

The McCarthy-Stevens Affair, Scene By Scene

By JOSEPH & STEWART ALSOP

A Dangerous Sacrifice Of Principle

"SOMETIMES," Leo Durocher once observed, "nice guys finish last." One of those times was last week. The "nice guys"—and that is the most charitable term that can be applied to them in connection with this episode—were Secretary of the Army Stevens and President Eisenhower.

Their defeat, by Sen. McCarthy, is doubly tragic, because by their failure to stand up for the Army in the Zwicker case they let down a lot of other "nice guys" in and out of the Army, and gave the unprincipled senator some more rope, not to hang himself with, but with which to tie the Republican Party and if possible the whole country to him.

STEVENS and the President erred because they apparently do not understand gutter politics and, when they seek political advice, the kind they get is almost as devoid of morality as are Sen. McCarthy's tactics. Clearly, the secretary had a duty to stand up for the hapless Zwicker, who had been grossly abused by the senator although the general had simply been carrying out orders. But the several senators Stevens lunched with convinced him that his public questioning by McCarthy would dramatize the split in the GOP, so to the extent of endorsing the secretary's attempt to retrieve a measure of honor for the executive branch, the Army and himself.

The primary reason for the administration's reluctance to tangle with McCarthy is starkly simple. It is felt that it will help the party substantially during the campaign. That may be correct. Hitler's unproved charges that the communists started the Reichstag fire helped in the March, 1933, elections too, that is, helped Hitler, as well as affording him a pretext to secure a decree suspending constitutional guarantees from President von Hindenburg. But this strategy won't help the U. S., or the Republican Party, unless it intends to become the McCarthy Party.

THE whole series of McCarthy attacks on the administration affords ample proof that the administration cannot get along with McCarthy except on its terms. Had he been at all interested in the solidarity of the party he would have let Secretary Stevens retrieve a modicum of self-respect. The secretary said, the day after signing the "memorandum of agreement," that he had received assurances that Army personnel would not be abused, and the senator promptly labeled Stevens' statement as "completely false."

If the administration and Congress play ball with McCarthy when he lies and distorts and attempts to usurp power, what will it do when he erases turn up a real, live Communist? Then, grasping for an emotional campaign issue to make the public forget about the untruthful "security risk" charges, will they not be forced to give him even greater power? The analogy between McCarthy today and Hitler 21 years ago is closer than it may seem to be at first glance. So, too, regrettably, is the analogy in this regard between Eisenhower and von Hindenburg.

WASHINGTON

AS AN awful object lesson the McCarthy-Stevens imbroglio is worth recounting in all its peculiar detail. Here are the inside facts, which divide themselves naturally into scenes of a drama.

SCENE I: After being told he is unfit to wear a uniform by Sen. McCarthy, Gen. Ralph Zwicker called his superior officer, Lt. Gen. Wilbur Buesse. "I don't have to take this stuff," says Zwicker in effect. "I quit." Gen. Buesse tells Gen. Zwicker to keep his shirt on; then telephones the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Matthew Ridgway, that Zwicker has threatened to resign his commission.

SCENE II: Gen. Ridgway calls a meeting of senior Army officers, who agree that McCarthy is endangering the morale of the Army. The generals then present their views to Secretary of the Army Stevens. Stevens immediately agrees that it is his duty to protect the men in uniform. He thereupon issues his celebrated defiance of Sen. McCarthy.

SCENE III: The White House, President Eisenhower's vacation

headquarters at Palm Springs, the office of the secretary of defense and the rest of official Washington, learn of Stevens' action from the press ticklers, for he has consulted no one. Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerly announces that Eisenhower is standing aloof. It is arranged that Stevens and McCarthy are to confront each other at a public hearing. These developments throw the two great administrative factors, the appeasers of McCarthy and those who would stand firm, into frenzies of activity.

SCENE IV: The appeasers, who include the President's congressional liaison officer, Wilton D. Parsons, the attorney general's assistant for political intrigue, William Rogers, and one or two more, first seek to defer the date of the McCarthy-Stevens confrontation. This is accomplished Monday. Their next purpose is to bring Stevens together with McCarthy and Senators Mundt and Dirksen. This is accomplished Tuesday afternoon, when Stevens agrees to lunch with the Senators on Wednesday. The Vice President is informed of this.

SCENE V: The White House

group that favors standing firm places the whole situation before the President on his return from Palm Springs. They do not tell him of the coming luncheon at the Capitol, because they do not know about it. They believe that all is in good train, and so does Eisenhower. He asks them to send a message to Stevens, assuring the secretary of the Army of all-out presidential backing.

SCENE VI: McCarthy and friends pass the word at the Capitol Wednesday that Stevens is coming to luncheon, for they wanted the maximum audience for the triumph they already anticipated. Meanwhile, poor Stevens, who has been pledged to secrecy, says nothing of his engagement to his associates at the Pentagon. He spends most of the morning discussing strategy for the public confrontation with McCarthy, now scheduled for the next day. He is bold and confident. He leaves saying only that he has a luncheon date. Just after he departs—too late, too late—comes the message from the White House promising full presidential backing.

SCENE VII: Over the luncheon table, three of the toughest customers on Capitol Hill hold poor

Stevens' feet to the fire for two long hours. McCarthy thrice threatens to leave the room and split the Republican Party wide open there and then battered and bewildered, Stevens at last approves the so-called "Memorandum of Understanding." This he eddily regards as a simple, neutral document although it concedes every point McCarthy wants.

SCENE VIII: After the first grand announcement, McCarthy informs his favored journalistic supporters that Stevens could not have surrendered more completely. "If he had gone down on his knees," he is noted, by the busy activities of the appeasers on his own staff.

SCENE IX: On the Hill, a desperate effort is made to persuade McCarthy to agree to a statement saving Stevens' face, which McCarthy of course resists. At the White House, meanwhile, a Stevens statement is drawn up and issued, saying that the President had meant to have said all the things that were said by the press by making the President's position reasonably clear. But the worst of the damage is irreparable.

'We've Got To Avoid A Split With Him'



People's Platform

Letters should be brief. The writer's name and address must be given, but may be withheld from publication in the discretion of the Editor. The News reserves the right to condense.

Has Good Supply Of Red Sasparfas Bark

Editors, The News:

I noticed in an editorial where you used to be fond of sasparfas. (Editors' Note: Still are.) I have a good supply of red sasparfas bark with me here in Charlotte.

—RALPH CONNELLY

Organized Protests Aid Hughes' Movies

Editors, The News:

PICKETING of a local showing of the Howard Hughes production, "French Line," by St. Patrick's Chapter of the National Legion of Decency is a token expression of condemnation, doubtless actuated by sincere and conscientious motives. Nevertheless, it does not lessen the fact that it is precisely this sort of organized protest that

by special arrangement a print of the "French Line" film is shown in places unattended by state restrictions. Groups like the Legion of Decency are induced to attend the "premieres." The name Howard Hughes, being almost synonymous with sensationalism, is sufficient to bring them flocking.

The sectarian censorship bodies,

being unskilled in critical analysis and decidedly unacquainted with the intricate business of promotion schemes, take the bait, account the "shock" scenes and, immediately register indignation and condemnation. The picture is now professionally dubbed "hot," and subsequently off to a fast start in nationwide publicity, and extra shekels that would not otherwise be realized.

Meanwhile, the original is re-edited, the "planted" objectionable scenes cut, and submitted for official review and seal of approval. Sectarian protest subsides and pickets retire believing that they were directly responsible for the purge. Hughes smiles: as his production attains colossal success, heralded as "Washed Censored," etc.

—A. W. BLACK

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

HARRASSED, indefatigable John Foster Dulles may be jumping from the frying pan into the fire today as he transfers his diplomatic talents from Berlin to Caracas.

Not since the sixth Pan American Conference in 1923 when the United States faced a buzz saw of protest over the landing of Marines in Nicaragua and the building of Mexico regarding oil has a U. S. delegation faced such an unfriendly atmosphere.

Part of this is the general feeling in Latin America that we just aren't interested in the Good Neighbor Policy any more.

At the Havana Conference of 1923, for instance, the top American envoys were President Calvin Coolidge, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg and Charles Evans Hughes—the three top Republicans in the nation.

That was the last time a Republican administration participated in a Pan American conference. This time, in contrast, the new Republican administration

is sending as delegates to Caracas: 1. John Foster Dulles, thoroughly up to date on European problems but with no chance in Berlin to prepare for Caracas.

2. John Cabot, who has just been fired as assistant secretary of state for Latin American Affairs. He will go to Caracas as our ambassador to Sweden instead. While Cabot has a lot of personal friends among the Latin Americans, unfortunately he will have the prestige of a has-been.

At the last minute, the State Department has also summoned from Athens Tom Mann, U. S. minister-counselor to Greece, to be an emergency member of the American delegation to Caracas.

The Old Fox, Adenauer, Is Linchpin Of The EDC

By MARQUIS CHILDS

IT REMAINED for 78-year-old Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the West German Republic to retrieve from the rather bleak prospect, following the failure of the Berlin conference to agree on any of the major points at issue, the few positive personal triumphs.

Adenauer came to Berlin to make a speech of great forcefulness and vigor that stirred an audience of several thousand West Berliners to wild applause. He called for the reunification of Germany in terms deeply appealing to the ordinary German, whose intense nationalism is beginning to boil again after the defeat of 1945 with its consequences.

But he called for this reunification within the framework of the European community. Speaking with an emphasis as strong as he has ever used, the chancellor insisted that only in such a framework could a resurgent Germany expect to find peace and freedom.

Only five minutes from the Soviet boundary line in Berlin, Adenauer denuded the security plan for Europe proposed by Molotov at the conference. He put the Russian position as bluntly as it has been stated. It was, said the chancellor, the status quo for now, and then later if the Soviet Union had its way all of Europe would be Sovietized.

DOESN'T SOUND OLD For this reporter, long accustomed to listening to political speeches, it was a remarkable performance. The old gentleman spoke for one hour and five minutes without once faltering. The full, firm tone of his voice might have come from a man 20 years younger.

He waited for the applause and the prolonged stamping of feet that greeted his main point to end but the stern expression on his face never once changed. He was a man sternly doing his duty with an elemental righteousness at the bottom of it. When he said that the three western foreign ministers had negotiated for the future of Western Germany as well as done, he meant it as a tribute.

Of all the venerable men who occupy key positions in the world of international politics, few are more respected than Konrad Adenauer.

He is believed to have spoken with the advice of the French. The view is not unreasonable that EDC will wait the outcome of the next conference. That is, of course, an invitation to the Russians to stall. And further postponement at the time Congress is considering the mutual military aid bill will not sweeten the dispositions of those Republicans already restive with the Eisenhower foreign policy.

at present Adenauer is an extraordinary example of the triumph over age. He had flown the morning of the speech from his capital in Bonn. In West Berlin he conferred with the Berlin City Senate and with economic and financial advisers to Mayor Walter Scheiwe on how to cut unemployment below the 200,000 mark.

After the speech he met briefly with the German and foreign press and then went on to dinner in his honor being given by the city. He showed no signs of stress or tension as he went through the pages of a schedule that would have floored most younger men.

Germany in another recent crisis had a venerable figure only a little older than Adenauer at the helm. His name was Von Hindenburg and he was president of the republic. He was a general and a national hero and, knowing nothing about politics, he helped prepare the way for Hitler to take power in 1933.

Age is about the only thing that Von Hindenburg had in common with Adenauer. The chancellor is known as "The Old Fox." And while he has able advisers around him, he is credited with shaping and directing the policy under which the Adenauer government has become indispensable to the foreign policy of the United States in endeavoring to carry out its Western European.

U. S. NEEDS HIM It has come to a point at which we need the Old Fox almost as much as we need the new.

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Quote, Unquote It would be good to keep a "secret diary" for years and not find a publisher—Memphis Press-Schmitt.

A story says that poultry farmers are increasing their baby chick sales. Their baby WHAT?—Kingsport (Tenn.) Times-News.

Objection is made to the appointment of James Guilmartin as U. S. attorney for South Florida that he comes from New York and has no "Cracker accent." So how could he ever get a jury verdict?—Fort Myers (Fla.) News-Press.

County Officials Not Paid Enough

WHEN the County Commissioners authorized the employment of a pediatric consultant for the County Health Dept. at \$10,120 a year, and a dentist at \$7,920 a year, they went beyond the traditional level of county government salaries. And the decision raises the obvious question: Are other county salaries too low?

Let's look at a few of them:

Elective Officials
County Chairman \$7,500
Sheriff 6,500
Register of Deeds 6,600
Clerk of Court 6,000
County Treasurer 5,500

With the exception of the County Chairman, who is up for re-election every two years, these officials hold four-year terms.

Appointive Officials
Tax Supervisor \$6,500
Collector of Revenue 5,500
Auditor and Clerk 5,400
Welfare Dept. Supt. 7,164
County Attorney 5,100
County Recorder 5,700
Juvenile, Dom. Rel. Judge 7,500

The list is not complete, but it is enough to show that the proposed salary for a pediatric consultant is substantially above the highest county salary—Clerk of Court J. Lester Wolfe's \$8,000 a year. And the proposed salary for a dentist is higher than any other save that of Mr. Wolfe.

That is not to say that the two medical men, if Dr. M. B. Bethel can find them at those salaries, will be overpaid. Medi-

cine is a highly specialized field, and private practice is generally lucrative. Hence government, if it is to obtain the services of medical specialists, must bid in the open market.

But it is not quite fair, we submit, that a dentist or a pediatric consultant should be paid more than the county chairman, who is responsible to the taxpayers for managing their seven million dollar a year county business and who, moreover, holds office subject to the vagaries of politics. And the county chairman is not the only official who is underpaid today.

At the last session of the General Assembly, the Mecklenburg members of the House of Representatives voted to include Mecklenburg in the statewide Regan "home rule" bill, which would have authorized county commissioners to fix salaries of local county officials now prescribed by the General Assembly. Sen. Fred H. McIntyre had Mecklenburg exempted from the bill in the Senate, and in the resulting conference committee, the House members deferred to Mr. McIntyre in order to prevent the blocking of the whole measure.

The responsibility, then, for adjusting the major county salaries will rest upon the delegation elected to serve Mecklenburg in the 1955 General Assembly. We suggest that the time has come to review many of them upward in line with the responsibilities of office in this fast-growing county, and with competitive salaries in private enterprise.

Off-Street Parking Proposal—Again

PROVISION of adequate parking facilities is one of the major components of an orderly traffic procedure in Charlotte. Most cities have learned that the way to keep the parking problem in hand is to require future builders to provide enough parking units to accommodate their clients. Such a proposal was made in Charlotte over two years ago, by the Charlotte Parking Authority. City Planning Engineer James E. Ritch last year drew up a comprehensive zoning ordinance amendment which would get this sensible program under way.

The adoption of this program is long overdue. The interest expressed in it by the City Council last week does not mean the city fathers will initiate it, but at least Charlotteans can once more hope

that the city officials will realize the urgency of the project and get going.

We hope that individuals inclined to oppose the off-street parking program, because it may mean a bigger outlay for them in new construction, will take a long, hard look at the problem. Residents of cities more advanced, parking-wise, than Charlotte have found that this extra investment is rapidly amortized and adds increasing value to the property. It is being realized that provision of parking facilities is as necessary a service to customers as are rest rooms, escalators and elevators. The private parking operators ought to support the off-street parking program, for it is the only thing that will obviate the necessity of municipal parking in Charlotte and its environs.

From The Lancaster (S.C.) News

LET'S SKIP THE 'CREDITS'

THE LONG and tiresome "credits" that follow television shows serve no purpose that we can see except to bore the viewer. Who in Lancaster gives a whoop about who was responsible for creating the stage sets or designing the costumes for last night's "Whodunit?" Suppose newspapermen named the individuals who had a part in the production of an issue of the paper. A typical issue of THE LANCASTER NEWS would carry something like this:

Produced by the Tri-County Publishing Company.
Directed by Hugh White.
Stories written by Z. Bright Tucker

and Miss Ruth Patrick.
Proofs reads by Mrs. Helene Smith.
Pictures by Layvo Studio.
Type set by R. A. Calder and Charlie Fouts.
Ludlow operated by Lloyd Belk.
Pages made up by Jim Barton and C. W. McDermott.

Stereotyping by Bob Barton.
Press run by Bill Hogue.
Metal re-melted and building swept by Andrew Harris.

All mechanical work under the supervision of John Barton.
And on and on.
Pretty silly, isn't it?

Good Neighbor Policy Threatened

WASHINGTON

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