



THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

Brodie S. Griffith Editor and General Manager
Cecil Prince Associate Editor
R. L. Young Jr. Managing Editor

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1959

Editorial Book Review

History With A Touch Of Mythology

THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By William Appleman Williams. World, 219 pp. \$4.75.

In 1947, somewhere in the Midwest, a senator reached this crescendo in his speech:

"We are going to lift Shanghai up and over, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City."

Cut off by his history from ancient taboos about pride, we Americans find little in this self-adornment to laugh about and still less to fear. It is amusing only to the random American who takes his Americans with a dash of irony.

We have been a nation of wilderness-busters, Indian-fighters, scourges of French or English or Spanish colonialists who would have controlled us. We have been a nation of "Manifest Destiny."

If we see that Dr. Williams argues in this brilliant book, why can't we see how it has led us to our present impasse with the Communists? The road to that impasse has led by way of America's Manifest Destiny from the work of heating back a new world wilderness to the "wilderness" across the seas.

The "tragedy" of American diplomacy lies in the frustration of our ideals of conquest and their following failure. We have not raised Shanghai "up and over." And the relatively minor failure with Shanghai is dwarfed by our water failure to convince the U.S.S.R. and Red China to join the uplift club.

With any work whose thesis is so involved and daring as that of Dr. Williams, the reviewer incurs a danger of over-simplification the minute he puts his hand to it. "The Tragedy of American Diplomacy" is a delicate blend of the relatively prosaic touch of history with the airy touch of a psychologist of culture and a myth-examiner.

Dr. Williams also assumes with great success the role of seer. Like the aged prophet Tiresias in Sophoclean tragedy, of which he is clearly a student, he takes the reluctant part of truth-teller. America is his Oedipus. We cannot see where our tragedy lies and what sin of pride has led us to a fateful hour.

Our tragedy, as Dr. Williams tells us sorrowfully, but not without the redeeming promise of hope, has its basis in our belief that American Manifest Destiny possesses world-wide validity. Woodrow Wilson, who embodied the fundamental national pride perhaps more than any American, believed that every country should have "self-determination" and that America should "help." Yet it was Wilson, typically, who initiated an unsuccessful intervention against the Bolsheviks in Russia, the one hard case Dr. Williams writes, "our national ideal" defined helping people in terms of making them more like Americans. This subverted its ideal of self-determination. On the other hand, it stirred and acted upon the necessity of overseas economic expansion for its own material prosperity. But... (thereby) the ability of other peoples to develop and act upon their own patterns of development was further undercut.

Anyone who questions the validity of placing America's current sense of frustration in international affairs in the traditional framework of tragedy need only recall Aristotle. Tragedy was not the doom of an evil or immoral hero, for that would have no pity and no fear. It was the failure of an essentially good man who is not too good to have a fatal flaw in his character. "America," then, "was not the victim of a simple failure, but rather was plagued by the infinitely more subtle paradox of the failure of success."

What success? The success of the present hour in which we have forced a stalemate with a world-wide revolution emanating from Moscow.

We have "quarantined" the revolution. And who can say that as now projected our foreign policy aims at anything other than "the traditional objective of the 1890s: Stabilize the world in a Pro-American equilibrium?"

The central and exciting secret of Dr. Williams' book lies in the continuity of establishments. The historically-minded, if they are real truth-seekers, should not find the present stalemate weird at all. Ever since Secretary of State John Hay developed the Open Door policy for China, over a half-century ago, America has labored to inscribe her own primers around the world. In China, Hay's Open Door challenged the theory of colonialism prevalent elsewhere in the Occident — with its "spheres of influence."

Abolish the spheres of influence, we said. Let everyone have self-determination. But there was a fateful, if silent, proviso: That "self-determination" must not be revolutionary, at least not in the sense that it could be contrary to our own political or economic interests. Driven, as Dr. Williams thinks, by our bounty and our wish to share it, our instinct has been to trade, to build markets — and incidentally, to lift assorted Shanghais up and up.

In sum, then, Dr. Williams is saying that the U. S. emerged from 19th Century "isolation" — driven by Manifest Destiny, which we believed valid for world-wide satisfaction, armed with a



Liberty With A Quarantine

crusading zeal to help other nations to achieve what we have achieved. Inevitably America was a market-seeking nation because of a material overflowing and the "Open Door," designed to make those markets safe, threw us violently against other national interests which varied widely. This did we undermine our ideals.

If we follow Dr. Williams this far, several historical revisions occur.

One is that suddenly all the American internationalists, Democrat and Republican alike, close ranks because they accept a deeply identical strategy. The elements of that strategy: The Open Door; and the refusal to settle on any terms but our own with the Communist revolution. Disagreements have occurred over tactical detail over the grand strategy. Between the "trade not aid" slogan and the Marshall Plan "give-away," there is little to choose. Both are at bottom aimed to keep the world "open" to secure the widest possible expansion of our perimeters without any compromise with revolutions. An Averell Harriman and a Harry Truman are made by Dr. Williams to lie down with Dulles and Herbert Hoover. All are self-proclaimed "internationalists." All are iron men when it comes to the Soviets. Truman, for example, spoke in the Senate before Pearl Harbor of alternating American aid between Hitler and Stalin so as to make the latter a blind tug to hold America more pliable to America's Open Door Policy. The former President also led, as World War II ended, "the rapid revival of the analogy between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union which became a central feature of America's analysis of the postwar world." Harriman's rigidities may be traced to an ill-fated attempt to corner the world manganese market, at which he was stumped by Soviet Russia.

We also find an arresting revision of that much-revised American ideology, "isolationism." By the nature of his assumptions, Dr. Williams can muster an uncommon sympathy for it. He does not see isolationism in the Twenties and Thirties as a blind tug to hold America back from "responsibilities" in the world, but as a perceptive insight into the potential "tragedy" of American diplomacy. Sen. Borah of Nebraska, a man much maligned by the internationalists who once made Cordell Hull weep in FDR's office, becomes a truth-teller. His dissent from the grand strategy of "the American Century" derived from a fear that Americans believed too much and knew too little about revolution. Sen. Borah's comment on Russian non-recognition in 1925 was "strangely prophetic." "So long," he said, "as you have 150 million people outlawed in a sense, it necessarily follows that you cannot have peace."

There are countless fascinating byways and paradoxes in this book, all of which should be sifted and weighed by everyone concerned about American foreign policy. One might question whether America's fervent belief in the Open Door relies so much on market-seeking as Dr. Williams says. Or one might question whether the Open Door is so unique as it seems here, when you consider, say, French or British colonialism. Still, the byways of argument he invites us to follow are ingenious and challenging.

They are not half so challenging as the conclusion — that America should outlive her tragedy by ridding herself of the old Open Door and embracing "an Open Door for revolutions." In India and in countless embattled states, a policy of "helping other peoples achieve their aspirations in their own way" has a compelling appeal.

This home rule business is nothing new. Husbands have been living under it for centuries — Pike County (Ga.) Journal.

The theme of modern family living is "togetherness." This means that Pop washes the dishes before he starts building the porch furniture so that Mother can get her P.T.A. telephoning done in time to drop Junior at the Scout meeting on the way to the textile painting class. —Carlsbad Current-Argus.

Budapest Fidgets Put Crumbs In 'Bed Of The Mind'

By JOSEPH ALSOP

GENEVA

Back in Budapest, the isolated little diplomatic colony was buzzing last week because of the maneuvering of one of the diplomatic ladder had complained rather bitterly about the boredom and waste of time of "these endless lectures about atom bombs."

This due led to the discovery that the intense though somewhat academic course in atomic air raid precautions was being given to the whole city, block by block. In this way, at least, the Soviets' puppet government in Hungary, though not directly involved, is taking the Berlin crisis far more seriously than the Western governments that are most directly involved.

TOTAL DISEMBEL

In Budapest, again, there was far too much evidence of total disbelief in the West's protestations of "firmness" on the Berlin issue. Having just come from Geneva, this reporter was asked by high and low how he thought the conference would turn out. The stock reply was that Mr. Khrushchev did not seem likely to fight a war for Berlin; that President Eisenhower was certainly ready to fight rather than abandon Berlin; and that a moderate accommodation therefore seemed likely. This simple statement was usually greeted with total incredulity.

The weakened Old Hungarian foreign minister, Cik, all but burst into open laughter at the suggestion that the President was deadly sincere about "not giving an inch." The giant, just

People's Platform

Charlotte Should Buy Voting Machines Now

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

Last December the League of Women Voters of Charlotte voted unanimously to work for the adoption and use of voting machines in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County as part of our local program.

The League's first effort was in 1951 when we arranged to have the Automatic Voting Machine Company of Jamestown, New York, bring a machine here for demonstration. It was on display in Ivey's auditorium and demonstrated by League members. Over 300 people tried it at that time, including members of the City Council and County Commissioners. All were impressed.

In 1952 one was again displayed and demonstrated in the lobby of the Selwyn Hotel. Again the reaction was favorable.

In 1954 a voting machine was demonstrated by League members at the fair grounds during fair week. Many hundreds of people tried it and were favorably impressed. That same year the automatic voting machine people sent a representative here, at the request of the League, to make a savings and cost survey with 1953 elections as basis. Results of that survey:

Estimated savings per election — \$2,342.20
Estimated savings per year — \$12,342.20

Number of years in which to amortize cost — 19 years.

On December 19, 1958, the League arranged for a demonstration of a machine by a representative of the Shop Voting Machine Corp. of Canton, Ohio. This was done at a meeting of the League held in the Wachovia Bank Building. Again members of the City Council and County Commissioners were invited. For three days after that a machine was placed on the mezzanine at Bell's store and demonstrated by League members. The reception was most enthusiastic.

We sincerely believe that the time is long past due for Charlotte and Mecklenburg County to have voting machines.

During the 1952 general election 78,625 people voted out of a registration of 103,300. The largest voter participation in the history of Mecklenburg County. On this basis a generous estimate of machine needed would be 160 for the entire county at \$1,800 delivered would cost \$288,000. Charlotte's share for 33 precincts would be a little over two-thirds or about 100 machines.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON
Tension is so taut around the Pentagon that Secretary of the Army Wilbur Brucker may get the axe. Reason is the

Brucker, ex-governor of Michigan and a potent power in the Republican Party, has become so unpopular in the Army (and with the Air Force) over the

Too Much For McElroy
This may be more than Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy can take.

retiring Soviet ambassador, Gromov (whose street name in Budapest is "pigiron") was grinningly blue. And another Soviet blue diplomat, who was alarmed rather than incredulous, burst out with the almost angry question:

"If your President means what he has said, why does he not behave as though he meant it?"

Maybe the same doubts about Eisenhower's sincerity purposes do not exist at higher levels, in the minds of Andrei Gromyko and Nikita Khrushchev. The chance contacts of a wandering correspondent, even if they are contacts with puppet foreign ministers and Soviet ambassadors, are not decisive evidence that the President is regarded as a faker in the grim recesses of the Kremlin. But what this reporter saw and heard in Budapest was at least enough to prove that the Kremlin is taking the Berlin issue as seriously, and even if there is only one chance in five or one chance in ten that the Kremlin is making this misjudgment, it is a very grave matter indeed.

BOREDOM, BORED

Back home, people are reported to be bored by the Berlin crisis and the Geneva conference. Khrushchev brandishes his threats and threatens to take independent action at Berlin on an average of about once a week. But the President does not seem to take Khrushchev seriously; so nobody else takes him seriously either. And unfortunately, it is just this way of not seeming to take the Berlin crisis seriously that may be

chines at the most. Approximate cost: desired \$1,500 apiece, a total of \$150,000. On a 19-year purchase basis this would be \$10,421 per year.

We sincerely urge that an item be included in the new budget for the City of Charlotte to purchase enough machines to service all precincts in the city.

—MRS. H. D. DUNBAR
—MRS. THOMAS W. SHARPE
League of Women Voters

Business Can't Play Feudal Tax Collector

Charlotte

Editors, The News:

I am increasingly sickened by the attitude of our state and local governments. Where we once had a government of the people and for the people, we now have a people of the government and for the government.

One of the "progressive" (or regressive) boys in the U. S. Senate has just proposed a bill to require that the federal income tax be paid by the federal government. This is a bill to require that the federal government pay the federal income tax. This is a bill to require that the federal government pay the federal income tax. This is a bill to require that the federal government pay the federal income tax.

I work for a small company with few employees. While the time I spend each month on federal withholding and social security forms is small compared to the time I spend on my business, I nevertheless resent it. It's up to the individual to pay his own taxes — up to the government to collect them. It is unfair to expect business, with its own problems, to pay feudal tax collector for King government to make sure the peasants keep the pieces of eight flowing into the coffers.

—DOROTHY A. PRESSER.

Quote, Unquote

"We lay aside letters never to read them again, and at last we destroy them out of discretion, and so disappears the most beautiful, the most immediate breath of life, irretrievable." — Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Twelve-Page Memo

One 12-page memo which Brucker sent to the Senate Armed Services Committee, was aimed at protecting American cities from enemy superatomic bombs. The Army proposes to shoot down bombers over or near American cities. The Air Force claims this is letting enemy bombers get too close, and has de-

signed or can in the future cause a desperately grave error of judgment in the Kremlin. By the same token, here at Geneva, the easy little colony of Western diplomats and newspapermen assembled for the conference has settled down comfortably for what is called the "waiting game." The idea is to wait calmly until the moment when Andrei Gromyko will open a new and more fruitful phase of this meeting, by revealing the basis on which the Soviets really hope to do business with the West.

AN IMPRESSION

But once again, one wonders whether all this pleasant waiting in delightful surroundings, only marred by the need to

make speeches which are never listened to, may not give the Soviets an impression of Western complacency or even Western softness. Nothing is more dangerous than being in a hurry in negotiations with the Soviets. But being intermittently amiable about an interminable waste of time can also be a mistake.

In this easy but uncertain interval, the foregoing thoughts are like crumbs in the bed of the mind. Gromyko's demeanor to date has pretty well convinced the wisest Western analysts that Khrushchev does not intend to push the Berlin crisis to extremes. For what little that is worth, this reporter is also convinced that Khrushchev does not mean to risk a war

for Berlin. The Budapest evidence on Khrushchev's intentions was as encouraging as the Budapest opinion of the Western press. Nothing is more dangerous than being in a hurry in negotiations with the Soviets. But being intermittently amiable about an interminable waste of time can also be a mistake.

WAITING GAME

But what if the appearance of Western complacency, the absence of all Western military preparations, the failure even to discuss the Western position in Berlin, all combine to persuade Khrushchev that he can go pretty far without any real risk of war over Berlin? It is an anxious question, and it will remain an anxious question, at least until Andrei Gromyko, in his own good time, decides to end the waiting game.



Injudicious Committeewoman

Can The GOP Win Dixie?

By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Clare B. Williams, the assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, has made her own way up the national stage with the injudicious prediction that the South will vote Republican next year because it likes the GOP civil rights policy better than that of the Democrats.

Mrs. Williams praised the "moderation" of her party on civil rights and said the Democrats, headed by National Chairman Paul Butler, had no intention of "taking things slowly."

It was to be expected that these remarks would get the full treatment in the place they would do the most damage — the Negro press. That press is largely centered in the big cities of the key states where elections are won and lost.

NUANCES ESCAPED HER

Republican spokesmen suggest that Mrs. Williams is only learning her new job with all its national angles and should be allowed a mistake or two. They admit the story didn't help and are glad it's May 1959, instead of May 1960. It is also said that Mrs. Williams has been doing — and doing well — an organizing job and possibly did not quite grasp all the nuances of policy.

It is slowly denied at Republican headquarters that the GOP will fall behind the opposition on devotion to civil rights. This is certainly true of its presidential probabilities. Vice President Richard Nixon and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller are superlatively pro-civil rights.

Yet it may be true also that the South will have genuine im-

portance in the pre-convention effort to ascertain whether these men will oppose one another for the nomination. It could conceivably show how much of an open struggle there will be if both seek the crown.

SORDID HISTORY

For despite the fact that the South must have a very minor place in the election calculation of a Republican nominee for the presidency, its delegations at a Republican convention have a third of the votes.

TEMPTING PRIZE

Such men will doubtless try harder to express the sentiment in their areas than some of their cynical predecessors. Nonetheless, made real advances in their states and are trying to capitalize on the political potential of the "New South" with its rapid industrialization and social changes.

Recently a regional conference of southern Republican Party leaders in Florida New York State Chairman Judson Mohrhouse happened by just to pay his respects and to suggest that it was not yet time for the party to commit itself to a single presidential aspirant. Within hours, Vice President Nixon, who was vacationing in Florida, dropped in to shake hands.

The South responded with compliments all around so long as the Republicans do not commit themselves. It is certain that Gov. Rockefeller is not out of the race. When they do so act, it might be very revealing.

The history concerning the disposition of these votes in convention and pre-convention campaigns has often been a sordid one.

They actually provided the drama of the Taft-Eisenhower contest of 1952 when a genuine grass-roots enthusiasm for Eisenhower upped the orthodox arrangements of the late senator from Ohio had made with the old-time leaders of southern Re-

Both the Army's Nike-Hercules missile and the Air Force's Bomarc are aimed at protecting American cities from enemy superatomic bombs. The Army proposes to shoot down bombers over or near American cities. The Air Force claims this is letting enemy bombers get too close, and has de-