

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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THE MILITARY TAKES OVER

ONE of the most disturbing aspects of the recent appearances of General Eisenhower and MacArthur before Congress is the prima facie evidence of sterile leadership in the Administration and in the Congress.

General Eisenhower, a popular and respected figure, was sent to Europe on a hurried inspection tour and then brought back to Washington to "sell" the Administration's troops-to-Europe program. Had it been for Eisenhower's endorsement, the project might have fallen through.

And now General MacArthur, also a popular and respected figure, has come back to "sell" the opposition program for a more aggressive war in Asia. In one appearance he has dramatized the issues as they have not yet been dramatized, and he has stated his case more forcefully than he has yet been stated.

The future suggests ill for the preservation of civilian responsibility over the formation of diplomatic and military foreign policy. Already there is in prospect a steady stream of witnesses from the military — Generals MacArthur, Marshall, Bradley, Vandenberg, Collins, and perhaps Eisenhower. The Navy will be called on. The Marines. The testimony of these military leaders will finally be the course of U. S. foreign policy.

Military experts must be consulted in the formation of foreign policy. No diplomatic policy can be backed up by military power in worth the military men should be advisers — not policy-makers.

What this nation needs is stronger civilian leadership. It should rightfully come from the President and the Secretary of State, not from the military. It is temporally in the case of Mr. Truman, he is temporally in

MARK OF A DICTATORSHIP

BURIED in the bigger news last week was a story from Madrid revealing fresh evidence that Franco's dictatorship is as rigid and undemocratic as always.

Sam Brewer, correspondent for the New York Times, had his press credentials revoked by the Spanish government. He was told by a government official that his privileges as a correspondent were taken away because of the overall picture of Spain revealed by you and your newspaper. It is because of the lack of truthfulness observed by you and your newspaper in examining Spanish affairs.

A later Press Directorate communiqué, published in Madrid newspapers, put it more strongly:

"Because of his treacherous and insidious campaign, frequently incompatible with truth and the decorum of our country, the press credentials have been withdrawn from the American correspondent, Sam P. Brewer of the New York Times."

Brewer is one of seven American correspondents.

THE PERILOUS PASSAGE

IT WAS no surprise to learn from Tom Fesman's series of articles on the juvenile & domestic relations court concluded that almost 3,500 Charlotteans had marriage trouble last year. Marriage is too often a perilous passage with a Scylla (her mother) on one side and a Charybdis (yours) on the other. The couple that can build a happy marriage in our day is becoming a rarity; divorce rates are skyrocketing.

Indeed these almost 3,500 Charlotteans with marriage trouble were only a fraction of the actual number; they were the ones who turned up at the court; most of the marital suffering was silent.

It is safe to say that only about one of every ten persons took their genuine marital troubles to Judge Willard L. Gatling and the juvenile & domestic relations court. That means 35,000 unhappy husbands and wives in Charlotte—17,000 or 18,000 unhappy marriages.

From The New York Times

TEDDY ROOSEVELT'S LETTERS

A LETTER with me is quite a serious affair. Theodore Roosevelt wrote to me in 1917, while I studied at Harvard. We now have a new and abundant record of a diligent correspondent with the publication of the first two volumes of the Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, under the auspices of the Roosevelt Memorial Association and with the cooperation of Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Six more volumes are projected, with a ninth volume to be devoted to index and biographical references.

Prof. E. E. Morison, the editor, writes in his introduction that Roosevelt was a "good correspondent" who can be read with "unfailing pleasure." While, in the nature of things, the letters of later years will be of more interest, a perusal of the early years is by no means unrewarding. The letters give the love of living, and Roosevelt's highly opinionated are expressed in force.

The letters begin at age ten, and carry on to 1900, through the student years, his engagement to Mary, and his study at Harvard. He was a winning boy, so you can perhaps understand a change in his ideas as he grew older. "His life as an Assemblyman at Albany, on the United States Civil Service Commission, as New York Secretary of the Commodore's Association, Secretary of the

low popular esteem and his leadership, no matter how right he may be, will suffer accordingly. Dean Acheson has been the popular voice of the masses of Americans, and his usefulness has been further impaired by a steady drum-fire of insinuation and innuendo. The corps of diplomats, studded with Perle Metas and William O'Dwyers, offers no hope.

But if the Administration is weak in foreign policy leadership, the Congress is also sterile. The death of Arthur Vandenberg removed the only giant on the Congressional scene. With the exception of a handful of Eastern Republicans, the Senate of Massachusetts, Duff of Pennsylvania, Salt-stall of New Hampshire—the lamentable tendency is for the lackey in Congress to follow party lines in this crisis and to jockey for position in the 1951 Presidential election.

The crisis facing this nation today is not a party crisis. It cannot be settled on partisan lines. It can only be settled by strong, dedicated, moral leadership, leadership of conviction and sincerity and integrity, leadership that places the national welfare above partisan interests.

The American people respect their military leaders. They want to hear their testimony. But they will be confident, turn with vast relief to strong civilian leadership if it is forthcoming.

Americans are not a militaristic people and they instinctively rebel against control by the military of their destiny. But the vacuum left by weak civilian leadership poses a danger that can only be removed by filling the vacuum.

Those who are organizing the Administration's counter-attack — and make no mistake about it — are the Administration, and the most effective since the war —

A provision of the Atlantic City Telecommunications Convention of 1947 permits signatory nations to stop any dispatch in their countries deemed dangerous to national security. But it is hard to see how actual reporting of a general hunger strike in a Spanish city endangers Spain's national security. The strike itself may threaten Franco's hold, but hardly the reporting about it.

There, Mussolini, Stalin, Pervo, Hirohito and now Franco have all learned well a rudimentary precept of totalitarianism, i. e., dictatorship can not survive where people have free information. The revocation of Brewer's credentials is just one more indication that the present is still a dictatorship in Spain, as it is in Russia and Argentina.

MacArthur will be asked, for example, whether he believes the measures which he proposes will end the "prolonged indecision" which he complains.

MacArthur will also be asked about the strategic implications of the fact that attacks on the Chinese mainland would have to be undertaken unilaterally, over the united opposition of virtually all Democrats.

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First Round MacArthur's By Big Margin

By STEWART ALSO

WASHINGTON
THE FIRST ROUND in the debate between General MacArthur and the Congress on Thursday, for all its rather obvious histrionics, was a brilliant performance of its kind. Indeed, however much MacArthur may wish to "fade away," the MacArthur personality is now clearly a major factor in American politics.

In the long run, the impact of the MacArthur personality on the American voters is sure to exercise a decisive influence on domestic politics as well as foreign policy. Certainly the Congress was a great personal triumph. But too towering a reputation at the start may actually be a disadvantage in the end. Here it may be worth recalling the impact of the MacArthur personality on one American voter this reporter.

The time was almost two years ago in Tokyo. It is impossible to describe the atmosphere of downright idolatry which then surrounded MacArthur. By both Japanese and Americans, even those who privately disliked him, MacArthur was regarded as more than human. It was symptomatic that his proper name was almost never used — instead he was called "Korea" or "The Supreme Commander," or "The General," or simply and reverently, "He." What the usual visiting fireman's interview with MacArthur was arranged for this reporter, one disagreeable American journalist even went so far as to predict that it would be "an unforgettable spiritual experience for me."

HE ISN'T A GOD

With this sort of preparation, it was perhaps natural that this reporter's reaction should be surprised tinged with disappointment. General MacArthur is a most impressive personality, but he is not all that a god, but a man — extremely human, oddly old-fashioned in manner, transparently patriotic, often very shrewd, sometimes quite moving when he is simply theatrical.

But to expect a god and find a man, however unusual a man, is disappointing.

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As One Editor Sees It

Pigeons Are Too Plausible

By R. F. BEASLEY

(In The Monroe Journal)

Jaybird flew in a peckeword's hole.

Peckeword said "dog gone your soul."

THIS ancient catastrophe with the denizens of the feathered kingdom is called to mind by a controversy now going on between Mr. Louis Graves in his Chapel Hill Weekly and Miss Nell Battle Lewis in the News & Observer.

Miss Lewis found that a peckeword was drilling holes in one of the columns of her piazza and was on the point of ruining it. She had underfoot a woodpecker was wont to carry on the piazza where he sometimes exploded in the direction of certain objectionable birds that intruded too much on his privacy or in some way injured his property, and called for his help. He agreed to furnish it.

But it was a case of too little or too late, for before he could get over with his lethal weapon Miss Lewis had had time to wait for succor from her. She helped herself. She put up one of these fear-mongering traps near his drilling operations. She hardly expected to catch the rascal but her guess was that if he sprang the trap, his peckeword would scare him away. He sprang the trap a time or two and decided that where such a gentleman thing was operating was no place for a gentleman woodpecker.

THE incident caused the two sprightly writers to launch into a description of the birds that they liked, disliked, or just tolerated. The pigeon is one bird that came under their ban. Their discussion caused me to "re-examine" the whole question of people say, my own attitude towards the pigeon.

I have been wavering between like and dislike of this bird. The late Lawyer Bos Beckwith of Raleigh kept pigeons some forty years ago, not as a hobby but for their squabs. He put squabs high on his list of delicious foods and he once furnished me a sample prepared and served by his own hand.

I was as much delighted with the taste of squab as was the first Chinese who tasted roast pig when his house burned down and barbecued the pig. But this Chinese of Charles Lamb was more particular about his squabs. He put them down to get roast pig, while I have never since put squab to mouth.

About that time the late Col. Bennett of Wadesboro was saying in his local paper, "I never saw a pigeon in my life. I saw one in my dream. The Tribune in New York City should keep pigeons for their beauty and the entertainment they afforded. These two incidents tended to give the pigeon a favorable position in my estimation.

And the North Atlantic Pact. But perhaps Vandenberg's greatest achievement was the ability to change his mind. Some statesmen can't do that. They get rigid and inflexible.

Vandenberg once told me how, during the 1936 Republican convention in Cleveland, Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune had come to him late one night to urge that he run for Vice-President on the Alf Landon ticket. McCormick was then extremely close to Vandenberg. Both were strong nationalists, both saw eye-to-eye on most domestic issues.

The Michigan Senator, however, refused. The incident illustrates the closeness of their friendship, which was broken by Vandenberg's desertion of the isolationist cause.

That was the biggest political change in Vandenberg's life. The American people do not usually take their political heroes. The politician is so close to the people that they see all his imperfections. He has to be daily in the public arena where he is seen by the people and his imperfections are magnified. His statements cannot be censored; the photographers snap him as they will.

But though no pomp or circumstance honored the closing days of his life, Arthur Vandenberg deserves all the tributes the American people can give him. He will go down as one of the great political heroes of our day.

Speculating General
A GENERAL whom the President did not fire, but re-named, is now coming in for hot criticism behind the closed doors of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He is Maj. Gen. Wallace Graham, the Presi-

dent's personal physician, who was caught speculating on the commodity market. Despite this, he was promoted by Truman to major general.

Snapping back at heavy GOP questioning, General Graham testified: That he has stopped speculating on the commodity market—since he was caused by Truman to stop in 1947. "He spends an average of two hours per day," he testified, "in keeping him in physical trim. . . . It was Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan who got him his job. He was a paratrooper and was wounded three times—though he only bothered to collect on Purple Heart."

The GOP cross-examination was sparked by Senators Knowland of California and Cain of Washington. Both asked searching questions about Graham's "meteoric rise" from a first lieutenant to a major general in 1946. The promotion to brigadier general came in September, 1946—exactly one year after he had been 99-pointed President Truman.

Knowland also wanted to know how Graham happened to get his White House job. Graham admitted the approach from General Vaughan, denied he had known Vaughan previously, but said he had known him for considerable time in Missouri.

It was Senator Cain who asked Graham about his grain speculation. However, Graham not only reported he had stopped speculating but claimed he was living on his military salary.

Democrat Senators Russell of Georgia and Johnson of Texas came to Graham's defense, pointing out that the Senators had an admiral (Dr. George Calver) on duty full time to watch out for him, but he had not come out of his military salary.

In the end, Knowland was the only Senator with courage enough to buck the White House and vote against Graham's promotion.

'Stop—Haven't You Forgotten Something?'



Airing Of A Debate Angles 'Must' For U.S.

MARQUIS W. CHILDS

WASHINGTON
THE EXTREMIST admirers of General MacArthur must have been somewhat disappointed by his speech to Congress. It was far from the most part a carefully worded exposition of his stand in favor of using American troops and air power and the Nationalist troops of Chiang Kai-shek against Communist China.

He did, however, make one statement that surprised many who know the circumstances surrounding the decision to remove MacArthur from his Far Eastern commands. This was that Korea is a Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington agreed with him on the need to extend the scope of the war.

Two days before MacArthur spoke, General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a speech in Chicago before the National Association of Broadcasters. In that talk he specifically stated that the military strategy was to confine the war to Korea. A key paragraph reads as follows:

"As long as we are able to confine the battles to Korea and continue to destroy the Communists, we are making progress toward our international objective of preventing World War III. As long as we are keeping Communist forces occupied and off balance and keeping the war confined to Korea, we are minimizing their chances for world domination."

POLITICAL LINE
Some statements insinuating to Bradley's integrity have been made about that speech. It has been suggested that he was merely following a political line set by President Truman.

The facts surrounding the origin of the speech show that this is entirely false. And because the circumstances are so important I want to set them out here.

On March 10, long before the Arthur controversy loomed on the horizon, Bradley accepted the invitation to speak. One reason he agreed to do this was that Korea War and he wanted to try to make clear the major strategy of limiting the conflict and why it was being followed.

This was the strategy worked out and approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Navy and Air — over which Bradley presided. Bradley also felt that since the Communists were so important part in shaping policy it was up to him to try to get wider acceptance of it from the public.

As his staff got down to work to put together material for the speech, Bradley wrote for the Reader's Digest last Fall setting forth the basic approach to the Korean War. In the first draft of the talk about the third of that article was used almost word for word. This was the important section emphasizing the need to confine the war and to avoid anything which would lead to a world-bombing. If you don't quit ultimatum to the Soviet Union.

BRADLEY'S NEW
It happened, of course, that the Bradley speech broke in the news just as the news of MacArthur's dramatic homecoming. But this coincidence had nothing to do with shaping the content of the speech. It was shaped by the chairman of the JCS.

So far as I have been able to learn, there has been no disagreement among the Joint Chiefs. Since the quarrel over unification, there has been no need for a showdown vote.

Nothing could illustrate more clearly the lack of a thorough investigation into the whole policy background. General MacArthur's statement about the JCS is a good example of this. General Bradley said in his Chicago speech, MacArthur should be the first to come in and inquire. Which all participants would be frankly and openly interrogated not to put the President in a bad light but to get at the facts.

Foreign Policy Discouraged Vandenberg

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON

THE last time I talked to Senator Vandenberg was in December, shortly after the tragic December defeat in Korea. Following the news of the GOP Senate had given him the bipartisan foreign policy, I phoned Vandenberg in Grand Rapids to see if he had any ideas about getting that policy.

His reply was "I was then trying to get Truman and Taft together for a personal, face-to-face talk, minus publicity, in order to pull our harassed and badly disunited Congress out of its morass."

Telling Senator Vandenberg about this, I asked if he couldn't help. Perhaps a statement from him, or a phone call, "Senate leaders would start the ball rolling."

But Vandenberg was skeptical. "The boys have the bit in their teeth," he said, "and I doubt if anything can be done. No matter how many times you call them to the White House to discuss foreign policy, I doubt if it would do any good. They wouldn't stay put."

Vandenberg's Co-Operation
Vandenberg went on to say, in our telephone conversation, that he was not at all sure of the Senate's attitude toward continued conferences and genuine teamwork between the State Dept. and his Foreign Relations Committee. As a result of this, the North Atlantic Pact had been written and rewritten seven times.

"It really was a bipartisan foreign policy then," he said. "But there doesn't seem to be the same relationship now between the State Dept. and the Senate."

Part of this, I suspect, was due to the fact that Vandenberg himself was no longer in harness. For his group of foreign affairs was as great as his prestige in the Senate.

Vandenberg and McCormick

HISTORY will attribute many great things to Arthur Vandenberg—including passage of the Marshall Plan