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FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1951

ARE WE READY FOR THE NEXT STEP?

ALTHOUGH a host of side issues have been injected into the debate over the MacArthur 4-22 formula for victory in Korea, the big question is still Russian intervention.

Opponents of the MacArthur plan believe that it would bring Russian intervention in the Far East, or provoke Russian aggression elsewhere.

Proponents of the MacArthur plan, on the other hand, appear to have accepted the General's premise that Russia will not intervene.

It seems to us that both groups have overlooked one highly important factor in this controversy, expressed this week by Lewis W. Douglas, former Ambassador to Great Britain.

Mr. Douglas was talking about the calculated risks in international affairs. There was a calculated risk in intervening in Korea, and another calculated risk in crossing the 38th Parallel and charging the Yalu River and the mountains of the current frustration over the stalemated Korean War.

Consider the question of Russian intervention in the event the U. S. alone, or with the approval of our U. N. partners, adopts the MacArthur plan of action.

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of bombs will we require? Will we continue our bombing raids until Paiping goes for peace? Will we continue supporting Chiang Kai-shek until the Communists are toppled from control? In brief, what will the next steps be, and are we prepared to take them?

If the General is wrong, and Russia intervenes, two courses of action are open:

1. We can write off the whole enterprise, confess that we erred in calculating the risk, and withdraw to the Southern half of Korea or perhaps all the way to our Pacific island defense network. That might stop the shooting. Or—

2. We can provide enough insurance in the forms of men, material and supplies, to meet the risk. We can provide enough insurance in the forms of men, material and supplies, to meet the risk. We can provide enough insurance in the forms of men, material and supplies, to meet the risk.

Are we ready to take the step which may be required after taking the first, no matter how far-reaching may be the effects? And be added:

Failure to recognize it and weigh it in the scale of calm and dispassionate wisdom is precisely what may lead us unwittingly into a full-scale war of tremendous dimensions and frightful consequences.

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Joseph Alsop

Drastic Action In Iran Needed

THE Iranian crisis now appears to have become an endemic disease like malaria. So far as can be judged, the patient has survived the present attack.

Soon or late the disease will prove mortal — Iran and the Middle East will be lost to the West unless a drastic but imaginative cure is undertaken by America and Britain.

The reasons are obvious enough. The Shah, the official government and the Iranian army are all progressively losing authority in Iran, as misery and hopelessness more and more encourage the masses to take desperate steps.

WHAT can happen is easy to envision. On some pretext or other — most probably as a protest against the best oil deal the British Government can conceivably offer — a new wave of strikes will be launched.

Despite the optimistic denials of official American and British sources, it can now be stated on rather positive authority that the Soviets have prepared for the above situation by organizing "liberation" forces on their side of the border.

All these needs are actually more urgent than a settlement of the oil controversy, which has reached the present stage because the feeble folly of American and British policy aborted all earlier attempts to deal with the really basic troubles here.

Unfortunately it is much simpler to describe what is needful than to achieve it. For the American policy makers, there are several agonizing choices

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Battle Of Documents Begun By Leak From White House

By MARQUIS CHILDS

THE BATTLE of the documents has begun with the first major leak. The content of the top secret memorandum on the Truman-MacArthur controversy has been disclosed in indirect form but with undoubted authenticity.

This leak came from somewhere in the White House and not from the Pentagon. Top military officials who had started and dismayed at the extent of the revelation which included discussion of the line south of the former North Korean capital of Pyongyang where it was hoped last October to stabilize a United Nations line.

That information is of value to the enemy. Similar information of value to the Communist conspiracy was contained in the message between the Pentagon and MacArthur made public when the general was dismissed from his command.

There is an issue far more important than the question of who was right and when during the last months. For it is the directness to the lives of the men now fighting desperately to contain the Chinese Communist drive. This is why the Joint Chiefs of Staff have come to a decision in which they observe the support of public opinion.

They are determined to keep certain documents completely secret. This means that they will not be shown in either open or closed hearings before any congressional committee. Repeatedly after executive sessions where the most careful checks for security were made, the general was leaking vital information that blossoms in the headlines almost before the witness can get back to his office.

The documents to be held back contain vital information that would be of great aid to the enemy. To spill them out in public would be to jeopardize the position of the United States in an even greater degree. The JCS have made their decision knowing full well that they may incur some attack for it.

Their position is difficult enough in any event. They want, if possible, to avoid presenting an Anglo-American common front, because the mere British name itself is now so bitterly hated here.

As a practical matter, however, Anglo-American interests in Iran and the Middle East coincide so closely that the British partnership has simply got to be accepted. It must, however, be a real partnership. Above all it must be based on the clearest possible advance understanding of the British will forget the imperialist past and will cooperate fully with the United States, if we, in our turn, cease our ranting and bring to bear in the Middle East our full influence and power.

AMERICAN choice number two is how to bring our influence to bear. Again it is tempting to go on with the old pious lectures. In fact, however, these will not serve. If need be, considerable political risks may have to be run, and fairly harsh diplomatic measures may have to be used, in order to bring home to the inflated and staggering inflation-burdened Iranians the crude realities of their situation.

American choice number three is whether to support this effort in Iran as "mutual benefit" or as a rich country needing no money from us. Unless the American effort in Iran is generously sustained with funds, at least in the first stages, it will not be acceptable to the Iranians and it will fail. At a rough guess a sum in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000 is now needed to launch a serious program of political stabilization and economic betterment in Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East.

Clearly some sort of Anglo-American joint body is required to give over-all direction to this large and complex program that must embrace other Middle Eastern countries as well as Iran. Clearly also, the program will fail if it is handled on the committee system within the dark recesses of the American government itself. Add up all these requirements. It becomes clear that the task now ahead could hardly be more difficult or more taxing.

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THE AWFUL RESPONSIBILITY

AT HIS press conference yesterday, President Truman made it clear that he had not retreated from his previous stand in face of General MacArthur's political offensive.

The latest news from the front reveals the wisdom of continued restraint.

Though censorship still obscures many of the details, the massed Chinese foot soldiers are apparently attacking without armor, armor, and carrying primitive and improvised weapons.

AS RECENTLY as 1947, it was the mode of movement to keep mum (in several thousand well-chosen words) about membership in the Communist Party.

On the face of the testimony, Dmytryk wasn't much of a Communist anyway.

That these men can reveal their past Communist affiliation without drawing down upon themselves the scorn and hatred of their fellow Americans is encouraging evidence that we are moving away from the hysteria and witch-hunting of several months ago.

By making it easier for ex-Communists and present-day Party members to make their way, we are narrowing the area of distrust and suspicion over which Mr. Hoover's and other security agencies must keep such a close watch. More important, we are recovering our standard values—a standard that permits a man to make a mistake once in a while so long as he is willing to make amends for it.

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Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

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Gilda Figures There's Much Shimmy In The Old Girl Yet

By ROBERT C. KUARK

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