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Dark Shapes In The Silvery Lining

WHEN the late Will Rogers visited Russia more than 20 years ago, he wrote an open letter to the President.

"You better do something about aviation," he quipped. "They're doing it here. The next war you don't want to look out; you want to look up! When you look up and see a cloud during the next war to end wars, don't be starting to admire its silvery lining till you find out how many planes are hiding behind it."

They are still doing something about aviation in Russia. Authoritative reports seeping out of the Soviet hinterlands contain dark and foreboding references to bigger bombers, faster jets and successful experimentation in a relatively new field of aerial warfare—intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is in this new field that the greatest danger lies.

Is America keeping pace with the USSR in missile development? The answer lies somewhere in a jumble of conflicting statements issued by the President, the Pentagon, and the politicians.

It is time to get to the bottom of the matter. The issue can be ignored no longer; nor can it be completely concealed beneath claims of military security.

On one hand we have the statement of Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.), ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee: "Added to this increasing (Strategic Air Command) strength each month is our growing stockpile of intercontinental ballistic missiles which represents the most modern and devastating weapon of war in existence today."

On the other hand we have the unidentified Air Force official who said the only ICBM stockpile he knew of must be right in the senator's office.

On one hand there is the President's assurance that everything possible is being done to research and develop a U. S. missile program "so far as my experts and my people in the Defense Department tell me."

On the other hand there is the resignation of Trevor Gardner as assistant secretary of the Air Force because, he said, the missile program was being neglected.

In Raleigh last Saturday, Sen. Symington (D-Mo) charged that this country "has no stockpile of intercontinental ballistic missiles whatever."

Bolstering this view is Robert B. Hotz, editor of AVIATION WEEK:

> Everyone who has even the slightest connection with the program knows that the United States has no stockpile of intercontinental ballistic missiles; that it has none in operational service; that the first ICBM development program (Convair) is still in the prototype construction stage and the second ICBM program (Martin) was just begun a few months ago.

Yet the existence of a Soviet 900-mile ballistic missile was accepted as fact in Washington more than four months ago.

A Senate subcommittee, headed by Sen. Symington, is now preparing to look into "the condition and progress" of the Air Force "to ascertain if present policies, legislative authority and appropriations are adequate to maintain a force capable of carrying out its assigned missions." It owes it to the public's peace of mind to give close scrutiny to the missile program.

We have been told in the past by administration budgeteers that by cutting the Air Force we can get "more defense." This sort of merchandising-in-depth may be good politics but does not necessarily insure comforting protection in an age of peril.

World Affairs: As You Like 'Em

HOW WILL you have your world situation today, sunny-side up or hard fried? You can have it either way from Mr. John Foster Dulles, but with no warranty against indigestion.

The secretary of state simply has not been talking sense about foreign affairs. A month ago he was calling on the nation to "wake up" to the danger of new-style Soviet economic and diplomatic penetration in the Middle and Far East. The embers of war were blinking along the Arab-Israel frontiers, and Russia was pouring in arms for the Arabs.

Last week, the embers almost flaring, Mr. Dulles told the Senate the Soviet Communists' denunciation of Stalinism was proof that the Russians "have failed." Then he went up to Philadelphia and offered a "medium done" situation, repeating the failure line but recognizing a continuing Soviet threat and plumping for long-term guarantees on U. S. aid.

Mr. Dulles' optimism before the Senate was an obvious case of fitting an event to convenient opinions. He needed to soothe a worried Senate about U. S. policy. He pounced on the ideological antics of the Soviets as an admission of failure of Russia's imperialist policy.

In fairness to Mr. Dulles, one must say that he knows better. Instead of admitting failure, the Soviets obviously were refining the very un-Stalinist tactics that have led them to new popularity and critical influence in the Arab world, India, Afghanistan and Burma.

In a very large sense Joseph Stalin was a real contributor to the defense against communism. By naked aggression and sullen conduct he proved the fears of the free world. It is easier to arm in fear.

By rejecting his tactics the Soviets were not saying he was morally wrong. They were saying he was stupid to think he could seize the world, when it is so much more practical to undermine it.

It is Mr. Dulles' responsibility to attune U. S. policy to the world situation. He is best equipped to know what changes are required. If long-term economic guarantees are all we need, he ought to start fighting for those guarantees instead of shying from opposition rumbles in Congress. If U. S. policy is near the perfection he intimates, he ought to take that position and try to make a reasonable case for it.

But it is dangerous and misleading to tell the people a Russian "failure," which all evidence indicates is a success, has proved U. S. policy complete and effective.

Mr. Dulles makes much of Soviet "imitation" of U. S. economic aid measures, but it is hard to forget that the planes over Pearl Harbor were produced out of an imitation—of Western industrial methods—that began with the Open Door policy.

The Long Strings Of Political Obligation

MORE support than the ghost of Teddy Roosevelt can provide will be required to pass Sen. Neuberger's proposal to finance political campaigns with tax money.

"It's Teddy's bill," the senator likes to say by way of endorsement. But Teddy did nothing with the idea after hatching it in 1907, and he's not around to push it now.

Aged as it is the idea has an almost shocking "new-fangledness" about it. When it comes to regulation of campaign spending, Congress is notably not interested in innovations. It has been getting along for years with so-called "spending limit" laws that are magnificently unworkable, permitting all kinds of fudging and connivance considered essential to financing high pressure campaigns.

And, in fact, the Congress' plea of self preservation does explain in part its attachment to weak spending laws. The costs of campaigning, even in the one-party states, are tremendous. Primaries double the money demands.

A candidate for high state for federal office can't get the kind of money it takes for advertising and organization from the "pennies and dimes" for which folksy appeals are made. He must have dollars in quantity not allowed by spending laws, and he gets it through loopholes in the law.

The rule in politics is to spend as much as it takes to win. That much is considerable. Reports of 1954 congressional campaign spending totaled $13½ million, probably about half of what was actually spent.

That kind of money has to come from "them's that got it," and the big contributor frequently wants something in return. The sly offers of oil lobbyist John Neff to at least three U. S. senators during the natural gas debate illustrates that point.

"Wouldn't You Rather Have Broader Support?"

There is a patent, long-standing need for better regulation of campaign spending. A way must be found to enable public officials to escape the snares of financial obligation and thereby to protect the public.

The Neuberger plan to limit party spending to amounts appropriated by Congress might work, if adopted. It has, at least, more promise than various other plans to raise the spending ceilings that aren't observed in the first place.

The basic need, whatever plan is adopted, is a way to get campaign gifts of appreciable size—such as the $2,500 offered to Sen. Case and described by its donor as not unusually large—out into the open where the voter may know where and in what amount the candidate is getting his money.

Dulles Diplomacy: The Blind Staggers Won't Go Away

By THE ALSOPS

WASHINGTON

IN HIS appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has now elevated the practice of Couéism to the status of a major technique of American foreign policy.

For those whose memories do not go back so far, Dr. Coue was an amiable, bearded pseudo-physician who brought a new panacea out of France in the 1920s. By taking thought, said Coue, you could cure yourself of anything from a hernia to the blind staggers. All you had to do was to repeat often enough, with enough loud conviction, that "every day, in every way, everything is getting better and better."

RESURRECTION

The fad caught on for a while; but after a bit it was observed that the blind staggerers went on staggering and the hernia sufferers could not do without their trusses. Now, however, the Coue cure-all has been resurrected from obscurity, with the august endorsement of the Secretary of State of the United States.

What Secretary Dulles told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in brief, was that the soviet Union was now losing the cold war. "One thing is certain," he declared with exalted conviction. "The unity of the free world has caused the Soviet policy to fail, and right today they are trying to figure out a better one. . .

SECRETARY DULLES
A Fad Recalled

At this moment in Moscow, they are having to revise their whole program. If we in this country had to admit that, we would be advertised all over the world as having failed. They have failed."

UNSUPPORTED

These statements are truly remarkable, for several rather simple reasons. They are wholly unsupported by a shred of intelligence data. They are not believed by any of Secretary Dulles' own ambassadors. They are not believed, either, by any member of the higher staff of the State Department, with the possible exception of one or two courtiers who have a knack of believing what is currently expedient. And they are not believed, finally, by any leader among our major allies.

Except for John Foster Dulles, expert opinion unanimously attributes the important changes in the Kremlin's policy line to a new self-confidence, derived from the great improvements in Soviet military posture and gains in heavy industry which Dulles himself mentioned to the senators.

MINORITY OF ONE

Before he became a minority of one, even Secretary Dulles used to hold this same view. In earlier briefings of the press, Dulles himself has frankly stated that the Kremlin's abandonment of the rigid and brutal Stalinist line in favor of a more flexible and less doctrinaire policy had greatly increased the dangers and risks of the free world. It would be interesting, then, to know what has changed the secretary's mind.

Certainly the hard facts of the world situation do not offer any support to the new Dulles view that "every day, in every way, everything is getting better and better."

Throughout almost all of Asia, the Communists are making such rapid and disturbing progress that two warm Eisenhower-supporters and extremely acute observers, John Cowles and Paul Hoffman, have just returned from Asian journeys to raise the alarm in this country.

PAUL HOFFMAN
Rising Alarms

BAD ODDS

In the Middle East, the outlook is so dark that leading members of Secretary Dulles' own staff have been quoting the odds on an Arab-Israeli war as about fifty-fifty either way. Even if the war danger is surmounted this year, moreover, it is universally admitted that the new Communist political offensive in the Middle East has already scored brilliant successes. It is also becoming clear that Communist infiltration in certain of the Arab states is now very far advanced.

Even in the citadel of the Western alliance, in Western Europe, the situation shows signs of grave deterioration. France is in chaos, and will hardly emerge from chaos without the loss of the position in North Africa that makes France a major power. Britain, too, is in the midst of an acute economic crisis. Moreover, Far Eastern and Middle Eastern revenues are all that balance Britain's books, and thus the Communist pressure in those areas now threatens Britain with irretrievable bankruptcy of a sort that would destroy Britain's great power standing.

FRAIL MAN

Even in West Germany, American policy rests solely on the frail foundation of a wonderfully brave but very old and very ill man, Chancellor Adenauer. The future German army is not shaping well. And almost every American observer on the spot agrees that if anything happens to Adenauer, Germany will move rather rapidly toward a neutralist position, probably leaving NATO to buy German re-unification.

Altogether, it is not a pretty picture. But perhaps the Coue method really will work in foreign policy, although it was a dud in medicine.

'Now Is Everything Perfectly Clear?'

The Catastrophe Of A Picnic Race

By ROBERT C. RUARK

BINDA, Australia

IN MY time I have explored several brands of horse sport, including quarterhorse races in Texas, Indian pony races and the usual brand of international betting races. But I never ran onto picnic races before.

STRENUOUS

I believe that the Australian picnic race is as strenuous a sport as I ever encountered. A picnic race is not so much an event as a kind of weekly catastrophe at this time of the year.

The preliminary to the picnic was a cozy, little blacktie dinner for about a hundred folk at a property roughly the size of Rhode Island. Feeling pretty feeble from this one, which I attributed to virus gordoni or gin-poisoning, we progressed to a charming race course at a place called Funny Hill.

LOAD OF GROG

Each picnicker has the back of his car full of food and grog. There is an intermission for eating, but it is expected that each man must do his duty, which means a social sip with everybody there. I expect there were about 200 people there, 100 of whom I had seen the night before and who looked no better than I did.

An Australian cooped up is frightening enough as a host, but give him room to move, open air to make him thirsty and dust on his tonsils and he is a mighty man, indeed. I am not an Aussie and I am not a mighty man, especially in competition with about a hundred of the billybong boys.

DISHONEST

The horses ran and the imported bookmakers shouted their prices and the rains came and went. My hottest tip ran backwards from the starting post. The gentlemen jockeys looked as dishonest as any jockeys I ever met and the geuly-bred horses looked as dishonest as the average run of horse, which is very shifty indeed.

I have encountered various brands of hospitality and I would say that I rank Australia over Texas and Kenya over Texas insofar as mankilling is concerned. And I rank Texas very high in suicidal friendship.

So it came to pass that I did not attend the celebratory ball, at which everybody wears a white tie and gloves and long ball gowns. We weaved-drove, that is —back to Master Williams' baronial halls and dropped slightly dead. What happened at the ball I can't say, but I bet it was violent.

I imagine that the life of the Aussie stockman is much the same as we enjoyed in the South in the old Scarlet O'Hara plantation days. There is the same pattern of hard work combined with opulence and itterdependence on each other's society.

A BALL

The same man who is cracking a stockwhip, drenching a sheep or vetting a horse in the morning might well be playing polo in the afternoon and turning up for dinner in a tailcoat. People drive vast distances to visit each other and a ball, when properly thrown, is really a ball.

It's a lonely life but a lively life, and as long as people keep wearing clothes the grazier will still be able to afford his picnic races. But I reckon that one picnic race is a lifetime for an effete foreigner is enough.

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 editors. The News reserves the right to condense.

Economy, Peace Demand Ike Run

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

THE world is anxiously waiting to hear the President's decision — if he is going to run again. I believe the whole world has been praying for his recovery. He has been a wonderful and a constructive and great President.

We all hope and trust that his Georgia vacation has helped him to recover and have his normal health back. If he doesn't run again, the world will be in a disastrous condition and may be in the grip of another depression.

So it is very important, also necessary for the President to run again to keep this world out of wars, as we all want tranquility, peace on earth and good will to men.

It is, of course, my most sincere wish and prayer offered for his satisfactory recovery, and I hope and trust that he will decide to run again and will enjoy normal health throughout his term of four years.

May God bestow blessings upon him.

—MRS. KATIE D. JENKINSON

Alabama Negroes Walk Toward Justice

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

THE most inspirational event since the Supreme Court decision is the city-wide "pilgrimage" of the Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., who are walking to and from work in their protest against injustice. From the bottom of my heart I admire their stand. Others with whom I have discussed the issue feel the same way and have likened it to Gandhi's passive resistance. However, trudging home after a long hard day's work can hardly be called "passive." They are taking active steps in the most literal sense toward a better life and will, I believe, set an example for Negroes everywhere.

Prior to this news in your paper was a most un-inspirational story about a Charlotte judge who told an Indian involved in an offense that that was "what happened to you when you ran around with Negroes." Right in the middle of stories about Brotherhood Week! I have been looking for a correction of this statement, thinking that surely the judge had been misquoted, but none has appeared. Why didn't the judge say, "the wrong kind of people" or even "the wrong kind of Negroes?" It's true that, because of the nature of his work, the judge himself comes in contact with the wrong kind of people, both white and Negro. However, I feel that with the respect he has commanded from both races in the past, he must have wisdom to know how many fine citizens exist in Charlotte who will never appear before him and that he could not have meant the statement the way it sounded in print.

There are too few voices in the South to protest injustice . . . too few voices of southern whites. I would like to thank Carl Van Rennen for raising his in such an eloquent manner in the Feb. 17 issue. His letter was one of the finest I have ever read on the subject. I am a southerner — a native of Mississippi — who was brought up singing "Dixie" with enthusiasm. However, I was also trained to solemnly and sincerely pledge allegiance to the American flag "with liberty and justice for all" and, even more important, to practice personal Christianity by trying to "do unto others as I would have them do unto me." A happy day will come when the southern way of life, American democracy and Christianity all agree.

—ERLEEN MARQUARDT

'The Sensible People Get Along Just Fine'

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

I READ, I listen, I observe. I think there will be trouble, bad trouble.

One man writes colored people are already superior. Only God knows who is superior. Little girl writes, gets her name in paper. A boy with handkerchief over his face gets his picture in the paper.

A man wants his boys to go to a white school to get the best education. If boys have brains enough to get a good education in a white school they can do just as well in a colored school.

If colored people want better schools they can help to make them better. Colored people make good money.

God made man equal in soul. Some he gave ten talents; some he gave just one. Sometimes the black man gets the ten talents, sometimes the white man. Color has nothing to do with it.

God made some black, some white. He didn't mean for them to mix or He would have just made yellow to begin with. God made us different colors. He made us different ways. The sensible people get along just fine. The bigots make trouble trying to be superior.

God made this good earth for everybody to live on peaceably. There is plenty of room for everybody. When we all get to be equal everybody knows it. They don't have to go around bragging about who is superior.

May God bless us all and give us sense.

—MARY MOORE

Quote, Unquote

Nothing so needs reforming as other people's habits. — Mark Twain.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON

Attorney General Brownell is moving vigorously against an underworld figure regarding whom the Democrats for a long time pulled their punches — Frankie Costello.

Term Recalled

On July 21, 1947, almost nine years ago, this column pointed out: "It's not generally known, but the kingpin of American gamblers, Frankie Costello, could be deported from the United States if anyone really wanted to get tough about it."

The column then proceeded to point out that "Costello did not tell the government, when he took the oath as a citizen, that he had previously served a term in jail for carrying a concealed weapon.

"Even more important, a new citizen of the United States takes an oath to uphold the laws and constitution of the United States. Yet at the very time Costello was taking his solemn oath as an American citizen (1925) — he was engaged in the largest scale violation of the Volstead Act and the 18th Amendment in the history of prohibition."

Following publication, I personally talked to various members of the Justice Department urging action against Costello, but it was not until Sen. Kefauver had focused the spotlight on him that Attorney General James McGranery finally moved.

Bright Man

Brownell is now moving with considerable vigor, and Alfred O'Hara, one of his bright young men, assistant U. S. attorney in New York, will go to trial against Costello some time in April on three counts, two of which were outlined in this column.

They are: 1, Failing to give his record of arrests; 2, Listing of an erroneous occupation when filing for citizenship; 3, Failure to be loyal to the laws and constitution of the United States.

Justice Moving To Deport Costello

Merry-Go-Round

Estes Kefauver's female supporters are deserting him. Fay Porter, of California, once a strong Kefauver gal, now tells him: "I love you, Estes, but I am for Adlai." Liz Snyder of California says the same . . . Secretary of Defense Wilson was talking about the trouble he had bringing some new India cattle into this country. "They've got foot-in-mouth disease," he said. This was too much for Kay Halle, the Cleveland commentator. Noticing her giggles, Wilson good-naturedly observed: "I know why you down the table there are laughing."

Capital politicos claim there was something Freudian about Vice President Nixon's selection of his favorite poem—Walt Whitman's "Captain, My Captain." It was written following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln . . . Dick Nixon may have been trying to get back at his old critic, Chief Justice Earl Warren, when he paid tribute to the anti-segregation decision of "a great Republican chief justice." The remark certainly was not calculated to help Warren below the Mason-Dixon line. However, it has boomeranged and hurt Dick on both sides of the line.

Negroes, incidentally, recall that Nixon lives in one of the restricted parts of Washington and signed a restricted covenant agreeing not to sell his house to Negroes, Semites, Armenians, Persians, or Syriens . . . When Sen. Eastman of Mississippi is asked whether he will withdraw his two daughters and son from the Sidwell Friends School as a result of their admitting Negro children, his only reply is: "No comment."