THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The News' Platform For 1950-60

1. Organization of an Urban Redevelopment Commission.
2. A $10,000,000 school building program for Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.
3. A scientific county-wide revaluation of property.
4. Maximum feasible consolidation of the City and County Governments as recommended by Institute of Government studies.
5. An adequate public housing program based on facts gathered in 1950 census.
6. Formation of a civic promotion group similar to Winston-Salem's Committee of One Hundred.
7. A new city auditorium.
8. A full-scale program for unbottling traffic congestion.
9. Improved air transportation facilities.
10. Positive action to clear Charlotte's creeks of contamination and pollution.

A PROGRESS REPORT

PUBLICATION today of THE NEWS' big Business Review & Forecast Edition affords an opportunity once again to take inventory of this newspaper's platform for the 1950-60 decade, first offered on this page in January of 1950.

At the top of this column is the Platform, just as it appeared in 1950. At that time, it seemed a bit ambitious. Actually, it underestimated this community's willingness and capacity to forge ahead. A brief survey of the progress toward the objectives indicates that the platform will need expanding before the decade is out.

1. Following passage of an enabling act by the 1951 General Assembly, the Mayor and the City Council appointed an Urban Redevelopment Commission. Under the leadership of Chairman Paul R. Younts, it has selected four blighted areas for redevelopment and has asked for a preliminary advance of funds to finance a detailed study of the projects. Approval of the application is expected within 30 days, after which the Commission will employ technical assistance and get on with the job.

2. In 1946, the voters of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County approved a bond issue of $5,970,000. Of this amount, the City schools received $3,980,000 and the County schools $1,990,000. In 1950, additional bonds in the amount of $5,225,000 were approved. The City's share was $3,550,000, the County's share $1,775,000. Furthermore, the City received $686,000 and the County $500,000 from State funds. Virtually all of these funds have either been expended, or are being held for projects already under contract or projected. The money has provided new buildings, enlargements and additions, new facilities. Both the City and County school boards have spent a fair share of the money on improving Negro school facilities. It is already evident, however, that the remainder of the $10,000,000 figure set in the platform, and probably still more, will be needed before the decade is out.

3. A scientific revaluation of all property in Mecklenburg County is proceeding on schedule under the direction of the Cole-Layer-Trimble concern. It is jointly financed by the City and County Governments. Both expect to use the new property values in setting their budgets for the 1952-53 fiscal year.

4. Once again, THE NEWS is unable to report much progress toward consolidation. Some interest was shown by the 1951 legislative delegation. Last Fall, the Junior Chamber of Commerce began an intensive study of consolidating the two health departments, but after several discussion meetings, the original momentum was lost. THE NEWS is still convinced that consolidation will improve the efficiency of local government, and is confident that the continued growth of the City will make some consolidation imperative.

5. Four hundred new units of public housing are under construction off the York Road, Known as Southside Homes, 160 of the units are scheduled to be turned over to the Housing Authority this week-end. The remaining 240 will be ready in some six to eight weeks if the weather is favorable. Belvedere Homes, 200 units for whites off the Beatty's Ford Road, is progressing more slowly because of bad weather. These units should be ready by November. Until the mood of Congress changes, it is unlikely that new public housing projects for Charlotte will be authorized in the next year or two.

6. The idea for a Committee of One Hundred was born during the postwar years, when Charlotte suffered from a lack of civic leadership. It has stirred little interest, and the development of aggressive new leadership in 1950 and 1951 has decreased the need for it. So long as good men step forward to accept responsible assignments, we shall hold the idea in abeyance.

7. A $3,000,000 bond issue for a new auditorium and coliseum was authorized in the Fall of 1950. An auditorium authority has been appointed. A site on Independence Boulevard has been purchased. The preliminary architectural sketch has been improved by the authority and by the City Council. Construction cannot be started until Federal building restrictions are eased.

8. The attack on traffic bottlenecks and congestion has moved forward on many fronts. The Stonewall Street underpass is under construction, and should be completed by June. A new and wider Stonewall St., extending from Independence to Church St., will be ready shortly thereafter. An engineering survey for a major operation on other grade crossings has been completed, and a contract with the Southern Railway has been approved by the City Council. A test suit to establish the City's right to spend funds to relocate tracks outside the city limits is under way.

Traffic Engineer Herman Hoose has gone ahead with his channelization of key intersections and his modernization of traffic controls.

A parking commission has been appointed, and received an appropriation of $1,500 to conduct a survey of the need for offstreet parking. The survey is in progress.

The Council, after long delay, approved the basic portions of a new plan for establishing truck lanes. The lanes are now in operation.

9. The days of the dilapidated administration building at Douglas Municipal Airport are limited. A contract has been let for the first phase of the new structure—the preparation of the site including the construction of additional taxiways at a total cost of some $600,000. Last year, the runways were resurfaced at a cost of $140,000. The City is making plans to purchase additional land for extending the North-South runway. When the new administration building is constructed, Charlotte's aviation facilities will be among the best on the East Coast.

10. The first step in ridding creeks of contamination was taken when the old, leaking outfall along Sugaw Creek was replaced at a cost of about a million dollars. That stopped the seepage of raw sewage into the creek. Last February a contract was let for expansion of the Sugaw Creek disposal plant which will enable it to handle the industrial wastes that are now being dumped into the creeks. When the new plant is in operation, the only contamination of the creeks will be from industrial waste dumped north of the city limits and, hence, beyond the City's control.

That, we submit, is an impressive record of progress in a two-year period. It has resulted from compelling public and private leadership, and from a growing consciousness among Charlotteans that theirs is a city with a future limited only by their vision and energy. The national emergency has placed some barriers in our way, but Charlotte will be ready to move ahead as soon as they are lifted.

COME ON IN, COMRADES

MOVE over, Joe McCarthy. You've met your match.

Senator Mundt of South Dakota has disclosed, via *The National Republic* and *Congressional Record*, "ways and means by which alert Americans can usually ascertain who among their associates are Communists".

He allows there are both card-carrying Communists and fellow-travelers, the main difference being that the latter simply cheat "some Communist cell out of its annual dues".

Turn up your collar and read some of his "tell-tale tracer clues" for detecting Communists.

1. "Communists demand more public housing." (Hello Comrades Bob Taft, Vic Shaw, Earl Gluck, Edwin L. Jones, George Dowdy and Claude Albea.)

2. "Communists oppose Universal Military Training." (Hello, all you comrades from the Baptist, Methodist and almost every other church.)

3. "Communists hate . . . the Taft-Hartley Act. . . They called it the slave-labor bill." (Hello Comrade Truman.)

4. "They (Communists) oppose Taft at every turn". (Hello Comrades Lodge and Duff.)

5. "Communists favored Lilienthal for Atomic Energy Commission chairman." (Hello Comrades Hoey, Umstead, Johnston, Maybank, Hickenlooper, Russell and you 44 other Senators.)

6. "In the Truman-MacArthur controversy the Communists attack the General". (Hello Comrade Senator Kerr, millionaire proletarian of the oil industry.)

7. "Communists seek control of labor unions." (Hello Comrades Reuther and Lewis.)

8. "Communists assail the House Committee on Un-American Activities." (Hmm, wonder if our dues are paid up?)

9. Communists also are on the side which would "weaken or nullify . . . the concept of home rule." (Hello Comrade Willis Smith.)

But wait a minute. Senator Mundt also voted to recommit the District of Columbia home rule bill.

And 10. "Communists attempt to confuse the public." (Come on in, Comrade Mundt.)

The First Estate Speaks To The Fourth Estate

(A portion of an address by Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, pastor of Fallon Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh, N. C., at the opening session of the North Carolina Newspaper Institute at Chapel Hill January 24.)

I SPEAK to you, if my topic is to be taken seriously, as a member of the First Estate. I confess that to be classified as one is inglorious to me or it must seem invidious to you of the Fourth Estate. "First" and "fourth" in this context have no sequential meaning, though there are, no doubt, some members of a mythical first estate who think of themselves as spiritual lords. To their clerical pretensions they appropriate titles and dignities and doctorates; when they preach they pontificate, when they walk they parade.

For the most part, I believe, however, that the notion of a preferred status is as odious to the clergy in our free society as it was flattering to the lords episcopal in England. If they were customarily named before the lords temporal and the Commons it was due to some reason hidden in history or protocol. I therefore rest lightly upon the support given me by my topic and if I am not addressed as Lord Poteat of the First Precinct of Raleigh, I shall not feel my dignity affronted.

By the same token I hope that placing you in a Johnny-come-lately status, below or following the Commons, will not wound your self-esteem. It is not difficult for editors and columnists to assume to themselves when necessary, plenipotentiary authority. Olympus is a low hill to the editorial eye. It can be effortlessly climbed, and yet it is high enough when surmounted to take all other cities, spiritual, temporal and common, may appear to lie far below its horizontal vision. I think that by the practice of modesty on my part and imitation on yours, however difficult the exercise may prove, the first and fourth estates can find a common level on which we can stand together and profitably regard ourselves.

CLOSE STATUS

For the more I have thought about it, the closer I have seen the status of pulpit and press to be. Consider, in the first place, the disabilities under which we struggle. We are not aristocrats by birth or commoners by choice. Men inherit pulpits as rarely as they inherit newspapers. In general it can be said that we are in our respective businesses because we want to be. So be sure the parson feels an urgency he cannot resist and the editor an inspiration he cannot repel. And though the parson may lack the halo the editor slants over his ear, so does the fledgling parson, but there is always a nimbus for the aspiring.

Similarly we are distressed by conflicts within our respective vocations. How do the news editor and the city desk get along with the pulpit in the denominational sanctum? How does the parson who knows some of the news that isn't fit to print, accommodate the Sunday sinner who has been in the news? And then there's the advertiser and the editorial policy, and the prophet and the big giver. Amos and the grain sellers of Gilgal. One may be by turn, if not by bread alone, and shall the advertiser who pays money to present his product be editorially chastised and his product shown up as phony? If Mr. Seagram sells Scotch shall Mr. Editor denounce him as the purveyor of poison? Or if Brother Finchpenny puts in the collection plate a dozen payment on his hope to have a Christian funeral one day, shall his impoverished pastor decline the slum rents that are the direct prosperity and the blood of poor? Are there not corporate pressures known and felt by us both in this pressure-controlled society?

The occasional letter to the editor is a gentle slap on the wrist as compared to the massive weight of organized professional groups, the vested interests in cities and states, the boodle-boys in veterans' organizations, the manipulators of real wealth, the growing military caste with its pentagon priorities and commitments. Their sheer numerical weight and their diffusion in society itself and the vigilante quality of much of their action—these are no less felt in the preacher's study than in the editor's office. It is not only unpleasant to be called bigot, or subversive or unpatriotic because a preacher, a senator, or a member of the D. A. R. doesn't like us, it is downright expensive.

Beyond such obstacles to the balanced mind and budget is the growing ignorance of our times.

We have become accustomed to living by gadgets. Now it seems we are to be educated by gadgets. The imp that was allowed to enter the house 30 years ago as a radio has now grown into a monster as a TV set. Each mendaciously claimed to be a medium for general public education; each has become—with rare deviation—a straight line for low amusement. Amusement, not entertainment: the words are important. Amuse means "divert"; entertain means "to hold to". And the ingenious mechanisms serve the former purpose, rather than the latter.

The tabloid that catches attention only to drop it is paralleled by the tent evangelist who titillates an emotional rally to leave it. It is no joke that the candidacy of the Atom Bum for the presidency, so long as it lasted despite Fearless Fosdick's patriotic intercession, was more avidly followed than was Stassen's—which may not last much longer. Within such conditions readers grow blasé and the funnies grow more numerous. Unless news is merely the past tense of noise, it attracts slight attention, and the editorial page increasingly becomes secretly behind which the neighborhood long hair hides his mirthless face for a few minutes a day.

These are not matters that can be settled by a newly created estate of peers of the crystal ball, or seers of the pending apocalypse. If we, as members of the First and Fourth Estates, are caught in the same spiritual and intellectual vacuity, our responsibilities toward it are not dissimilar.

APPLICATION TO BOTH

It was because Macaulay saw the need for the acceptance of social responsibility independent of the established peerages of religion and politics that he made his famous nomination. If we of the First and and Fourth Estate today find ourselves conjoined in a predicament instead of a peerage, what is our responsibility? Certainly it lies in the demands that the realities of life be confronted; that they be seen as clearly as the moral eye is able to, and reported as faithfully. The basis of a free press is the right to discover and report facts. The basis of a free church is the same. The system that denies this to cleric or newsman produces either blindness or distortion, and without one or the other—or both—tyranny is inevitable. This is the meaning of a free press and a free church in a free society.

But its meaning does not rest there. The reporting of the facts is conditioned by the reporter. He will be selective; he will not always see clearly or completely; and what he sees will not stand in isolation but as part of a plexus from which it derives its significance. I would like to see a newspaper try an experiment in selection. Print all the good news in the first half of the paper and the bad news in the rest. Label each section so that Pollyanna and Scrooge will not be depressed or amused beyond their capacity. Plus Tums, Alka-Seltzer, and Duz might make a difference in the community.

How this relates to the job of newsgathering and reporting is too complex a matter for discussion here, but it is pertinent to observe that the job, however complex, must be set within clearly understood perspectives and certain great criteria. Is it the public that establishes for us our perspective and criterion? What the public wants or needs? Each of these presents its difficulty. What public: the low brow, middlebrow, high brow? The morbid, the jaded, the uninterested, the empty mind? The fool, the gossip, the philosopher? What is the common denominator to which the news-story is beamed? I assure you that this is as surely the heart of the parson's preaching problem as it is your concern. Little wonder I ask of you a sympathizing tear!

What of criteria? Are we to tell the story and let it go? Does the relating of a fact without its meaning serve the ultimate usefulness? And what of the value of the fact? But who knows the meaning of a fact and who will assay its value? Truth, it is agreed, is the meaning and value of fact. Are newspapers to bother with truth? Is not that the philosopher's job? And does not the establishment of meaning and value to facts result in slanting our stories so that sooner or later we cease reporting and begin expounding? And yet, can we accept any criterion except truth?

EDUCATIONAL MEDIUM

We are an educational medium, we say, you and I. The essence of the educated mind is its capacity to see, interpret, relate, and synthesize facts. The more it knows, the more it knows it does not know. Better then stick close to the shores lest one founder in the great deeps. This is the counsel of intellectual and spiritual cowardice. If our criterion is one that results in

DR. E. McNEILL POTEAT

the development of adult minds and morally sensitive spirits, we shall repudiate any effort to limit the free-roving soul in its quest.

Beyond this we are the arbiters of taste, we say, you and I. The essence of the discriminating mind is its capacity to select these elements of experience that elevate and broaden and deepen one's intellectual and spiritual appetency. I must confess that the pulpit has been as remiss here as the press has been. I do not think that a daily rape story is necessary to instruct the mind in the facts of sexual violence and vulgarity. It does nothing to enliven the sense of human decency or to protest against such aberrant behavior. Perhaps once a month—or better, once a quarter—a summary of the rape record might supply the editor with a preachment that could be as social significance. Certainly the preacher who makes capital of sensation rarely improves the tastes or deepens the understanding of man's sinful nature though he may fill his tabernacle nightly with the emotionally hungry listeners.

Again: I am not unaware of the need for selling one's product. To this extent we are all economic determinists. Perhaps in the sophisticated city of Boston the Christian Science Monitor can make its way, chaste and solvent, but chastity runs greater economic risks elsewhere. And still we remember that Boston is the home of the Corrupt Curley as well as the succulent cod. The Chicago Tribune is an enormously successful enterprise — the common man's news sheet where everyone and his neighbor gets his name in the paper sixteen times a year! Where is the pay off: in urbanity or rusticity?

THE FIXED PERSPECTIVE

What I am saying is that the extent to which the Fourth Estate is to meet the social responsibilities Macaulay hoped it would, is determined by the perspective within which it sees its world and the criteria it sets for itself. It is too much to hope that the Christian Science Monitor and the Chicago Tribune will see eye to eye, but in such times of ignorance as these there might be an effort to agree within general limits as to what the press is going to do.

To which you properly say, and what about the pulpit? Well, there is less chance of Protestant and Roman Catholic perspectives and criteria being brought together than the Tribune and Monitor will merge. And yet within the large body of Protestantism, the ecumenical movement has furnished new perspectives and new criteria which represent the most vital fact in world Christianity today. This is not the First Estate talking down to the Fourth Estate. The magnitude of the ecumenical achievement is to be explained as realization of the churchmen of nearly all the evangelical communions, that if the spiritual illiteracy and hunger of a disintegrating and demoralized world are to be met by the energies of religion, a consensus — if not a unanimity — of perspective and criterion had to be reached and implemented. The condition of the world is no less apparent to the eye of the newshawk; is the need for an ecumenical news front as imperatively felt?

Back behind the need for selecting in terms of agreed upon perspectives, and interpretation and synthesis which convert a fact into truth, is the need for criticism. This, to be sure, is the result of having agreed upon criteria of importance, taste, and social significance. It cannot be too emphatically said that the primary responsibility of the newspaper is to be the critic of contemporary life. The reporter digs up the stuff of history in the stories he tells; the editor seeks to set them — in perspective — against a frame of social reference — political, economic, aesthetic, sporting or whatever. And while the newspaper can no more afford to be a daily scold than a scandal sheet, it must not abdicate its right to be the critic — in the proper sense of the word — of the contemporary scene.

This is a formidable assignment. No less formidable is the duty of the Church to be the moral conscience of the world. To be a wise critic demands both patience and discernment; to be a true conscience demands both sensitivity and balance. None of these qualities is easy to come by, and their exercise is never simple and rarely appreciated. But if the press refuses to be critic, and the church declines to be conscience, the mind of our culture will grow dull and the morality of our civilization flaccid.

Let me point this up by a reference to one of the hush-hush topics of our times. Politically it is the matter of civil liberties designed to abolish the palpable second class citizenship of minority groups; socially and economically it is the matter of segregation and discrimination because of color. The judgment of those who, less than ourselves accept the responsibility of social and political criticism, is unanimous and candid. The political scientist agrees that in a free society first and second class citizenship because of race is indefensible; the economist agrees that the low economic status of any group resulting from discrimination is improvident; the scientist (note the recent pronouncement on race by the anthropologists on the Commission or Human Rights of United Nations) says that the claim of inherent superiority by or for any racial group is insupportable; and the historian punctures the myth of white supremacy by reminding us that it is a status very recently won from the pigmented peoples and already very nearly lost to us.

AN ANOMALY

When we talk man-to-man we agree that segregation is anomalous to our democracy, and sooner or later must disappear, and that its formal proscription by our great Eastern adversary is both right and politically shrewd. We know that minorities will never consent to the social and political disabilities laid upon them because of race; but we shrink from challenging the mores that continue the prejudices of the insecure and fallsif, the honest wisdom of the informed. What is social criticism to say? What is the moral conscience to say? Shall the press say segregation is stupid and the church say it is immoral?

We may not choose to speak, but our silence will not solve this most urgent of problems. The social convulsions that rock the Union of South Africa and the political catastrophe that is predicted, should warn even the most reluctant that something must be done, and soon. The special committee of U. N. to consider apartheid (segregation) condemned it two weeks ago by a vote of 41 to 2. Some day the N. C. Press Ass'n will include the colored members of the Fourth Estate in its membership. What will the First Estate do?

I lay a great deal of importance on the fact that the press must act as the critic of culture. It occupies a unique position for the simple reason that most people believe what they read in the papers. This naive confidence in the infallibility of the daily paper is unearned and undeserved. It is one of those sweet perversities of the human spirit that experience does not seem to chasten. The parson and sexton are profound truth and be called a bigot or a liar; the editor ma, write nonsense and be thought an oracle. The magic of the printed word is fantastic.

SENSE OF HISTORY

Therefore the criticism of culture which the press must perform is begun with an immense advantage over the common mind. For this reason it must not be irresponsible or capricious, lest the comment and criticism be confused or misdirected. Here again we encounter the need for perspective which, at this point, may be called a sense of history. The daily paper cannot escape the subtle dilemma between transitoriness and continuity. The day dulls the sense of the week, as the week the sense of the month. "Let the hour be silent," said Emerson "that we may hear what the century says."

If I were running a newspaper I should put in the most conspicuous place in every room the admonition: "Remember History". If this did not, from pencil to press, save the enterprise from irresponsible reporting and capricious editorial writing, I should try more personal methods of ramming the consciousness of history into resistant or sleepy heads.

It follows I am convinced, that the awareness of history which is the basis on which all responsible criticism rests, comes only to those who see history in dimensions that stretch beyond time. History is the chronometer of time; but we must go even beyond its calibrated dial. This means we must see culture sub specie aeternitatis—under the aspect of eternity. No doubt to the reporter jotting down the nasty details of a predawn brawl in a historic eternity may wait. And eternity will wait with the passionless patience of the transcendent order beneath which we grovel and groan. But the undersides show in an alley or the bloody nose in a bar are not to be understood except as they are related to the total culture which spawns them and to the unclean spirit within which they will ultimately be judged.

SELF-CRITICISM

To be a critic of culture, however, demands more—that we be critics of ourselves. Self-criticism is a spiritual discipline denied those who claim infallibility. Of course infallibility that state of mind that sets itself apart from criticism — is meaningless. For to be infallible means to have the critical faculty of discerning one's own infallibility, and thus fall within the operation of criticism. But I am not thinking of such matters; my concern is more with the cultivation, in these times, of the capacity to examine our own spirits. To be the critic of culture is not to sit in Olympian calm contemplating the idiot race of man. Who of us can escape the idiot's taint?

Perhaps, were I running a paper, I would place under the exhortation to remember history another saying: "Remember thou too art man." It is not easy to confront this some what disquieting fact, and yet to stand as the critic of culture without self-criticism—which in the language of the First Estate is the realization of human fallibility and sin—criticism becomes pretentious, hypocritical and hollow. We have all seen the values and perils of a secular-humanist society raised to degrees far higher than the puny nth of our early algebra days. We now talk about plenary destruction with a casualness that is little short of morbid. How shall we who have the eye and the ear of reader and listener bring direction to this derelict world unless we examine ourselves to see if perchance we are not also adrift?

To do this requires boldness. One cannot justly accuse the pulpit and press of cowardice beyond that of others. The aggregate of the sheer courage of the human family is prodigious. Perhaps we have added our mite to its towering total. Nevertheless we are subject to the temptation to be silent when silence is the mark of fear, and not of restraint or poise. One may argue whether it takes more courage to be critical of self than to be critical of others. The former is a spiritual, the latter a social discipline. And in our times when braggarts and slanderers, in public office and in the market place; when subversives who call themselves patriots and fanatics hooded vigilantes who call themselves the share-cropper's conscience, shout most meaningly at the preacher and editor who dare to pray them, how bold can we be? Intellectual honesty is a sure courage; how sharp is our criticism of ourselves? It may be as venal to be silenced by a plea for tolerance as by the denunciations of the damned. If we lose our courage, who will speak out with boldness against those things that threaten our free society, whether they strut or crawl, whether they whisper or blaspheme?

FEAR AND CRITICISM

It is a sorry sight when the Church fears to act as conscience and the press fears to act as critic. When the free institutions of a free society are thwarted by those who do not believe in freedom—whether their authoritarian-ism be exercised or not—an ecclesiastical faith—conscience and critic-ism must not yield to fear of their truculence or their power. At the risk of over-simplifying the heart of the critical problem of our times, I incline to the idea that it is the jockeying for power of the two giant authorities that are present in every society: the power of the civil order (government) and the power of the religious order (church). They are not natural antagonists in a free society. It is only when they seek to trespass on each other or to deny to man the exercise of his own indefeasible freedom that they throw society into turmoil. How more clearly can be set forth the need for a courageous and unfettered press, and a sensitive and a conscience-burdened church? Here the First Estate and the Fourth Estate should stand together as allies against the massed menace of all that would enslave the spirit of man.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Administration Pressure Stymies Probe

WASHINGTON

ONE reason for the extra-tight secrecy during the House Judiciary Committee's debate on probing the Justice Department was that the personal doctor of President Truman, Maj. Gen. Wallace Graham, was involved.

Also, Attorney General Howard McGrath used just about every lobbying trick in the bag to prevent the probe, and certain Congressmen who want it known how abruptly they reversed themselves because of Administration pressure. Among these was Chairman Emmanuel Celler of New York, who had just notified the President that he was going to do what he did not do—investigate.

The dynamite regarding Truman's personal physician was tossed into the closed-door committee discussion by Congressman Kenneth Keating of New York, who told how General Graham had tried to keep the notorious Rumanian, Nicola Malaxa, in the U. S. A.

Keating has alleged that Malaxa has sent jewelry to Ana Pauker, Communist premier of Rumania, has collaborated both with the Nazis and the Communists, and has had so much drag with Moscow that he is the only Rumanian businessman able to get $2 million out of that country. A CIA report found in Judy Coplon's purse also showed that Malaxa made Field Marshal Goering's brother a partner in his business before the war.

Nevertheless, the Justice Department gave Malaxa a favorable report, putting him in a preferred position to become a permanent resident of the United States.

This recommendation, Congressman Keating told the Judiciary Committee, was based partly on an affidavit from Maj. Gen. Wallace Graham "building him up as a fine fellow."

"Apparently this man (Malaxa) reaches into high places," the New York Republican told his astonished colleagues. "I want to find out how high — and who his sponsors are besides Dr. Graham. I also want to find out who in the immigration service wrote that report clearing Malaxa."

Note—Once before, Dr. Graham faced Congressional charges, and admitted speculating on the commodity market. Unreproved, he was later promoted by the President from brigadier general to major general. On one occasion, Malaxa came all the way from New Jersey to Washington to get a physical checkup by General Graham.

Hot Wire-Pulling

ABOUT ten days before the hot debate inside the Judiciary Committee, Chairman Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, went down to the White House and warned the President that he was going to investigate the Justice Department.

He told Mr. Truman that he was under great pressure to make the probe and, as a matter of courtesy, wanted the White House to know he was proceeding. The President, however, urged him to hold off, even promised to remove Attorney General McGrath.

"I'm going to clean this thing up," the President said, and told Celler how he was appointing McGrath as Ambassador to Spain, replacing him with Judge Justin Miller. The President talked at some length about what an able man Miller is and how everything would be cleaned up, thus making Celler's investigation unnecessary.

Thereafter, powerful influences went to bat for the Attorney General, including his law partner, Senator Green of Rhode Island, and Cardinal Spellman of New York. Thereafter, also, the President reversed himself.

But, despite the fact that no change has been made in the Justice Department, Celler did exactly the opposite of what he told the White House. He pulled all sorts of wires to block a Justice Department probe by his Committee, even postponing the time for first vote for five days to give the Administration time to high-pressure all Democratic members.