

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The Declaration of Independence July 4th 1776 A.D.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which shall have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the

same object, evidence a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. . . .

Therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connections between them and the said Kingdom of Great Britain are, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

Raleigh's 'Rabbit Ears' Stand At Ready

STATE officials reacted with satisfying candor to disclosure of the possibility that a conflict-of-interest case might arise from Gov. Hodges' appointment of Col. W. T. Joyner as head of the new Highway Commission.

It might indeed, Col. Joyner told questioning reporters. His firm represents the Southern Railroad which sometimes is involved in litigation with the State Highway Department over rights-of-way. In a case like that, he said, it is the duty of the State to disclose the conflict of interest to the public. He said he would not represent the railroad.

Gov. Hodges said he trusts Col. Joyner to do just that. So do we. Much of our belief that the Hodges highway team will carry out its assigned task of building necessary and non-political roads is based on Col. Joyner's large reputation for integrity and independence. Placed beside that reputation, the possibility that he would overstep the bounds of propriety looks puny indeed.

All the same, the question was proper and timely. It demonstrates that a lively sense of skepticism thrives in Raleigh even under a remarkably popular and

smoothly-run administration. The skeptics have made a large contribution to the fact that North Carolina has never had a major scandal in state government. Their value will increase as state government depends more and more on public relations men to portray it to the people. For the art of public relations can be used to conceal as well as to illuminate.

Fortunately, the skeptics could hardly find a keener audience than Luther Hodges. The governor has a trigger-fast reaction to criticism, direct or implied. While his "rabbit ears" have their irritating aspects to those who enjoy the rough-and-ready school of politics, they can be most beneficial in keeping his administration clean and efficient.

The governor indicated this week he intends to keep his ears pricked. "If I read in the newspapers or hear of anything you are doing that I think is wrong," he told the new Prison Commission, "I will tell you so."

In sum, a healthy political climate seems to prevail in Raleigh.

The administration is being watched, and it is listening.

The Debt Owing To The Hungarians

ONE HUNDRED and eighty one years ago today the American colonies made a Declaration of Independence that stuck.

Eight months ago the people of Hungary declared for freedom and failed to achieve it. The Hungarians gave all that could be given in courage and sacrifice. It was not enough to defeat the enslaving force of Russian troops and guns. Where there was freedom for one wild, perilous moment, there is now a new, even darker oppression.

Many Americans today will think on Hungary's valiant fight as they remember the treasured document left them by their forefathers. They should. The Declaration signed at Philadelphia and the bloody sacrifices of the freedom fighters in the streets of Budapest are part of the same unquenchable thirst for freedom. As the Hungarians proved that all the Communist techniques of torture, brainwashing and indoctrination cannot make

men into docile automatons, they made American freedom seem a little more secure. Their sacrifices were a gift of new hope to all free men.

Americans, in turn, have a debt owing to the Hungarians.

It cannot be paid directly by a liberation movement that would cause an even larger bloodbath.

It cannot be paid by resolution of censure offered in the United Nations, nor by serving as a haven for Hungarian refugees.

The mark on the American conscience caused by U. S. inability to help the Hungarians when they needed help will remain for a long time.

But part of the debt can be paid today by remembrance, and a renewed determination by Americans to bear the burdens of world leadership until Communist oppression is lifted.

That remembrance and that determination will be at least an installment on the debt.

From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

BRAINSTORMS IN CELLOPHANE

RECENTLY we had occasion to comment on that current phenomenon of the advertising world known as the brainstorm. Brainstorming, as it is known, is a conference at which the conferees say whatever comes into their pretty heads, in the fond hope that it will be useful. We have now to report a further refinement on the brainstorm.

This is the packaged brainstorm. Our news of it comes via THE ECONOMIST of London. The packaged brainstorm, says that estimable journal, is arranged by research organization for the benefit of their clients.

So we will look forward hopefully to the possibility of a KIPPLINGER WASHINGTON BRAINSTORM, full of inside lighting, noisily thunderous, and, of course, neatly packaged for the trade. A more sedate form of ideometry may be put out as a BROOKINGS INSTITUTION BRAINSTORM, hardly more than a brisk

—and, of course, steady—shower. READERS DIGEST may want to issue a one-lobe, one-raindrop brainstormlet, for people of no particular intellectual pretensions who are also afraid of bad weather. NEWSWEEK will no doubt wish to send its columns into the eye of the brainstorm and let us know what in tucket goes on there.

Altogether, it looks like big doings to come, and we mean to rest up our brains as well as ready for the onset of the cerebral monsoon.

Space age talk: Young Johnny Barnett was discussing his tonsillectomy the other day and remarked that as a result, he had no asteroids.—DALLAS MORNING NEWS.

French cultural lag — Paris children rated Davy Crockett behind Napoleon in a hero poll.—MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR.

Disarmament's Dead-End President Without A Policy

By WALTER LIPPMANN

NEW YORK
 THERE is a remarkable resemblance between Gen. Eisenhower's handling of the disarmament negotiations and his handling of the budget. In both cases, that is to say, he has launched a proposal and embarked on a course, not having made up his mind as to just where he wished to go. The deliberation, the weighing of alternatives, the hard work of making a firm decision, would be an orderly and rational conduct of government have preceded the presentation of the budget and the sending of Mr. Stassen to London to negotiate with Mr. Zorin.

But in the case of the budget, it took nearly two months before it was reasonably clear whether the Chief Executive was for or against the executive budget. Only after much confusion and controversy did the President begin to make clear where he stood. In the case of disarmament, it has now transpired that he started the diplomatic exchanges with no real agreement within his own official family, with no adequate understanding with his allies, and with his own mind still fluid. During the past few weeks, with Mr. Stassen abroad in London to speak for him, the President has acted the part, not of a statesman who has a policy but of a

puzzled man who is thinking out loud.

No doubt the problems of disarmament are extraordinarily complicated. They are fraught with uncertainty and with risk, and there is an awful responsibility on one who like the President, must make the final decisions. But there are no reasons why he had to enter into the negotiations, why he had to send Mr. Stassen to London, why he had to send Mr. Zorin, until he was ready. There was no use talking with the Russians if the President himself had not yet thought through his policy; no use if high officials in Washington were convinced that they must nullify what Mr. Stassen was supposed to do.

GREATEST DOUBT

In the field of diplomacy, this has been like committing unprepared troops to a great battle, while the generals have not yet arranged for their supplies or ceased to argue with one another about the objectives of the battle. This is the way to demoralize an army, and during the past week there has been a very considerable demoralization in Washington. The greatest doubt has been raised as to whether the Pres-

ident wants an agreement, or whether he could now persuade the Senate to ratify an agreement.

Mr. Gromyko is wrong in saying, as he did last week, that the United States is using the disarmament talks as a "screen concealing its striving to continue and intensify the arms race." The truth is that the United States is not really using the disarmament talks at all because the President and his administration have a policy to which some are opposed, and about which the rest are not convinced.

Unless the President can find some way to clarify and then to make firm the American position, we shall find ourselves either with a treaty that the President does not really want, or with one that the Senate will reject. In either event, we shall bring down upon ourselves the onus of blocking the path to a limitation of armaments.

CERTAINTY NEEDED

I have heard it said that this will not happen because if and when Mr. Stassen really starts to negotiate about the details with Mr. Zorin, he will find the Soviet Union is quite unwilling to reach a good agreement about inspection and control. That may well be true if the negotiations are genuine. But if we remain in our present position, where the



'There Will Be A Brief Recess While Mr. Stassen Confers With Washington'

probabilities are against the ratification of a disarmament agreement, the Soviet Union can go very far in its offers without making the risk of having to make good on them.

We had better assume that the Russian do want an agreement, and that they are prepared to pay a considerable, though not an enormous, price for it. We had better assume, too, that we shall have ourselves to clear up the confusion in our own position, and thus, we must not count upon the unreasonableness of the Russian to save us from the consequences of our uncertainty and indecision.

U.S. Middle East Policy Is Beginning To Pay Dividends

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON
 ALTHOUGH there is an almost superstitious fear of mentioning it out loud, the feeling is growing in the State Department that America's Middle East policy is paying off. Even some Asian diplomats long critics of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his policies now speak in cautious phrase of

what he has achieved since the disaster of the Suez crisis.

This small beginning of confidence may have something to do with the fact that Dulles recently had been saying to a few close associates that it was his present intention to retire as secretary of state on his 79th birthday, which is Feb. 25, 1958.

But no one expects that he ac-

tually will step out. While the situation today is relatively settled, there are almost certain to be new crises ahead that he will be called upon to meet. And the President will want him to stay if this is his desire.

The seeming subsidence of the fire that blazed in the Middle East last November and the seeming calm that prevails for the moment

elsewhere may prove wholly illusory. Two, and perhaps three, time bombs could shatter this deceptive surface at any moment. The most obvious of these bombs is the inflammatory action of the Soviet Union in giving Egypt six submarines and training Egyptian crews to operate them. Although it is not being advertised, Israeli ships are passing through the Gulf of Suez, which Egypt and Saudi Arabia had claimed as territorial waters. The State Department has told the 11 Arab governments that the United States affirms the right of "free and innocent passage" for the ships of all nations.

CONSTANT TICKING

A torpedo from an Egyptian submarine through the bow of an Israeli ship could touch off another Middle East crisis at any moment. That threat is the motive for Moscow's generosity in presenting Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser with the subs. They are the mechanism constantly ticking in the situation in the Arab world by linking us with French imperialism.

Kennedy is sponsoring a resolution asking that the United States use its influence to help settle the dispute. One of the deepest Arab grievances in connection with the Algerian war concerns the use by the French of military material provided as the United States to Franco as a NATO partner.

DISPUTE FESTERS

A third possible bomb lies in the growing bitterness between India and Pakistan over the festering Kashmir dispute. In both countries, according to several reports, there is a growing sense of the inevitability of war.

The Indians complain passionately that they cannot meet the obligations of the latest five-year plan for industry and agriculture

because they must buy arms to keep pace with those given by the United States to Pakistan as a member of the Baghdad Pact.

But ignoring the threats that are for the moment before the surface of the news, Dulles can take considerable credit in the Middle East. The Arab bloc is split and Nasser's position is greatly weakened. The game with the King of Saudi Arabia, widely criticized at the time, seems to have paid handsome dividends.

THREE KINGS

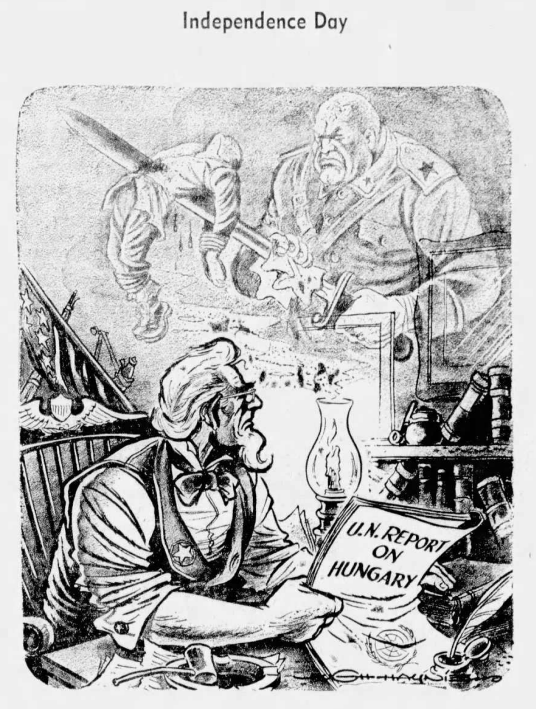
There are three kings in the hand that Dulles is playing in the Middle East — Saudi, Faisal of Iraq and Hussein I of Jordan. This is a pretty good hand in the Middle East specialists are aware, these cards are bound to lose their value with the passage of time.

Unless the miserable lot of the masses can be speedily improved, Arab nationalism, compounded Communist promises, will make the status of these monarchies difficult if not untenable. Three kings are not of much help in a game with the deuces wild.

Clearly a great many most unpleasant things can happen in the next six months so that, with real reluctance or with the earnest phrases that pass for it, Dulles will find himself persuaded to stay beyond the Biblical three score and 10.

Tough Guys

HARD-BOLLED persons get their title not from likeness to an overcooked egg but from washday habits of American frontiersmen. Homemakers of frontier days used lye soap and often washed in an open stream. Clothes tended to fray very quickly, so at least once a month the fastidious woman boiled her wash in a black iron pot. Then she starched the best pieces with a paste made in her own kitchen. It was inevitable that sometimes she got her husband's Sunday shirts too stiff. Trying to make the best of the situation, he would jokingly accuse his wife of having boiled the clothes so long they became hard. This revealed the colorful term attached to persons; and the word emerged as a stock character. Webb B. Garrison in "Why You Should Read The Fascinating Story Behind 700 Everyday Words and Phrases."



Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

WASHINGTON
 LOYD Wright, the Los Angeles friend of Vice President Nixon who wants newsmen sent to jail for revealing unauthorized information, has just charged a group of national magazines, newspapers, and columnists as "purveyors of information vital to national security, purloined by devious means" which "gives aid to our enemies as effectively as the foreign agent."

The Army's chief of information, Maj. Gen. Guy Meloy subsequently informed Congress that he didn't know of a single case where a newspaperman had been arrested or purloined secret military information.

Wake Island conference—On Jan. 23, 1951, I reported the stenographic record of talks between President Truman and Gen. Douglas MacArthur in their mid-Pacific conference at which MacArthur said, "I hope to be able to have the 8th Army back in Japan by Christmas." The conversation included various promises to "bring the war to a successful conclusion."

When the New York Times published an identical story April 21, 1951, using the same quotes, it was awarded a Pulitzer prize.

Chinese Reports on U.S. retreat—On

Columnist Returns Fire On 'Secrets'

Jan. 31, 1951, I published the partial text of a captured Chinese combat bulletin giving the enemy's secret estimate of American fighting ability. The report was humiliating to the United States in that it pointed to U.S. inefficiency and lack of morale. However, it revealed nothing to the enemy, since the enemy wrote it.

Cure Needed
 On the other hand, it pointed to weaknesses which the United States had to cure if it was to win in Korea. The United States has always operated on the theory that it could not only take criticism but benefit from it.

MacArthur's Intelligence—On Dec. 30, 1950, I published extracts from Gen. MacArthur's own intelligence reports on the size of the Chinese army which were at wide variance with his own public statements regarding the size of the Chinese army.

Retreat Alibi
 MacArthur, in trying to alibi his retreat from North Korea, stated on Dec. 2 that there were about 500,000 Chinese troops in Korea. On Dec. 4 he upped his estimate to more than one million troops. On Dec. 15, he announced that "a bottomless well of Chinese Communist manpower continues to flow into Korea."

I had reported that the Chinese forces were nowhere near as great as MacArthur claimed, only to be met with MacArthur's official denial.

Therefore, on Dec. 30, I published ex-

cerpts from the reports of MacArthur's own intelligence chief, Gen. Charles Willoughby, estimating on Dec. 6, two million Chinese troops in Korea. This announcement, that there were only 96,000 Chinese opposed to the UN 8th Army, I also published Gen. Willoughby's report, "Lack of CCF (Chinese army) on 8th Army front due to deep withdrawal executed by 8th Army. It is evident that enemy, lacking any great degree of mobility, has been unable to regain contact."

This, in military language, meant that the Chinese, lacking transportation (mobility) had been unable to keep up with the fast retreat of the 8th Army. In other words, MacArthur's troops according to his own intelligence officer, had run too fast.

Month Later
 Mr. Wright states that this revealed secret to the enemy. It was published one month after the enemy knew all too well about the most ignominious retreat in American military history, but when the American people had not yet grasped the full portent of that retreat. It was the fast retreat of the 8th Army, which was published only after checking with a top Pentagon spokesman to make sure that military security would be breached.

Ridgeway's Promotion—On April 30, 1951, Gen. Matthew Ridgeway was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. The promotion was announced by Gen. MacArthur in Tokyo in which Washington notified MacArthur that it planned to promote Gen. Matthew Ridgeway, newly appointed Korean com-

bat commander to be a full general; and in which MacArthur opposed his promotion. This column, which Mr. Wright complains about, revealed nothing about military policy.

Less consumer goods—On Dec. 4, 1951, I published the minutes of a meeting at the Office of Defense Mobilization in which it was argued that the production of refrigerators, autos, and other consumer goods might have to be curtailed. I quoted production chief Manly Fleischmann: "If the production of consumer goods is reduced more than an additional ten per cent, it will be necessary to convert entirely to defense production. This would mean that the American public might have to tighten its belt, but it gave no secrets to an enemy.

Riot Report
 Korean prison riots—On May 17, 1952, after Gen. Francis Dodd had been captured by fighting north Koreans on Koje Island, I published the teletype handling out which Gen. Omar Bradley sent to Gen. Mark Clark and Gen. Charles Colson for letting the prisoners get out of hand. The riots were already front-page news. The fact that Bradley acted promptly and indignantly was healthy for the American people to know.

Subsequently, on Aug. 14, 1953, I received a letter from Gen. Bradley as he retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "As I look back over the past eight years I think of the many times you and your assistant Jack Anderson have had our interests at heart and in this way have contributed to my getting my job done."