyte suggested that the U. S. Government advocate an "open door" for ordinary commerce in China.

"The American public found no difficulty in accepting this action as a major diplomatic achievement. Its imagination was fired, and admiration won. Hay was established as a great statesman. The popularity of the Administration's foreign policy was measured by the great size of the time of the coming Presidential election."

"Not only was this effect achieved at the moment, but the U. S. had a doctor toward whom was destined to flourish in American thinking for at least a half-century. Neither the obvious lack of practical results nor the distance between Rockhill and the other persons involved, nor our unwillingness to bolster the policy in any forceful way, nor our subsequent departure from our ourselves—none of these things succeeded in."

"The Norman conquest made easy victims of the Saxons in the battle of Hastings (1066 A. D.) because they were drinking liquor on Christmas night."

"In World War I two whole divisions of Germans drenched in wine were moved down to the front. In World War II 3,500,000 French soldiers were captured by the Germans because as Marshal Petain stated, 'Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight.'"

"The challenge before the people of God in America becomes more imperative day by day. The national and international situation grows more grave every day. Western civilization faces destruction if the threat from the East is not boldly met. America is drunk. Washington, our national capital, has become the most liquor-saturated city in the nation and its consistency, history, both Bible and American history, offers an emphatic testimony emphasizing the folly of committing governmental responsibility to men who are drunk."

"The crux of all the nation's problems and the evil application of executive power, excessive taxation, profligate spending, and the general waste of the public's fact that there are men in executive power who are being wickedly used to transfer insidiously our free, democratic government over to the Soviet, Russian, Asiatic world-rulers of the United Nations."

"As an ambassador for Christ, all Christians should take the return to God by prayer (Eph. 6:18-19). Pray for righteous leaders and against the ineptitude of our present leaders. Pray for a more responsible government and against the inordinate and evil application of executive power. Pray that Soviet propaganda will cease to dominate the minds of our people. Pray that the Soviet Union will repent, and that God will send to drunken Washington a prophet greater than Jonah to bring it and our country back to God. Pray for a mighty crusade to effect the clean-up of wine, beer and liquor in our country. Pray that our nation will be free from the influence of WARENE W. WOODS."

"The campaign funds of several Congressmen. Most of the Democrats are in power. But sometimes they also back Republicans. In addition, Lawrence Harvey wants to be Democratic candidate for the House in California in \$1,000 at each of the last two Jackson Day dinners and serves on the \$100-plus committee welcoming Truman to the White House."

shaking in any way the established opinion of the American public that here, in this episode of the 'Open Door'... a tremendous blow had been struck for the triumph of American principles in international society—an American blow for an American idea."

"During this turn-of-the-century period we have used other phrases like 'manifest destiny' and 'territorial and administrative integrity of China' as well as 'Open Door.' We would ask other nations to make public confessions of our principles. Write Kennan."

"Time after time we would receive from them reluctant, evasive, or qualified replies, putting us to the test to see how we would deny the principles, but that it all depended on how they were interpreted. Time after time we would present them with our own people, superiorly qualified nature, as diplomatic achievements; as acknowledgments of the justice of our view... '...constant return to these ideas and would not really serve to prevent the conflicts of interests...'"

"Kennan sees in our approach to the Orient 'a lack of those inhibitions which long affected us in our approach to the affairs of the European continent. We find ourselves more willing to accept involvement in Oriental affairs, less inclined to dismiss them as of no moment to us.'"

"On the other hand, 'we find no greater readiness of our country and its politicians to power realities and aspirations, to accept them without feeling the obligation of moral judgment, to feel that our own people are not to be deceived, neither good nor bad, and to seek their point of maximum likelihood rather than their reform or their repression.'"

He believes there is no more dangerous delusion than the concept of "total victory." The U. S. is not at all unambiguously in a desire to do away with war and violence, "makes violence more enduring, more permanent, more destructive, more stability than did the older motives of national interest."

"Now it may be asked, from the vantage point of hindsight," writes Kennan, "whether... West-ward expansion, the desire to bring the United States into contact with the world, the years prior to hostilities to have shaped their policies in such a way as to embroil the totalitarian powers with one another in order that they might exhaust themselves."

Kennan sees considerable merit in this rather colorful and fanciful approach to the question of that point is relevant to this country's present policy toward China and Russia.

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People's Platform

LETTERS should be brief, written on one side of the paper. The writer's name must be signed, but withheld from publication in the discretion of the Editor. The News reserves the right to condense.

Liquor Root Of Much Evil

THE NEWS: CHARLOTTE Editors, The News and its lords were feasting with wine and women and were drunk that they left the river gates in the city of Babylon wide open. This was the result of the relatively small number of mistakes. The great majority of paroles work out well.

While Dr. Johnson is concerned with the subject, he might profitably make a study of the case of the Paroles Commissioner. It was reported recently that the great majority of prisoners admitted to the State penal institutions in 1950 were repeaters. It would be interesting to check the list of inmates against the Paroles Commissioner's files and find out how many of them were paroles. Such a survey might give Dr. Johnson and Governor Scott a better yardstick for measuring the parole system than they apparently have now.

General George Washington won the victory at Trenton in the American Revolution because the British officers were drinking liquor on Christmas night. In World War II 3,500,000 French soldiers were captured by the Germans because as Marshal Petain stated, 'Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight.'"

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Extract Facts From Witness Who Is Weakened By Wassail

BY ROBERT C. RUARK

THIS RICKETY old frame is racked with laughter, over the story of the expulsion of the witness from the PFC fraud-poly hearing. The Senate investigating committee, at the suggestion of Senator McClellan, called on Cecil Green, Lithoford Corp.'s Washington man, because "he had been in the room for lunch and was in no condition to testify."

"I don't know whether the man was lying or not, but I sure would have liked to take a breath check on the peers who were present at the hearing. That Washington man, I believe, was a more fanatic devotee of the three-hour martini than the boys work on when they're pretty good."

"If you will but drop into the Occidental at Harvey (or DeDonnell's or a dozen other of the more popular chow halls on any given day) save Sunday, I will show you how many of the nation's public works can be seen peering-diving after the onion in the gutter of the little jug, I expect a great deal of heavy legislation has been done on the oysters and a great deal of considerable statesmanship has emerged from the office bottle boys work on when they're pretty good."

"Big WHEELS AND BOOZE... I don't know whether the man was lying or not, but I sure would have liked to take a breath check on the peers who were present at the hearing. That Washington man, I believe, was a more fanatic devotee of the three-hour martini than the boys work on when they're pretty good."

"From close observation of the effect of the pre- and post-lunchon account and the softening-up celebration party, the flosser in the nation's cities are jammed, at lunch, with people who are all trying to sell each other something, and the using of a hammer as a lever to the deal. This results in a national growl, and the use of a hammer as a lever to the deal. This results in a national growl, and the use of a hammer as a lever to the deal."

"Premier De Gasperi Received 'The Treatment' In Washington" BY MARQUIS CHILDS

AMONG THE cynical, what Premier Alcide De Gasperi received through is described as "the treatment." The distinguished visitor, arrives to be confronted with the press and the use of a hammer as a lever to the deal. This results in a national growl, and the use of a hammer as a lever to the deal."

"The Sha of Iraq got the treatment. So did Prime Minister Nehru of India. So did the President of the United States. 2:14, arrive tout of the Unknown Soldier, and the arrival of a plucking, aggressive force on the extreme right with embarrassing similarities."

"Behind all the anchovy canapes, the cocktails and the champagne speeches is something much more practical and immediate. Almost without exception, the men who arrive from America. Not only want it, they need it urgently. SHAKY ITALIAN GOVERNMENT... De Gasperi's government has only a shaky base in the Italian electorate. He is being urged to resign and the arrival of a plucking, aggressive force on the extreme right with embarrassing similarities."

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From The Shelby Daily Star

Accident scene, it is far better that he see it photographed on a wall than to be actually a part of it. If gruesome pictures will engender caution—and they may at that—why not get this kind of art for every driver's license office in North Carolina? It wouldn't surprise us if an average eye education would not be so very few sound car curatives.

EYE EDUCATION

Highway Patrolman Dave Mount, who operates in the High Point area, has hit upon an excellent idea. We think it is the home responsibility to an automobile driver. He is having framed 48 inch pictures of fatal accidents he has investigated in the past few years and is placing them on the wall in the patrol office where persons must also go to get their driving licenses.

Getting Big Loan

HERE is how the system works: Out in Los Angeles, members of the Harvey Machine Co. contribute heavily to the campaign funds of several Congressmen. Most of the Democrats are in power. But sometimes they also back Republicans. In addition, Lawrence Harvey wants to be Democratic candidate for the House in California in \$1,000 at each of the last two Jackson Day dinners and serves on the \$100-plus committee welcoming Truman to the White House."

Chind Lobby Contrives

"He take another case. When Senator Bridges last ran for reelection in New Hampshire, Alfred Kohlberg, who lives in New York City, contributed \$1,000 to Bridges' campaign. Kohlberg just happens to be the key man in the China Lobby. Another Bridges contributor, in fact his best friend, is Edward Heiler, whose wife happens to be Democratic National Committeewoman for California. Yet Heiler, a Democrat, contributed \$5,000 to help Sen. Bridges, a Republican, stay in the Senate from New Hampshire. Significantly, Heiler is director of the Wells Fargo Bank of San Francisco, biggest repository of Chinese Na-

Labor Bets Too

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