

Newspaper Clippings - Subject File

Box 160

1939-1943

Box 160

31-181

File personal
PSF

newspaper article
3

Southerner's Review of 'Gone With the Wind'

"There was a land of cottonfields and cavaliers called the Old South. A land of lords and their ladies, of masters and slaves. Look not for them hereabouts for they are no longer to be found. Male and female, black and white, youth and aged, they are all down to the picture show seeing 'Gone With The Wind.'

"Katherine Scarlett O'Hara was our heroine. A winsome wench with a figger like a marble statue and a head as hard. Gerald O'Hara was her Pa. By nature, he was almost animal-like. Proud as a peacock, he roared like a lion and rode like a dog and pony show. After Sherman came, he was crazy as a bedbug.

"Anyhow, Scarlett was in love with Ashley Wilkes, who was in love with his cousin Melanie, who was in love with Ashley, and so they were married. (Ashley and Melanie, in case you're getting confused.) This irritated Scarlett no end, and so, in rapid succession she married, for spite and cash, respectively, a couple of fellers whose names we didn't get. But then, neither did Scarlett for long.

"The other major characters were Rhett Butler, Belle Watling, and a colored lady exacty like the one on the flapjack box. Rhett, who somehow was strangely reminiscent of Clark Gable, was a cross between Jesse James and Little Boy Blue. Uncle Lum considered playing Rhett but turned it down when he found out there wsna't anything but mint in the mint juleps.

"If Rhett had joined the Lost Cause in the second reel instead of after intermission, the Confederacy would have won the war. And Belle—you'd have loved Belle. Everybody did.

"During the siege of Atlanta, only three things were running. Belle's place, Prissy's nose and the laundry that kept Rhett's white suits snow-white. Melanie's baby arrived about the same time Sherman did. Both were equally welcome to Scarlett. It was, so far as our painstaking research revealed, the first baby ever born in technicolor.

"Anyway, the South lost the war again in the picture, (What could you expect with a lot of Yankee producers!) and Scarlett married Rhett to get even with him. Their married life was just like setting in hell's fire and listening to the heavenly choir.

"Finally, after Melanie died (the doctor's always right) Scarlett realized that she didn't love Ashley but Rhett. Scarlett was as changeable as a baby's underwear. However, Rhett had had enough of her foolishness and when she told him, he said, 'Frankly, my dear, I don't giye a damn.' Neither by this time did the audience. They were glad to see the end, their own having become more than somewhat numb from seats harder than a lady-lady's stare."—Tombs County, Ga., Democrat.

SUCCESS in war depends upon men,
not money.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

Postwar Insurance

When Congress passed the teen-age draft bill, it added an amendment forbidding induction of men who had reached their forty-fifth birthday before being called. It is now reported that Congress may build on this foundation by enacting a law permitting any soldier of 45 or over to get a discharge from the Army on request.



Gen. George C.
Marshall, Chief
of Staff

Such a provision seems to be needed, in view of the numerous statements by Chief of Staff Marshall and others that men of 40 and up, no matter how patriotic, do not make the best possible soldiers. Unless they have been active soldiers for years, their muscles and their minds are no longer limber enough to be geared into the strenuous routines of modern warfare.

Nor are these relaxations the only ones we need, by all the evidence we've seen.

Some 6,000 soldiers who were expert copper miners in civil life have been furloughed to go back and dig copper, it having developed that not every Tom, Dick or Harry can practice that trade without previous training.

There is more and more talk about the need for furloughing a lot of soldiers who were expert farmers in civil life to go back to the farms and grow food for the armed forces, the civil population and our lend-lease clients to eat. This talk had better crystallize into action pretty soon, or we may have serious food shortages next year.

There is further talk, apparently backed up by facts, that we are building too big an Army for this war anyhow. In the year lacking a few days since Pearl Harbor, we have shipped overseas a reported 800,000-odd fighting men. The figure is expected to reach 1,000,000 by the end of 1942. Yet we are still building an Army of 7,500,000.

Where is the shipping to carry these men to come from, and to keep them supplied on thirty or more fronts? The expedition to North Africa is believed to have involved an initial force of not more than 140,000 soldiers. To take it to destination, 500 merchant ships and 350 fighting ships were used, in a convoy operation described as the biggest in all world history.

If it takes all that shipping and effort to move a force of some ten divisions, comprising only 140,000 men, how long will it take us to move 7,500,000 men into theaters of active war? And is there any point in doing so, considering that victories in this war to date, except on the Russian front, have been won by relatively small, highly trained, fast moving units of experts in the operation of tanks, planes and fighting ships?

Well, we're learning the hard way how to fight this war. We didn't really begin to get ready for it until after the fall of France, in June of 1940. Our preparations up to Pearl Harbor were pretty halfhearted, with the President assuring us from time to time that business need not be discomboom-erated while we built a first-class defense machine.

What we hope most earnestly is that when our next war comes along we shan't have to start all over again and learn the hard way, with enormous wastes in money, misplaced manpower, and lost motion.

While we are talking about the brave new world to follow this war, with Uncle Sam feeding the world while his own people grow more prosperous each golden day, let's also do some planning for a genuine system of national defense in that brave new world.

We should have compulsory military training, every able-bodied young man at age 18 or 19 to be subject thereto for a year. We should have a standing Army of around 1,500,000 men, the rank and file trained to the skill of noncoms, and the officers' and noncoms' pay and living conditions attractive enough to induce them to make Army life their careers.

We should have an air force big enough and good enough for the defense of this continent, or, preferably, of this hemisphere; and a Navy of such size as the final lessons of this war may indicate we need to armorplate this continent by sea.

Adopt a sane system of preparedness after this war, and stick by it, regardless of the almost inevitable postwar upsurge of pacifism, and we can save ourselves a world of blood, sweat, toil and tears when our next war comes.

(Copyright, 1942, News Syndicate Co., Inc.)

Now and then somebody asks why we publish the editorials of the New York Daily News in this column. Answer:

Because they are always interesting, well written and express a thought with which we agree. The owner and publisher of the Washington Times-Herald is also a part owner of the News.

The Political Mill

Hoover Presents Program That Merits Fair Consideration for Conduct of War

By GOULD LINCOLN.

Almost on the eve of the gathering of the Republican National Committee in St. Louis to elect a new chairman and to deal, possibly, with policies in the light of the war, the party—and the country—has received sound advice from the only living former President Herbert Hoover, food administrator during the last war.



Gould Lincoln.

Making full use of one of the clearest and most analytical minds in the country, Mr. Hoover laid down a dozen principles which should govern civilian economic organization for the total war in which the United States is now engaged. He has done so in simple terms, logically supported, which any one may understand.

Mr. Hoover's recommendations—as they may be considered—were given in an address to the National Association of Manufacturers in New York. He made no attempt to criticize the present civilian organizations for war—except by contrast which his own "principles" make manifest—with one exception. That was in regard to the tremendous civilian set-up, with its 2,500,000 civil employes of the Government—2,000,000 more than were required to do the job in the last war.

There was a War Council or War Cabinet in every principal nation in the last war. There is one in every principal nation in this war except the United States.

Is there any good reason why there should not be such a war council here? The answer is "no." Already there has been lack of proper co-ordination and co-operation in the absence of such a council.

It has been responsible for too many conflicting statements, emanating from too many agencies of Government with overlapping authority over important civilian activities. And, indeed, there have been conflicts within the individual agencies of Government, due to the fact that the single administrator, with definite powers, has not been the order of the day.

Would Avoid Regulation.

Mr. Hoover's "eighth principle" bears repeating, for the failure to live up to it already has the country by the ears. It is: "The eighth principle is to do no more regulating than is necessary to attain the major objectives. Fixing of prices is necessary only on things the Government uses or that comprise the essentials of the cost of living. To the great mass of the people, 95 per cent of the cost of living lies in less than 40 staple raw materials, and with price control starting near the source avoids a host of price fixing and policing of non-essentials."

Cites Soldier Figures.

He reminded the country that 17 months after the onscription Act was passed in the last war, 4,400,000 men were in arms, largely trained and equipped, and 2,000,000 of them had been carried overseas. It is now 27 months since the present draft law was passed, and about 6,000,000 men are under arms, though less than a million are overseas.

Mr. Hoover's first principle was important. It is, he said, that all civilian activities should be directed by civilians within limitations laid down by the legislative body. "Otherwise," he said, "we shall be a military dictatorship with all its implications."

Whether or not he had in mind a controversy which has existed over the handling of manpower during the war, this principle certainly applies. The American people would resent turning this power over to the military.

Mr. Hoover laid stress on the need of single-headed administrators for each of the civilian activities, dealing with the war. These administrators must be given full authority to act within the scope of their peculiar fields of activity.

It would be as unwise, he pointed out, to have more than one commanding officer in a given civilian field of activity as it would be to have more than one commanding general in a military field of operation.

As War Council.

As Mr. Hoover visualizes the proper organization of civilian organization for war, the head administrators of all such major groups should constitute a war council, sitting directly with the President.

"Here alone," Mr. Hoover said, "the general economic and civilian policies should be determined, the conflicts and overlaps planned out with the President as umpire.

The former President also urges the utmost and enthusiastic co-operation of civilians with the Government "with the least bureaucracy and force." The Government today is a mass of bureaucratic agencies—and all signs point to an increase in bureaucracy. No less a person than Leon Henderson, head of the OPA, has warned the people within the last few days they must expect more and more of this.

Mr. Hoover's final principle calls for the organization of all civilian activities for war "so as to assure the return to economic and personal liberty the moment the war is over." Too many persons fear today that this is not the policy of the New Dealers who have been seeking to extend Government control over civilian activities—not just during the war, but long before the war began.

Program Suggested.

Representative Bender of Ohio, president of the National Federation of Republican Clubs and publisher of the National Republican, has made public a statement of policy for the guidance of the Republican party during the next two years, and has submitted it to the national committee for its consideration.

It deals with the war front, the domestic front and with the peace that must be made after this country has won the war. He favors, among other things, the creation of a joint congressional committee on the war effort.

Important particularly is a demand that the Republican party "continue its opposition to any negotiated peace with the dictators and a pledge that the Republican party will support the participation of the United States in a post-war peace program designed to assure economic and political freedom to all the nations of the world."

Obviously if the Republican party will support such a post-war program, isolationism is dead.

President's Authority

By Mark Sullivan

Montgomery Ward Case

SOME WEEKS ago a C. I. O. union made certain demands on a well-known mail-order house, Montgomery Ward & Co. The



dispute went before the War Labor Board at Washington. The Labor Board handed down a decision, an order. The order required Montgomery Ward to sign a contract with the union—provisions of the contract being dictated by the Labor Board. As the board put it: "The National War Labor Board directs the parties to incorporate the following provisions in a collective bargaining agreement."

This contract Montgomery Ward rejected—they declined to comply with the Labor Board's order. Their principal reason, the one they emphasized, was a provision for a kind of modified closed shop, called "maintenance of union membership." This provision, while it did not require the company to employ union members exclusively, nevertheless required them to fire any worker who, having joined a union, dropped out of it—ceased to pay dues or what-not.

Upon the company's refusal to sign, the Labor Board thundered rumbling threats. A member, Mr. Wayne L. Morse, at a public hearing, declared the board would use "whatever forces of Government are necessary to compel compliance."

For its "force of Government" the Labor Board enlisted the highest. The board referred the case to the President of the United States.

President Roosevelt, November 18, issued an order to Montgomery Ward. He said he was speaking "as commander in chief in time of war." Peremptorily the President ordered: "I will direct Montgomery Ward & Co. to comply without further delay..."

At once Montgomery Ward replied and complied. In 13 terse words the president of the company wrote: "Your order of November 18 has been received and will be promptly obeyed."

THAT IS the story. It raises some questions. One is about the President's authority for requiring Montgomery Ward to sign. He said he acted as "commander in chief in time of war." Few will quibble over the fact that the Constitution makes the President merely "commander in chief of the Army and the Navy." Almost any civilian will obey an order of the President in time of war.

That is, if the order is to do something for the war, for the country. Citizen A will obey an order for the benefit of the country. So will Citizen B, and Citizen C, and D, and X and Y.

this case differs. In this case Citizen A is ordered to do something not for the war and

not for the country—but for Citizen B. The employer company is ordered to sign a contract enormously to the benefit of the labor leaders. Doubtless Mr. Roosevelt and the Labor Board would say—in fact they do say—it is a benefit to the country, a help in fighting the war, to make the labor leaders and unions happy, to give them "maintenance" of union membership. But a lot of our citizens, quite certainly a majority, don't think that way at all.

Moreover, it is material in this case that the labor leaders happen to be political allies of the President. It might have been just as well if Montgomery Ward, before complying with that order, promptly had referred it to the courts, and to public opinion, for judgment. When any citizen is put under compulsion by government, he has a duty to himself and to the country, to inquire into the validity of the compeller's authority.

SUPPOSE Montgomery Ward had done this, had respectfully asked the President to excuse them from obeying the War Labor Board's order. What would the President have done? In similar cases, involving factories doing war work, the President has sent the Army or Navy to take over the plant. But Montgomery Ward do not do war work, certainly not to any material extent—everybody knows what Montgomery Ward's business is. Nevertheless, either the President would have been obliged to rescind his order, or send in the Army. In that event, the country might have enjoyed an amusing experience. We might have seen literal-minded rural customers of Montgomery Ward directing their orders thus: "Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff United States Army. Dear Sir: Please send me two milk pails, and six rolls of barbed wire."

That would be funny. But it would not be winning the war.



CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL

CHIEF of the Office of Censorship Byron Price has ruled that correspondents of foreign newspapers may send any report back home to their readers which is factual and does not disclose military information but that editorial comments printed here which tend "to emphasize disunity in this country instead of stating the facts as they are" shall be censored.

The attitude of the foreign correspondents is that responsible editorial comment by important American newspapers is factual news and that the Washington correspondent for a London newspaper, for example, assigned to interpret American public opinion to his readers in England should be permitted to send it to his paper.



BYRON PRICE

Price doesn't agree. And so editorial comment, clipped from the columns of American papers, with such widely different viewpoints as the New York Daily News and the New York Post, the Chicago Tribune and New York Times, have been suppressed in the reports which foreign correspondents have attempted to send from this country to their papers abroad.

Columnists Ray Clapper and Ernest Lindley reflect or influence a respectable section of public opinion in the United States. Yet a British reporter tells me that when he recently incorporated quotations from their columns in his piece for British readers the American censors in New York prevented him from putting it on the cable.

It seems that the paragraphs written that day by Roosevelt biographer Lindley and by Clapper, sincere supporter of the New Deal foreign policy, struck the American censor as dangerous thoughts that must be kept from British eyes on the grounds that they tended "to emphasize disunity" among the citizens of this republic.

THE chore of giving foreign readers an intelligent picture of what the poll-tax fight in the Senate was all about was a tough one for the newswriters from abroad. They had been firmly instructed by the Price organization that nothing would be permitted to leave the borders of the United States by cable, radio or mail which in any way suggested that such a thing as a race problem could possibly exist in this land of New Deal freedom.

With this in mind, the reporters from abroad sat down and sweated over their job of writing a poll-tax story for foreign enlightenment without suggesting that the reason for all the sound and fury in the Senate was the cold fact that a majority of Senators from Southern States are opposed to giving their colored populations the same political power enjoyed by the whites.

One British reporter wrote the factual and innocuous observation in his story that "imposition of the poll tax has kept many persons in the lower economic scale from voting, both colored and white."

The censor reached for his blue pencil and struck out the final phrase "both colored and white."

"I thought you were told that any suggestions that there is a racial problem in the United States will be censored," the American censor told the reporter from overseas.

Price doesn't agree. And so editorial comment, clipped from the columns of American papers, with such widely different viewpoints as the New York Daily News and the New York Post, the Chicago Tribune and New York Times, have been suppressed in the reports which foreign correspondents have attempted to send from this country to their papers abroad.

THE silliness and stupidity of such episodes in a war to impose world-wide freedom of expression "everywhere in the world and in our lifetimes," could not happen if Byron Price or some of his assistants in Washington were able to pass on every piece of copy and use their common horse sense and newspaper experience to determine if a story gave military information to the forces of the enemy.

But that's physically impossible. Hence the "directives" and broad policy-making orders which go out to individual censors who, in the case of press dispatches to foreign papers are Navy officers.

The thought behind these broad orders and directives comes from on high.

F.D.R., as every White House correspondent knows, thinks in his heart, and has often bluntly suggested, that he would have been a great managing editor or newspaper editor if he hadn't decided to be a politician.

Price, like Elmer Davis in OWI, is taking the rap for the political censorship of ideas.

As Price correctly points out, he is responsible for all censorship orders and directives.

But none of the associates of the newspapermen who shouldered the thoroughly disagreeable but necessary chore of censorship place on his doorstep the responsibility for prohibiting the British and other correspondents from writing what in their trained opinion is an honest and fair report of public opinion in the United States.

That is exactly what is happening here "in our lifetime." And responsibility rests directly on the doorstep of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, residence of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hopkins.

AMERICAN censorship of political ideas and public opinion as now imposed on visiting observers by our war administration smacks of course of the dictatorship-gassing of news writers. There are many in the White House clique who wholeheartedly approve of this. To them, the fact that you're fighting the devil is the best excuse in the world for taking up a permanent residence in hell.

WASHINGTON correspondents who have worked in dictatorship lands agree with the comment of Alex H. Faulkner, correspondent in the United States for the London Telegraph and Morning Post.

"If we were reporting from Axis countries, this kind of thing and things infinitely worse would not surprise us," Faulkner writes in a round-up of the view of foreign correspondents on American censorship made by Editor and Publisher. He follows with the polite comment:

"If we did not all have such great pride in the traditions of freedom of speech and freedom of press which is common to the United States and Great Britain we would probably be less shocked than we are when we feel that these freedoms are being abridged more than the necessity of war demands."

THE Evening Standard's F. G. Alleton Cook points out that American censors are "unhappily, all too often, bound by rules and have not been able to take the line which occasionally they have clearly thought was intelligent."

Cook further points out that when "attacks have been made against Britain by responsible American writers we have not been allowed to transmit their views to London, so that (A) British readers might know what was being said in America and (B) appropriate steps might be taken to remove false impressions."

"I do not believe the American people to be immature children and I feel that is how in some ways the censorship has been regarding them," Cook adds.

Chief of the British United Press here, H. Hutchinson pays his respect to American censorship with the challenge:

"When censorship is used as a screen to prevent free and responsible criticism of political policy any correspondent who believes in a free press must object, and as loudly as possible."

After looking over what the American censors did in New York to his pieces for the London Sketch, Hessel Tiltman utters the restrained and conservative judgment:

"It is not unreasonable to assert that Britain is not getting a complete picture of the trend of American opinion."

And Robert Walthman of the London News Chronicle declares that there is a point in censorship where "you ought to make a stand—and that point is reached when the interpretation of what will help the enemy becomes so wide that the free exchange of ideas between close allies is interrupted."



ELMER DAVIS

Any Stick to Beat a Dog

Still speaking of news and how it is handled, too many of our newspapers have red faces today—or ought to have. They joined in with gleeful yelps to help Senators Byrd and Vandenberg make Old Deal hay with the slogan: "1-1071-PLOF-5-NOBU-SOS-WPB."

That was just an example of "bureaucratic red tape" that was strangling the war effort, they said.

Then along came Leon Henderson, head of OPA, who was the target of this particular nonesuch and pointed out that the mystic symbols on one of his forms had nothing whatever to do with the contents of the form—that they were merely a printer's code.

Mr. Henderson blew up the story in time for the morning papers of Thursday, and the Herald Tribune, at least, printed the explanation—well back on page 14.

Mr. Henderson's simple explanation did not deter the World-Telegram from leading its editorial page all day Thursday with an editorial titled with the same symbols and beginning, "Yes, we have no idea what that means . . ."

Mr. Henderson is a durable fellow and we doubt that he will lose any sleep because the newspapers gave him all the worst of it again. But we are in the newspaper business and we are troubled by such displays of unfairness and irresponsibility. It doesn't do our business any good.



I'd Rather Be Right

—By Samuel Grafton—

I have the odd feeling that Sir William Beveridge's report on social security to the House of Commons will arouse more anguished outcries here in America than in England.

Latest dispatches, by cable and carrier pigeon, reveal that, so far, not a single English editor has burst a blood vessel.

No English newspaper has leered, scolded, or made bad jokes about college professors.

So, the first point to be made about the Beveridge report is on the difference between England and America, as regards the tone of public controversy.

Had such a state paper been issued here, proposing, in substance, that a floor be placed under our economy, that no citizen ever be allowed to have less than a certain named income, or ever be permitted to go without medical care, or ever have to wonder how to pay for a baby, a great many feverish irrelevancies would have been brought into the argument at once.

We can easily imagine that rumbling protest against the "brain trust" which would have swelled from the hoarse organ of American public comment.

It Follows From Dunkerque

It is also a curious circumstance that America, which has a liberal administration, has had no important social proposal offered to it for several years, while Britain, which has a conservative government, has just got itself involved in a major one.

Why the difference? One of the reasons is Dunkerque. England has had its Dunkerque. We have not.

I don't want a Dunkerque. But it was immediately after Dunkerque that social proposals began to flare up in England. A period of intense self-examination began, to find the reasons for that huge military disaster.

(At that very moment, America, remote from the war, was completing the bipartisan Congressional coalition against reform.)

The English press began to question the English educational system, to wonder whether it allowed natural ability to rise to the top. The sober and extremely careful London Economist proposed, in 1940, an "economic bill of rights," adding the right to a secure life to the older right of free speech.

Shortly after Dunkerque Sir William was commissioned, by the House of Commons, to make his survey of social security.

But, begun on the impetus of Dunkerque, the report is finally published during a period of military success.

It is released at a moment when the English are feeling much better, much cockier, much stronger, when Mr. Churchill drops tart little comments about holding the empire which he would have preferred to swallow a year ago.

They're Feeling Better Now

So, here, in a sense, is a United Nations test: whether, when we feel good, we can do the things we clearly saw to be necessary when we felt bad.

Now, a third point on the Beveridge report: It seems to me completely acceptable both by those who want fundamental social reform to come out of the war and those who want nothing of the kind.

Its most important feature is unemployment insurance, unlimited as to time during which benefits are paid, and without the requirement of a pauper's oath.

Now, if we can end unemployment after the war, this feature of the plan will be self-canceling. If there is no unemployment, there will be no need for insurance against unemployment, just as there is no need nowadays for insurance against dragons or werewolves, though an enterprising fellow could have made a snappy living for himself selling such policies just a few hundred years ago, when dragons and werewolves were unavoidable dangers, as all sensible men knew.

A Wager That We Mean It

For that reason, if no other, one would like to see variants of the Beveridge plan adopted by all the United Nations. That would be a guarantee, by the whole community, of the seriousness of current promises to rout unemployment out of the world after the war. If the promise is kept, the Beveridge plan will largely cancel itself out and cost nothing. If the promise is not kept, the cost of unemployment will then be carried by the community, as was the cost of the war, and not by individuals.

The Beveridge plan backs up, with a money forfeit, all current speeches about ending want. That is its fundamental importance. It makes our oratory good.

BF
Newspaper
Clipping

DAILY NEWS

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-1234

Published daily except Sunday by News BroadSheet Co., Inc., 229 E. 42d St., Borough of Manhattan, New York, N. Y. Daily mail subscription rates U. S., \$2.00; Canada, \$12.00 a year. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S., \$10.50 per year; Canada, \$18.00. President J. M. Patterson, treasurer, R. H. McCormick; second vice president and general manager, Ray C. Hollis; secretary, F. M. Flynn, all of 229 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

COURTEOUS BUT CALM COURTEOUS BUT CALM

The Royal pilgrimage through Canada is a huge success to date. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth are as gracious and democratic a pair of sovereigns as could be imagined, and the way they are reselling the Empire to the Canadians is something to behold.



King George VI Queen Elizabeth

Royalist sentiment is also mounting by the minute in the United States, in anticipation of Their Majesties' arrival here early next month. We know, because almost all our friends and acquaintances in the nation are asking us please to get them invitations to some public party, private bing, parade or picnic where they can see the King and Queen.

All this is O. K. by us. If professedly republican Americans, like most other people, enjoy standing in awe of the divinity, that doth hedge a king, who are we to complain? We hope Their Majesties are as hospitably received here as in Canada, and believe they should be.

Just one suggestion. The visit is admittedly a good-will visit. Well, then, why shouldn't the King and Queen arrange to be seen by as many people in the United States as possible? We mean, why not display their charming personalities and gracious miens in big parades (maybe up Broadway and down Pennsylvania Ave.) and at great public gathering places? Why should they be confined to comparatively small garden parties for 1,300 carefully chosen guests, private junkets, and so on?

So much for the courtesy part. Now for the calmness which we hope the great majority of us will preserve while extending all the courtesy. We should be under no illusions as to the real purpose of the Royal visit.

The Bill Of Goods

Their Majesties did not come for the boat ride. They came, at the instance of Prime Minister Chamberlain, to sell the American people a bill of goods. That bill of goods consists in a strengthening of American-British ties to a point where we shall be willing to underwrite the British Empire against Hitler, Mussolini and their satellite buccaneer nations.

The British Empire (13,253,240 sq. mi.) is not confined to 49,000,000 democratic Britons and Irishmen, 10,000,000 democratic Canadians and 10,000,000 democratic Australians and New Zealanders. Their Majesties also rule over 357,000,000 Hindus, 60,000,000 African colored people, 4,000,000 Malaysians, 2,000,000 British West Indians, 500,000 South Sea Islanders, and large delegations of foreigners in Hong Kong, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Central America and South America. Very few if any of these non-white or non-English British subjects enjoy the blessings of democracy.

So let's remember, while warmly welcoming the King and Queen, that it is really Mr. Chamberlain who is visiting us; and let's keep clearly in mind what he wants to sell us.

We think we should be wary, too, about the proposed—

RETURN VISIT

—of President Roosevelt to London sometime next year.

The President, like most strong men, is not noted for asking or taking advice. So we don't offer advice in this matter.

Wilson Did It

We merely express the earnest hope that the President won't make such a trip until after he has ceased to be President.

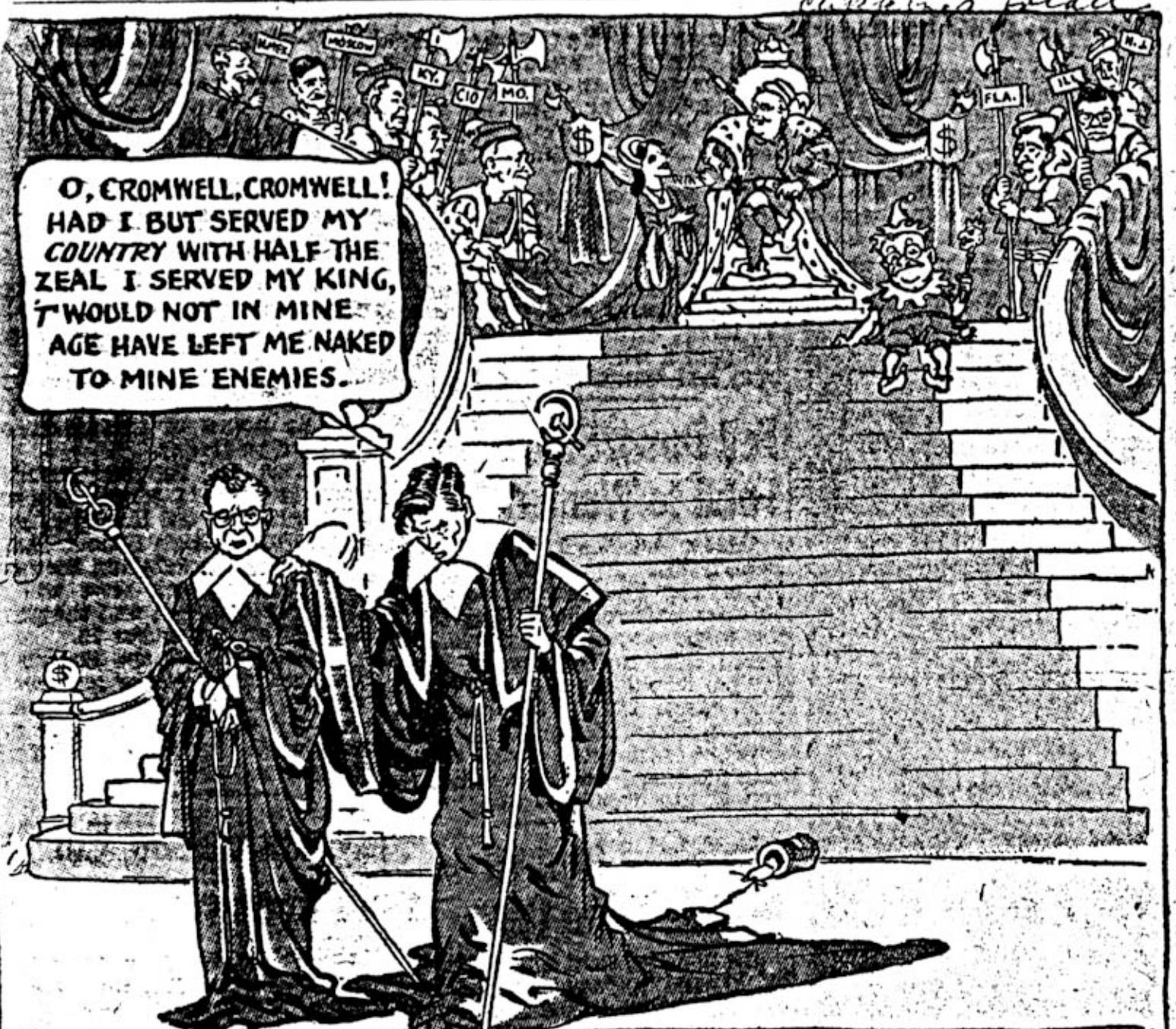
There would be nothing illegal or improper about a return visit to the King and Queen. But the thing could not be kept purely social. Inevitably, it would have political repercussions and overtones—and these would add up to serving notice on the dictators that the United States and Great Britain were now in a virtual military alliance.

We think we speak the sentiments of the great majority of Americans when we say that such an alliance is not wanted here, for all the blood ties and fellow feelings which unquestionably obtain between Americans and Britons.

President Woodrow Wilson's postwar trip to Europe was disastrous to Wilson, to the hopes of a just peace, and to a large extent to Wilson's own country. We hope President Roosevelt will ignore the sirens' yodelings and stay home.

Cartoon folder

O, CROMWELL, CROMWELL!
HAD I BUT SERVED MY
COUNTRY WITH HALF THE
ZEAL I SERVED MY KING,
I WOULD NOT IN MINE
AGE HAVE LEFT ME NAKED
TO MINE ENEMIES.



HENRY VIII . . . ACT III . . . SCENE II.

Cromwell . . . SIDNEY HILLMAN
Wolsey . . . HENRY WALLACE

King Henry VIII . . . FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT
Ann Bullen . . . MISS FOURTH TERM.

THE NEW DEAL GOES SHAKESPEARE

Times Herald 24 July

TOP SECRET

ORR

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

L. W. NIEMAN, Founder, 1882

Published by The Journal Company

H. J. GRANT, Chairman of the Board

M. H. CREAGER, President and Editor

J. D. FERGUSON, Vice-President and Associate Editor

L. L. BOWYER, Vice-President and Publisher

J. P. KEATING, Vice-President and Production Mgr.

RATES: Carrier delivered and street sale, daily 3 cents, Sunday 10 cents. State and foreign mail rates on application.

PHONE MARQUETTE 6000. Private telephone system. Address all correspondence to specific person or department.

Judge Duffy Sees the Way

Federal Judge F. Ryan Duffy, applying the good common sense of Lincoln to the war situation, refused to set free a citizen of Japanese extraction who had left the west coast in violation of a military order. This Japanese-American will be sent back to face the consequences.

The order promulgated by the commander of war area No. 1 was for the protection of the nation. It was meant to prevent spies and saboteurs from doing to the west coast, in case of invasion, what saboteurs and spies did to Hawaii. The army, in consultation with the FBI, which knew the great difficulty of separating loyal from disloyal Japanese, had decided that the only way to be safe was to put all Japanese and Japanese-Americans under restraint.

This Japanese-American, one Kanai, had chosen to make a test. He had left war area No. 1 without permission, although he well knew that provisions were set up for granting permission to loyal citizens who might have business elsewhere. If he wanted to attend a YMCA meeting at Williams Bay, he could have applied for the proper authorization.

The FBI arrested him at Williams Bay and now Judge Duffy was being asked to set aside a military order in order to give this defier of our war precautions his freedom. The usual nonsense—in wartimes, nonsense—of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties union was urged in court in his behalf. It was urged that constitutional rights must be observed no matter what happens, that these rights are in effect even paramount to the nation's safety.

Judge Duffy rejected such specious pleas and cut right to the heart of the matter in this sentence:

"This court should not set itself up as a military board of strategy."

In other words, if the military authorities on the west coast believed the order was necessary, the court would not interfere. And the judge buttressed this by pointing out that "constitutional rights of the individual in wartime are not absolute, but relative." The judge had said at an earlier hearing of the same case that "the rights we have in peacetime must give way to the general good in wartime."

In the opening sentence of this article we said this is founded on the good common sense of Lincoln, and it is. The whole matter was outlined in that special message to congress which President Lincoln delivered on July 4, 1861. Lincoln had faced through four perilous months the problem of dealing with a treason which was trying to disintegrate the Union.

The great humanitarian among our presidents had gone to Washington to find that the arms of the United States army had been mysteriously shipped to southern states by secession minded men in the war department; that our naval vessels had been dispersed to all quarters of the globe so they would not be at home to resist rebellion. He found that through "more than 30 years" of propaganda—an insidious "drugging the public mind"—a situation had been created in which not only the south but many states bordering on the south were full of citizens disloyal to the core.

Lincoln, with the problem of Fort Sumter dumped in his lap on the very day he took the oath of office, moved to save the Union by making expenditures that were not authorized, calling men to arms without authority of congress and clapping disloyalists in jail without benefit of habeas corpus. And now he was reporting to congress on what he had done.

Lincoln in his report posed the question whether he should have let America be destroyed by observing every fine point of law and every guarantee of the Constitution. He asked if it was wrong for him to use such means as he had by "violating to a very limited extent" some law "made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that practically it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent." He pointed out that, if he had allowed the nation to sink, there would have been no Constitution.

Lincoln, the greatest of all our exponents of democracy, posed the question for all time, just as in his career he touched and illumined all the questions this country had or could have. The congress of his day saw the point and responded—just as the congress of today, the citizens of today and the judges of today should respond.

Judge Duffy sees, too, that the nation's safety comes first.

Farmers Want No Gold Bricks

There is ground for difference of opinion as to the methods and details of putting a ceiling on wages, profits, salaries and farm products, but there is no justification for the attempt to prejudice the farmers against Mr. Roosevelt by the political talk that "he is the enemy of the farmer." That well-greased propaganda is an insult to the intelligence of the men who till the soil. They know—better than the political propagandists—that when Roosevelt became President they were broke. Their products were selling on the market for less than the cost of production; thousands were seeing their farms sold at auction for their debts, and agriculture was at the bottom of the worst depression that had ever afflicted it. The upturn did not happen. The change from starvation prices to prices of profit came about directly from the New Deal legislation. If Hoover or some reactionary Democrat had been elected in 1932, the better days would not have come.

When Reactionaries, who did everything they could to prevent the agricultural recovery by Roosevelt laws, brought Senator Tydings (bringing bad tidings) to Raleigh to voice antagonism to the remedies which lifted farmers out of the ditch, a reactionary Democrat asked the late Dr. Wallace Riddick, who was a farmer as well as able engineer and college president, what he thought of the New Deal measures which the Reactionists were opposing. The answer was:

Speaking as a farmer, who has been losing money on my farm, I am like the blind man who was given his vision by the Saviour. Asked how he received his sight, the blind man said that all he knew was that whereas he did not see before the miracle, that after it he received his sight.

I do not pretend to know all about the New Deal statutes enacted under Roosevelt's leadership. But one thing I do know. Whereas before those laws got into operation, as a farmer I was losing money and disaster stared me and other farmers in the face. Now prices give farmers a profit; they no longer face starvation and the probability of losing their farms, and can enjoy comforts denied them before the New Deal. Whereas I was then on the verge of bankruptcy in farming operations, now I see prosperity. Like the blind man, I may not understand the processes, but I do know how blessed are the results.

President Roosevelt expects every man in city and country—on the farm and in the factory—to make sacrifices in this all-out war. It cannot be won without full cooperation and readiness to practice self-denial. The farmers who recall—and they all recall—the condition in 1929-32 and the improvement brought about by the Roosevelt policies know that the propagandists, who are trying to poison their minds against the chief executive who has done more for agriculture than any of his predecessors, are insulting the intelligence and gratitude of the farmers of America.

In this hour, all should be fed out of the same spoon—labor, agriculture, industry, salaried men. The hardest task the President has is to prevent profiteering by the big concerns having war contracts. Given legislation that will empower him to deal with all, the farmer will find that it is used in a way that will not only continue profitable prices during the war but will prevent the collapse which followed after the World War.

The farmer is no sucker. He cannot be induced to mistrust the man in the White House who has been his best friend and will continue to see that he is saved from another depression.

The farmers are not in the market for gold bricks and will turn a deaf ear to the detraction of the man in the White House.

ish Diet was summoned into a special session.

The story seemed to be that the Russians had proved unexpectedly liberal and patient in their dealings with the Finns, making concessions in their original terms that made them far more acceptable to Finland. It was all part of a significant development in Soviet policy by which the Kremlin appeared to be making every effort to draw such German satellites as Finland and Rumania away from the Reich at the moment when such action would injure the Nazis the most.

No Poles, Please

The French Committee of National Liberation smarted from a new diplomatic slap last week. What hurt most was that it came from a nation Gen. Charles de Gaulle believed to be a true friend. For while Britain and the United States had held back recognition of the committee as exile government of France, Russia had recognized its claims. Now the Soviet treated the French to a blunt example of present-day Kremlin diplomacy. Algiers reported that Russia had refused to accept the diplomatic agent whom the committee had chosen to represent it in Moscow—Gaston Palewski, chief of de Gaulle's political staff.

Palewski: A behind-the-scenes political figure in peacetime France, Palewski belongs to an émigré Polish family. For eleven years he was a close associate of Paul Reynaud and served as his political adviser when Reynaud headed the last government of the Third Republic. Russia presumably disliked de Gaulle's choice for one main reason—he was a Pole.

For General de Gaulle, this was just another of many disappointments that have marked 1944. On March 27, the General lashed out at the Allies in an address to the Consultative Assembly in Algiers. Referring to his committee as the "Provisional Government of the Republic," he announced that it "does not need any lesson from anyone but the French nation that it is entrusted to lead."

On Moving In: Five days later, the committee's defiant attitude toward the Allies was even more strongly illustrated by the publication of a law it adopted last March 14 asserting its right to take over control of French liberated territory whether or not the Allies like it. In essence, the law provided that immediately on the liberation of territory, commissioners appointed by the committee for each theater of operations would take over both the civil and military administration.

This scheme was in direct conflict with President Roosevelt's recent reported decision to leave to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower the choice of which authorities he would deal with in liberated France.

When Germany Falls

Russia and Poland Stand to Gain by Allies' Plan for Postwar Reich

The story was really broken by The London Observer—the details of the occupation agreed upon by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin at the Teheran conference. But it was not really new. It had been known in London for some time. Presumably, it had been discussed by the European Advisory Commission. American correspondents had cabled what they could of it. But the newest version gave the most concrete account so far. These were the occupation terms to be imposed on the Reich:

☛ Russian forces are to occupy all of Eastern Germany up to the Oder.

☛ The British are to march into North-western Germany.

☛ Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg will come under United States jurisdiction.

☛ Only the capital, Berlin, will be jointly occupied by troops of the three powers.

☛ The question of who should garrison Austria, whose independence was pledged at the Moscow conference, had not been settled, but recent discussions favored a mixed occupation force (see map).

Vanishing Corridor: It was further understood in London that Russian occupation of Germany east of the Oder would eventually lead to annexation of some, if not all, of these territories by a new Poland, in compensation for the loss

of its eastern provinces up to the Curzon Line, which Russia is determined to keep. Thus, if this was done, there would be no "Corridor" after the war and Poland would obtain what it has long been striving for: a broad waterfront on the Baltic.

Moscow is known to favor some such arrangement and London apparently has accepted the principle of it, while the United States has not yet manifested its intentions in the matter.

Mongolian Incident

In the wild and mountainous north-eastern corner of Sinkiang, near the Altai Mountains, local Chinese authorities began forcibly transferring some of the Kazak (Mongolian) settlers southward. But a number of the settlers objected and fled over the border into the Mongolian People's Republic. Thereupon, Chinese troops chased them, broke into Mongolian territory, and from airplanes fired on the refugees and Mongolian localities. Mongolian troops then repulsed the invaders.

That was the story told this week by the Moscow radio, in a dispatch from Ulan Bator (Red Hero), capital of Mongolia. The events, it said, took place at the end of 1943. But the curious thing about the Moscow piece was not the fact that the news came out so late but, instead, the stern warning that was tacked on the end. Still quoting the Ulan Bator dispatch, the Moscow radio cited leading Mongolian officials as being "firmly convinced" that should such violations of the Mongolian territory by Sinkiang troops recur, then the Soviet Govern-



Some five day the Allies hope to occupy Germany on these lines

On the Record

Wash Star Jan 7th Dorothy Thompson

A number of further observations may be made concerning the statement regarding strikes supposedly made by Gen. Marshall.

First, Gen. Marshall's statement was not made for publication. If he had wished to make a public statement on a matter so touchy, he would, no doubt, have written it and requested to be quoted exactly. Since a version was reported in the press, I have talked with two participants in the conference who gave a quite different account of what he said. This lack of respect for his wishes may eventually force him to make a public statement where he did not wish to do so.



Mr. Rickenbacker has not improved the situation by following up the incident with the suggestion that "Gen. Marshall is the type of man who should be the next President of the United States," thereby introducing politics into the picture with a thrust at the President and Commander in Chief.

Gen. Marshall must have good reasons not to wish to open a raucous debate. Among our troops anger and even fury at the behavior of the civilian population is spreading. The effect which the strike threats and many other things might have on Axis strategy is negligible compared with the direct effect they have on the morale of our own troops who shortly are to be put to a gigantic test.

And that the American Army, at this moment, should have to use the energies of its members to administer the railroads as well as plan a great invasion is scandalous.

What is going on in the minds of our soldiers will bear directly on their behavior in the war, and it also will influence their political behavior when they get home. Many of them are very young and the war has been the decisive experience of their lives, forming their whole attitude toward American society. Physicians tending wounded soldiers tell me that, reading the papers, they are becoming bitterly antilabor, even denouncing their own laboring fathers. At the same time, in such hospitals as those at Atlantic City and Miami, they are outraged by the display of luxury amongst vacationers and infuriated by the war profiteering.

The inevitable result of such revulsion must be a drift toward stern leadership even of a dictatorial nature.

Nothing is being helped, either, by a renewal of the prohibition campaign, by the same kind of bigoted minority who organized the movement last time while millions of American men were still mobilized.

Then, however, prohibition could be described as "an experiment noble in purpose." Today the word describes the era of crime. And it is a fighting word for American troops, to whom the blue-noses attempting to protect their "morals," are school marm reducing to the status of childhood, youths whom Guadalcanal, the Aleutians, North Africa and Salerno have prematurely made into men.

Also, unless the political parties exer-

cise unusual discipline in the forthcoming election campaign it will be made to order for our enemies. To dare to hold a presidential election at the climax of a war is to court catastrophe. Nothing could make it tolerable except the elimination of the most controversial issues, both foreign and domestic, a voluntary curbing of every tongue and the creation of so harmonious a spirit that none would greatly care who was elected, and the election be essentially but the maintenance of a tradition.

But there are no signs of any such inhibitions among opposition party leaders. Apparently we shall have politics as usual—which is worse than business as usual. Instead of Democrats and Republicans meeting to bury their tomahawks, they are already manufacturing poisoned arrows for the quadrennial battle, and exacerbating every rift while they piously talk about the necessity of unity.

The candidate in the Republican ranks who has most conspicuously behaved as a responsible citizen of the Republic, the only American civilian who is almost as familiar to the soldiers as the President, and who has the confidence of the governments of our Allies, Wendell Willkie, stands at the bottom of the party's favor, not because of his faults but because of his virtues.

Mr. Willkie who is for unity among the Allies, believes that unity begins at home. That is too much for those who would risk losing victory for the Republic to achieve victory for Republicanism—which without the Republic would need another name.

(Released by The Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

The Great Game of Politics

It is not often that statements on public affairs not attributable directly to important public figures ring the bell on that matter. In fact, these indirect statements are...

file

newspaper clippings folders 4-4-42

SAT

FARLEY CENSURES SOLDIER VOTE LAW

Dewey Program a 'Deception on Men and Women in the Armed Services,' He Says

CHANGE NOW IS DEMANDED

Governor Is Urged to Call a Special Session at Albany to Amend Statute

Characterizing the present State War Ballot Law as a "monstrosity, a reservoir of ambiguities and a deception of the men and women in the armed services," James A. Farley, Democratic State Chairman, called upon Governor Dewey last night to call a special session of the Legislature to amend the law to make it workable.

Mr. Farley, whose speech from Radio Station WABC broadcast over a State-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, spoke in reply to Governor Dewey, who a week before in a speech over the same stations called the law "a perfectly simple solution" to the war-ballot problem.

Mr. Farley said that almost 20 per cent of the voting population of New York State was serving in the armed forces, that they were entitled to vote and that the majority of the people of the State wanted to have opportunity to vote in the easiest way possible.

"Selfishness" is Assailed

"There may be some who can see political advantage in making it difficult for the armed forces to vote," he said. "If this is so, those acting from such an unfair and un-American motive should be speedily repudiated. Partisan selfishness must not be permitted to create a roadblock against the will of those unselfishly giving their all for our safety."

Mr. Farley quoted Governor Dewey as saying that "every soldier can be provided with a ballot which will be valid under our Constitution," and asked why the Governor did not say: "Every soldier will be provided with a ballot."

He asserted that the changes in the rules made during the last few days by the War Ballot Commission constituted admission that the law was faulty and that the "liberal interpretation" of the law announced by William T. Simpson, chairman of the commission, showed that the statute was not clear and left the way open for any person to protest the tallying of all soldier ballots.

Mr. Farley said Mr. Simpson's estimate that the service vote would be about 225,000 indicated that three out of four in the armed services would find it too difficult to exercise their right to vote. He added that Mr. Simpson unwittingly confessed that his estimate was too high by ordering only 200,000 postcard ballot applications.

H. H. when

WA CA

Bill Leg

TR one by N that State rather the d it is land. g was p ing as Model. tional State sociat

"Ar ce of panta embes that thing Englin tion, teratic Mr. J legiala ficial Jersey the A the E. tted phobit "Th said, ward in langua becau differ The e seventy to the Others teachin in all

Describes Working of Law

Under the present law, Mr. Farley said, a service man or woman must send in an application to the commission, who then will send a ballot to the applicant. The applicant then must fill out the ballot and take an oath that he or she is a voter before an attesting officer. All this, he declared, would take time, without considering who is to tell the service man that he must make an application.

The "liberalizing interpretation" that a war ballot will be sent upon presentation of a letter to a relative in which a service man expressed a desire to vote, he said, will necessitate further interpretations. Mr. Farley asked what interpretation would be made if a letter should be signed "Your loving son, Arthur" or "With love, Bill."

The simple way would be to have the War Ballot Commission send a war ballot to every voter of the State whose name, home address and military address was furnished by any relative, Mr. Farley added. This, he asserted, would comply with the State Constitution and eliminate red tape and a burden on transportation facilities.

"The second and very important count on which the Dewey law is unfair to the war voter is that the war voter's ballot must be back in Albany by Nov. 3, four days before election day," Mr. Farley said.

"You can readily see that it will be necessary for most war voters to make their choice of candidates several weeks before election day in order that their ballots may reach Albany by Nov. 3. That provision penalizes a service voter for fighting for his country."

"Let me remind my listeners that under Republican War Ballot laws in force during the past two years the service men and women overseas were permitted to fill out their ballots right up to election day, and their ballots were valid and were counted if they reached the War Ballot Commission by Dec. 10."

Hyman Blumberg, State secretary of the American Labor party, announced that the party had started distribution of 300,000 postcard applications for war ballots among relatives of those in the armed services with a request that they be signed. A circular accompanying the cards characterized the present State law as "a disgraceful partisan attempt to deprive the men and women in the services of their right to vote."

Rother's Conviction Appealed

Notice of appeal was filed yesterday afternoon at the Richmond County District Attorney's office, St. George, S. I., from the conviction of Adam A. Rother, 41-year-old Coast Guard (j.g.) lieutenant, now serving a life sentence in Sing Sing Prison for second-degree murder. The notice, served by Rother's attorneys, Nicholas and Emil J. Reigt, asked for a review of the conviction by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn.

prohibi trainin over 14 ing ag period, charged days af and a \$5. eligibla

The b the State Gov. Wa dered in been exce equal suff. They, too "given an experience in The season row.

3 CAND

Coca-Cola Cleared

ATLANT G. Candier, founder of pa ny, and h quitted in Pa charges that to defraud.

A jury, w that laundry llers charged ance but carry icy, returned ho

er several ho the elder Cand H. Candier, 38 E. Marvin Un verdict of acqu

Samuel Cand Federal soci Candlers follow court whereof \$200,000 to \$3 customers who in a fire which dry. The clay

ARRESTED

Cemetery S 16-Year-C

Isadore Day 1029 East Te was arreste cemetery ga Queens, for stock transac teen years.

Diamond, now a sales was indict County, up with transa of \$5,500.

Detective George Bry nized Diam from a Fed gation phot Police Head

Elected to S

Mrs. Wally Paul Prybill v of the New Yt advisory board terday in the Broadway. Mr man of the won the organizati campaigns for and welfare ser

Roosevelt's Pilot on 9,764-Mile Teheran Trip Reveals Flight Once Missed Fighter Escort

By JUSTIN D. BOWERSOCK.
KANSAS CITY, Mo., Feb. 12 (NANA).—As we approached Djidjelli, Gen. Eisenhower, who was in the co-pilot's seat, noticed a twin engine airplane of apparent French design approaching our plane from 2 o'clock and at approximately our level.

"One fighter immediately went down and warned the plane away, but the pilot continued toward us. After his apparent disregard of the warning, three P-39s immediately peeled off in a dive toward the intruder. Remembering the instructions given the fighter pilots the day before, I expected to see the plane shot down.

"However, about the time the three fighters started their dive, the pilot saw them coming and turned away. It was a close call for the Frenchman."

That is part of the official report of Maj. Otis F. Bryan of Kansas

because the fighters couldn't stay with us if we went on instruments.

"The field had been closed to all traffic, and we had planned to taxi the big four-engine Army transport plane out and take off as soon as possible.

No sooner had the President's plane taken to the air than the fighters raced down the runway and climbed upward, protecting the most vital cargo in the air. Soon the President's plane, the P-39s and British fighters were on their way.

The aerial convoy headed out to sea. Then, in Maj. Bryan's words, the flight was routine until they encountered the lone Frenchman, who perhaps still wonders what it was all about.

After changing the fighter escort at Djidjelli, the party again headed out to sea.

In order to give the President a view of the battlegrounds in the Tunis area, Maj. Bryan made several

fighter escort would be used to protect the planes of the two generals.

The flight of the President's plane would take it north of Tunis and then east to the Nile River, thence north to Cairo. Since the arrival at the Nile would be after daylight it was agreed a fighter escort would meet the President's plane at the point where it reached the Nile, near El Minya to give the necessary cover into Cairo.

The weather was good that night, and the plane raced along at 7,000-foot altitude in radio silence. It arrived at El Minya. But where were the fighters? For 15 minutes it circled. Then it was decided to go on without escort. The trouble was the fighter escort interpreted the meeting time at 6 o'clock in the morning, local time, which was two hours earlier than Greenwich mean time. They had waited for the President's plane until their fuel

was about exhausted and then returned to their base.

President Sees Pyramids.

On the approach to Cairo, the plane flew down the Nile, Maj. Bryan making several "off course" circles to afford the President a view of the pyramids.

There was some question whether the President could make the flight from Cairo to Teheran. He wanted to fly, but there were conflicting reports on the necessary altitude at which to make the flight, some estimating the plane would have to reach a height of 18,000 feet. So Maj. Bryan took another plane for a survey trip to determine the necessary elevation. If it should be necessary to cross the mountains at an extremely high altitude, the President would be flown to Abadan and then go by train to Teheran.

On the morning of November 27 the plane took off for an uneventful trip in beautiful weather to Teheran.

"The course on this leg of the journey took us over the Suez Canal," Maj. Bryan related, "and to make the trip a little more inter-

Chapman



President Roosevelt and Maj. Otis Bryan, who flew the President into the combat zone in North Africa.

—A. P. Photo from the Navy.

City to Maj. Gen. Harold L. George on Maj. Bryan's second, and most recent, flight with President Roosevelt as a passenger, to the historic conference in Teheran.

TWA Official in Private Life.

Sitting in the living room of his Kansas City home, Maj. Bryan, who as a vice president of Transcontinental & Western Air directs the operations of the intercontinental division, related the incident as just one of many experienced during the 52½ hours in which the President was flown 9,764 miles.

On the last flight he was commissioned a major in the Army Air Forces Air Transport Command. Once the flight was over, he was back in civilian clothes, but in reserve and ready for another flight if the President chooses to go.

"You see there was some concern over the security phase of the mission from Oran to Tunis," he related. "We all discussed it after our arrival at Oran." While we were there, P-39 fighters arrived for local coverage and to cover the flight to Tunis.

"The plans were that P-39's would act as cover from Oran to Tunis. Inasmuch as Tunis was beyond the fighter's range, we planned to change fighter escort at Djidjelli.

Fighters Told to Shoot.

"We summoned the fighter element leaders and instructed them that if any aircraft came within three miles of the President's plane, one fighter was to warn it away. In the event it persisted in coming within the three-mile limit, the plane was to be shot down."

On the night of November 19, Maj. Bryan was invited to a dinner at the headquarters of Gen. Arthur Wilson. The other guests were Gen. Eisenhower, Maj. Gen. Thomas B. Larkin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, jr., Elliott Roosevelt and several others.

One can easily realize the responsibility of a pilot when he has a passenger list made up of President Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins, Admiral William D. Leahy, Gen. Eisenhower, Maj. Gen. E. M. Watson, Rear Admiral Ross McIntyre, Rear Admiral Willson Brown, Lt. Franklin D. Roosevelt, jr., Mike Reilly (Secret Service man), Guy Spaman, Charles Fredericks and Arthur Prettyman.

Maj. Bryan had his crew remain at the field all night in preparation for the flight the next day. The fighter units, which had been augmented by British fighters with sufficient range for the trip to Tunis, were checked along with the weather and briefing.

The presidential party arrived at the plane at 9 o'clock in the morning.

Took Mediterranean Route.

"The weather was marked by a rather low overcast at about 2,000 feet, and there were rain showers about half the way to Tunis," Maj. Bryan related. "Because of such weather conditions we had to make our route out over the Mediterranean, instead of the inland route,

circles before landing, just six hours after the take off from Oran.

Night Flight Necessary.

In a pilot's words again, the next leg of the flight from Tunis to Cairo would be "routine." It had been originally planned to depart from Tunis early November 21, but instead a change was made to the evening of the same day, making a night flight. Gen. H. H. Arnold and Gen. George C. Marshall decided to make the early take off in their transports and since the President's plane would be flying under cover of darkness the

esting for the President we flew over and circled Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Jericho."

Sees Turkish President

From the day of the arrival in Teheran, November 27, when President Roosevelt, Marshall Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill went into conference, until December 2, the crew was busy making preparations for the return flight. They were invited to the ceremony at which Mr. Churchill presented the sword of honor to Marshal Stalin.

President Roosevelt had expressed a desire to fly to Turkey to visit President Inonu, but it was decided a flight by the President into a neutral country should not be made. When he arrived in Cairo on the way back, he was visited by President Inonu.

After the visit with the Turkish President and it was agreed a trip to Naples was too risky for President Roosevelt, an alternate flight was arranged so that the President could visit Sicily and Malta, a flight requiring considerable fighter escort. It was necessary to have a special radio installed in the President's

plane, a high frequency unit to allow contact with the fighter planes.

"Since the President wanted to see the North African battlefields," Maj. Bryan said, "the trip between Cairo and Tunis was made by way of El Alamein, Tobruk and Bengasi.

"The President viewed the North African scenes carefully, as the events of this phase of the campaign are still written in the desert sands. The desert was strewn with wrecked and abandoned instruments of war. Tank tracks were plainly visible, their circular sweeps telling the graphic story of flanking movements."

The arrival at Tunis was at 2:45 o'clock, December 7.

The President got his wish for the kind of visit he wanted in Malta—but it was no fault of his. Local theater officers had allowed so much time for the visits in Sicily and Malta that an after-dark landing would be necessary at Marrakech. There was concern about a night flight in that theater.

The departure from Tunis was at 7 o'clock the morning of December 8, and arrival at Malta was an hour

and 55 minutes later. P-38 fighters accompanied the party. At Malta the first, and only, mechanical difficulty occurred on the plane, an inoperative regulator valve on the hydraulic system. It resulted in a two-hour delay.

Because of the mechanical delay, the visit of the President at Castellvetrano, Sicily, was limited to an hour, and instead of flying to Marrakech, the plane went direct to Tunis. The following day the plane hopped from Tunis to Dakar, with fighter escort. "That was just routine," Maj. Bryan said.

All in all, Maj. Bryan and his crew flew the plane 29,789 miles to

carry out the missions of the President. The total flying time on the trip was a little more than 162 hours. Since the war started Maj. Bryan has made two dozen ocean crossings. (Copyright, 1944, by the Kansas City Star and North American Newspaper Alliance.)

New York Post

FOUNDED IN 1801 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Published daily except Sunday by New York Post, Inc., 75 West Street, New York.
Whithall 4-9000. Entered as 2d-class matter at Post Office, New York.

DOROTHY S. BAKER... President and Publisher
TED O. TRACKER... Editor and General Manager
PAUL A. TIERNY... Managing Editor

	Subscription Rates Postpaid		
	One Year	Six Months	One Month
UNITED STATES.....	\$12.00	\$6.00	\$1.10
CANADA.....	15.00	7.50	1.45
FOREIGN.....	35.00	17.50	3.00

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it, or not otherwise credited to this newspaper, and also the local news published herein.

The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Prospectus of the EVENING POST, No. 1, Nov. 16, 1896

NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1942

December 7

Now that we know the grim story of a year ago today in Hawaii we can see in what a real sense Pearl Harbor was our Dunkirk.

Temporarily it crippled our fighting power. But, mentally, spiritually and physically, it made a man of us—a tough, aggressive and enduring fighting man.

The test of character of a man or a nation is not how he struts and gloats over an easy initial success. It is how he pulls himself up off the floor and slugs his way toward victory.

We are lucky in our allies. Britain did it. Russia did it. We have done it.

Our victories thus far are the preliminary victories which give us the initiative. But that prerequisite to complete victory we have seized. Now we are on our way. Now as never before is there unity among ourselves here at home and among all the nations marching with us.

Since Last December 7

Could we have achieved this unity and have traveled so far along the road to complete victory and a world free of Hitlerism if we had heeded the counsels of despair and defeatism that came in such volume before last December 7 from phoney experts—Lindbergh, for example—and cynical and reactionary newspapers—the Daily News, for instance?

Listen to what these isolationists were telling us in the fateful days before the Japs struck:

"Japan does not threaten us. It is physically impossible for Japan to come over here."

—That's from the Daily News of October 6—two months and a day before the Japs came over. And on November 24, two weeks before Pearl Harbor, about the time the Japs must have been sailing out of their bases, the News ran an eloquent editorial entitled "Come on—Let's Appease Japan."

Meanwhile Lindbergh was delivering himself of these "expert opinions" to large audiences—including heiling bundists—and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"It is impossible to build an air strength in the small area of the British Isles that equals German air strength. . . . Suppose we had an air force that we could send to Europe. Where could it operate? . . . The idea that England, with our assistance, can equal Germany's strength in the air by 1942 or 1943 is a complete fallacy. . . . This war was lost by England and France even before it was declared."

It is the kind of thing people used to crowd into auditoriums to hear. What a long way we have traveled.

These quotations are the merest samplings from the output of the croakers.

They're Still At It

But, unfortunately, these men are still with us, although some of them have shut up, temporarily, at least. They have been proved foolish and wrongheaded, if nothing worse. Let's remember their record when they try to influence us about the peace as they tried to influence us about the war.

They are already at it. To point to the News again, as an example: A year ago today while the bombs rained on Pearl Harbor the News ran an editorial headed "Why Should We Believe Him?" ("Him" being President Roosevelt, who had been warning us of war and trying to prepare us for it.)

Yesterday the News had an editorial headed "The Face of the Future," which is a warning that all of our allies are going back to the old dog-eat-dog world of the past and we'd better not try to plan for a better world.

We believe the peoples who have come through so magnificently in this last year are going to make a better world and that the conviction that they can will lend strength to their blows in the year ahead.

Manpower

To the President's executive order putting an end to disruptive recruiting by the armed forces and placing the nation's manpower resources, civilian and military, under control of a single agency headed by a civilian, we say—Good!

We still think the President should go all the way, however, and place all the nation's resources, including manpower, under one forceful civilian director.



I'd Rather Be Right

By Samuel Grafton

ISOLATION'S NEW FACES: Mr. Hoffman, of Michigan (the nearly automatic Congressman, because you can nearly always predict what he is going to say), mutters about how the people of New England may go cold and hungry this winter for the benefit of foreigners, meaning allies.

The New York Daily News (the newspaper with the nearly automatic editorial page, because you can nearly always predict what it is going to say) chews about how we are stripping Americans to feed the world, suckers.

So. Just about the time the trend toward better war aims succeeds, this other trend, toward rousing the most insular and parochial of American sentiments, may also mature. They may run into each other, head-on.

This is one of isolation's new faces. It does not, at the moment, object to sending American boys abroad, but it is beginning, tentatively, to object to sending American food.

The Beans Issue

I don't know how you can add up a political position which holds that it is perhaps all right to send an American soldier abroad, but wrong to send an American can of beans.

This is one more of those mysterious, dreamy aspects which isolation wears during war-time. At bottom, every sincere one-time isolationist ought to be pleased if we can win victories with food instead of lives. But the remnants of isolation will not give up the chance to make much of the food issue, to chivy a little, to stroke a few national nerves the wrong way, to build up that legacy of resentment of which some few men expect to be the heirs.

Another of isolation's new aspects is the look of hate it turns upon Wendell Willkie, who has become a new "that man."

Oddly, before the war, isolation used to make much of England's imperialism.

Now, when Mr. Willkie raises exactly the same issues, isolation is outraged. It denounces him. It doesn't want to hear about doing anything for those colonies, of whose sufferings it once made so much. Convinced at the outset that this war is meaningless, it wants to make good and sure it stays meaningless.

Many Privileges

It wants the privilege of attacking England for having colonies, and also the privilege of attacking anyone who wants to do anything about colonialism. It seeks, in fact, many conflicting privileges, like the privilege of supporting the war and also the political privilege of bemoaning its cost in food and fuel and regulation.

In this curious, and, as I say, dreamy fashion, the remnants of isolation are enabled to say whoopee, hit him again, when we attack the enemy, and also to mutter about the darn bureaucrats when government tries to collect the food and fuel and metal with which to hit him again.

The Cult of the Meaningless

In other words, what is left of isolation has developed a certain cult of meaninglessness.

Part of the credo is that government is a monkey or a cretin; that government is the funniest thing you ever saw; that pretty near everything government does is feeble, inept or comic. This is the last big shell left in isolation's battery. It is a dangerous one. For, if government attempts to do anything after the war to make the world more stable, the isolationist argument will not be against the plan, but against the government; if isolation can establish that government is an idiot it will destroy war aims without having to discuss them. It needs a purposeless, meaningless world in which to do its business, and thus it enjoys getting the discussion of government down to an incoherently leering level, like some of the overtones in the current wrangle about official questionnaires.

One senses this somewhat nihilistic disbelief in purpose, when the relics of isolation mock at the dream of a "quart of milk a day" for the world's people, but, quite often, urge a national lottery to solve our ills.

When a lottery makes more sense than a quart of milk, there is revealed a hankering for a formless, irrelevant sort of world, one that can stagger along, concealing its losses, masking the cost of national existence, even pretending that there is no cost; that life must be a gamble and that a gamble can pay for it.

So, the fight for better war aims has to be more than a yammer at the President to make up his mind; it is going to be a complicated struggle, on the home front, against all the giggling battalions of obscurantism.

THE opinions of the writers on this page are their own, not necessarily *The Star's*. Such opinions are presented in *The Star's* effort to give all sides of questions of interest to its readers, although such opinions may be contradictory among themselves and directly opposed to *The Star's*.

'I'd Rather Be Right'

Public Issues Must Be Discussed
In Light of Advances in Past Two Years

By SAMUEL GRAFTON.

While a number of flapjaws have been telling us how muddled and confused we are, we have quietly become the strongest military power on earth.

Few have noticed, because most minds (even in high places) are unscientific minds, and their attention is therefore arrested by exceptions, by the bizarre, by the amusing, by the silly, but not by the customary or the big.

Thus, while many a Congressman has been holding some unimportant Government questionnaire to his nose, with an expression saying that nobody knows how sad it is to be a mother, we have somehow come to outproduce the entire Axis in the field of munitions. By the end of next year, we shall outproduce the world, and we shall have done all this while most of us have been talking about something else.

We live in a big new house, but we still don't know our way around it, we don't know where the furniture is, and our manners are still deplorably inadequate.

Every public issue must be discussed in the light of the knowledge that this is an entirely different country from the one of two years ago. Is it a question of whether we can help the rest of the world to stability after the war? If you are still living, mentally, in 1939, we cannot do so, because then we produced about 100,000,000 of machine tools. But if you are living, mentally, in 1943, we can, because then we shall produce more than 2,000,000,000 of machine tools, or 20 for 1.

New Test for Lawmakers.

And now we have a brand-new test for judging commentators, Congressmen, etc.: Does the gentleman talk in approximately the same terms, about the same problems, as he did in 1939?

Well then, he is a fool; the America of 1939 is so far behind us that he might almost as well be talking about Plymouth Rock. Every problem, from our ability to win the war, to our ability to feed the world, to our ability to take care of our own, has been profoundly affected by our success in crowding 20 years of normal industrial expansion into two years, and that knowledge ought to shine out of everything that is said on all these matters, or else the speaker ought to sprinkle some lavender on himself, like a porper antique, and put himself away in a drawer.

To capture this sense of the moment becomes the highest duty of the average man.

He is not helped in this duty by the publicist who jumps up and down in a temper tantrum, going "Wah! Wah!" because, say, we have more civil servants than we had during the last war. What does that comparison have to do with

anything? This is a new country, at the absolute historic peak of its strength, and it would be just as sensible to compare the number of its civil servants with the number of beans in a sack of coffee.

We have a whole new language to learn. Do you realize you are living in a country which has solved the aluminum shortage? Oh, you didn't know that. Well, we are wallowing in the stuff.

The man who speaks to you about America's problems without conveying this sense of American enlargement is not arguing but sentimentalizing. The man who discusses our public debt, for example, without adding that we have grown 20 years in two years, contributes precisely as much to public enlightenment as if he were drunkenly singing "Sweet Adeline" under a lamp post.

Big Adventure Ahead.

Every relationship throughout the world has been changed by our progress in the last two years.

Precisely because of our enlarged production and increased weight, the least remark of one of our diplomats has an explosive emphasis it did not have before. (Sometimes I feel that our State Department has been caught short, like most of us, by these great changes; it still hasn't lost its hat-in-hand manner in dealing with the scum of the earth, the lesser Fascist of Europe.)

An American promise of assistance to another country is now consequential, as it never was before. American indifference to proper planning, say by neglecting to work out a unified United Nations approach to such problems as Darlan, now becomes 10 times the mistake it ever was before, because of the increased force and weight it carries with it.

There is almost no plan for the world's rehabilitation that we don't have the power to carry out. The big adventure ahead will be for each of us, from President to busboy, to try to grow as big as his country has grown.

D. C. Is Asked to Keep Alley Clear of Glass

The West End Citizens' Association last night asked that the District government take steps to keep the alley between Pennsylvania avenue and H street and Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets N.W. cleared of broken glass. The motion was made by Otto Zaugg and was passed unanimously.

Mr. W. F. Wasson pointed out that in view of the rubber shortage every-thing possible should be done to help conserve rubber and that this particular alley was dangerous in that respect.

William F. Brown, treasurer of the association, reported a balance of \$38.57 in the treasury.

*Personal
cut from
file*

Today And Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

The Great Adventure

MR. HOOVER tells us that at least 500 million people will be short of food and will have to be fed when the war ends and we may well believe him.



LIPPMANN

For in this field he has been for a quarter of a century the foremost authority, and he is today the leading elder statesman to whom Governor Lehman and all who organize the operation of relief and rehabilitation must turn for guidance and for help.

Naturally enough there will be many who will think that such enormous misery cannot be relieved without impoverishing our own people. In fact there is already an anxiety that in our desire to relieve this misery we shall send goods abroad that we cannot spare and that we shall open the gates to an immigration that we cannot assimilate. The anxiety is honest but if we proceed wisely and act efficiently, the anxiety will prove to be groundless.

ON THE ASSUMPTION that we win the war and succeed in establishing a political and military peace which gives men confidence that there will not be another great war for a long time to come, there is no reason to think that there will be any strong pressure of peoples to come into the United States. On the contrary, the general movements of peoples should be the other way—provided we have the prudence to make the initial investments which can open up opportunity in the outer world.

Many of the Americans who are now moving out into all parts of the world will find a satisfying life's work in the development of the vast undeveloped regions of the globe. They will open up new frontiers as their forefathers did. Many of those who have found asylum here since Europe became a prison will go back to their homes, or to the new lands which will be calling for enterprising men with special know-

end is to prime the pump which will, so to speak, cause the desert to bloom—to make the initial investments in the form of materials, and technical knowledge and promotion, which will start the undeveloped regions of the world on a great development. In the primitive places, this means, after political security is established, communications and public works and the exploration of their hidden resources. In the sparsely inhabited and poorer countries it means the encouragement of the simpler industries which, in the natural evolution of things, will become the foundation of the more complex capital goods industries.

THIS PROSPECT is certain to arouse the fear in many minds that, in promoting prosperity abroad we shall impoverish ourselves. This fear that one man's or one country's gain is another man's or another country's loss is undoubtedly the greatest obstacle to human progress. It is the most primitive of all our social feelings, and the most persistent and obstinate prejudice which we retain from our barbarian ancestors. It is upon this prejudice that civilization has foundered again and again. It is in this prejudice that all schemes of conquest and exploitation are engendered. It is this prejudice which causes almost all men to think that the Golden Rule is a counsel of perfection which cannot be followed in the world of actual affairs.

Yet the belief that our neighbor's gain is our loss is quite contrary to the facts of life in the modern world. New York and Chicago and Detroit are richer, not poorer, if the people of the rest of the country are prosperous, and the United States will be richer, not poorer, if the rest of the world prospers. To doubt this basic truth of human society is to believe at bottom in the philosophy of the robber barons and the Nazis—namely that a few can be rich by exploiting others. It is to deny the elementary basis of our economic life, which is that where there is a seller there must be a buyer, and that there can be no lasting profit in the exchange unless the exchange is profitable to both.

Only if we allow the world to sink into a morass of misery will America be faced with the dilemma of granting asylum or of condemning human beings to incalculable suffering. If, on the other hand, we use the power which victory will give us to make the world safe for the humble and open for the enterprising, we can without uncharity maintain the immigration laws, and we shall find that a strong tendency to emigration will in fact set in.

IT IS true that in the very first postwar period, which Mr. Hoover calls "the acute period," we shall have to share our food and certain other supplies with the war-stricken peoples abroad. But this period need not be long. Mr. Hoover reminds us that after the last war it lasted from November, 1918, until after the harvest of 1919. This time it may last through two harvests, but it need not be longer than that—provided we use the world-wide supply system built up for war purposes to lend them or give them the tools and the materials to become self-sustaining again. The human capacity for recuperation is greater than we think. And so is the adaptability of men. In London, for example, I was told on the highest authority that if priorities for certain fertilizers could be obtained, the British Isles which for a century have depended on imported food, could within a year grow 80 per cent of the necessary food supply.

We have, however, a greater end to achieve than to save men from dying of hunger and ourselves from having to live in a world scourged by pestilence, and of being faced thereafter, as Mr. Hoover says, with masses of "physical degenerates and potential gangsters." Our greater

THE FEAR then is groundless that the promotion of prosperity in the outer world will diminish our own. It will enhance it—if only we do not suffer the catastrophe of a reaction like that of the Harding Administration, which saddles us with a postwar Administration composed of men who do not understand the dynamics of the modern social order. In 1920 no one understood them and so there was some excuse for the disastrous follies into which we landed ourselves. But since 1920 men have discovered the principle of prosperity.

This discovery is much the most important advance in human knowledge in modern times. It is the discovery that government can by the proper use of public funds create a condition of full employment for all its people. Heaven help the Administration which refuses to apply this knowledge in the postwar world. For the war has demonstrated conclusively that unemployment is now an unnecessary and therefore an intolerable evil. The prime lesson of the war in domestic affairs will be that by the proper use of a small fraction of the funds now devoted to engines of destruction, the country can become productive beyond anything ever imagined, and on that productivity it can maintain a high and rising level of prosperity.

IN THE freedom from want men find freedom from fear. And when they cease to fear, they begin to realize their powers and to believe, as men should when they are worth their salt, that they are only at the beginning and that they are not at the end of the great human adventure.

CONTINUED Report
On Midwest

Part VII

Conclusions

However isolationist they once may have been, no one need worry about the Midwesterners' support of the war. They have been supporting it, they will continue to support it, because they are patriotic. (That isn't the only reason, but it will suffice.)

The next question is, "What do they expect to get out of the war?" And I think to that most Midwesterners—and most Americans everywhere—would say, "A chance to live in peace."

Now that is a simple concept which embraces many simple things: a job, a decent home, the right to worship as one pleases, protection from aggressors. The Four Freedoms, if you please.

The Four Freedoms, simple in concept, nevertheless are tremendously difficult of accomplishment. For in this world, which daily becomes a closer and more integrated unit, no man can be free—really and permanently free—until all are free. The last war, and the fact that today we are fighting another, is the best proof.

Wallace's glass of milk for every child the world over is simple in concept, but to understand it you first must understand the fact that there is a relationship between the standard of living of the Chinese coolie, or the Bulgar peasant, or the Japanese fisherman, and J. Homer Snively of Yellow Springs, O.

It is on this principle that the understanding of the Midwesterner—and perhaps most Americans—breaks down. And because he does not understand, he is suspicious—of Wallace, of Willkie, of statesmen in general, of all the great diplomatic pressures which must be brought to play to achieve and to guarantee the simple things for the individual.

I don't think it is too late to spread that understanding. I don't think it is too late for labor unions and farmers' unions to begin teaching world unity as they so often successfully have taught local unity. I don't think it is too late for newspapers, regardless of party, to teach that the things we cherish don't depend, as we once thought, on the state of the Nation, but on the state of the world. It isn't too late for anyone and everyone to talk and think in terms of peoples rather than of boundaries.

Above all, I don't think it is too late for one nation, somewhere, to make the dramatic gesture that would prove to Americans, in the Midwest and elsewhere, that this war can be different from other wars.

I have said that the people of the Midwest are not much interested in India. Still, I wonder what they would say if tomorrow a London dispatch said that India had been guaranteed her freedom. I think I can guess: "This isn't just another war, after all!"

The leaders of America—in Government and out—have been giving much serious thought to the concrete problems of the peace. PM has been interviewing many of them who have answered frankly many of the explosive questions that will face the world before a peace can be written. PM will begin publication of their answers shortly.

THE GREAT SIMPLICITY OF JEFFERSON

By EDYTHE H. BROWNE

"THE greatest truths are the simplest—and so are the greatest men."

If statues could become animate how Thomas Jefferson would have turned his stony head in dismay, how quickly would the honored hand that penned America's first liberty bond have been raised in protestation, how tightly would the jaws have locked in fixed reserve, when his admiring countrymen celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of his death on July 4, 1926. For Jefferson was a plain man. He could purchase Louisiana with one hand and a bag of pansy seed for his garden at Monticello with the other. In private life he was the bland Southern gentleman in soft shoes, making his own fire at dawn, chatting with his adoring slaves, humming a snatch of dinky lullaby as he climbed the stairs to bed. In public life as governor, minister to France, secretary, vice-president, and finally president, Jefferson was the modest diplomat to whom titles of "His Excellency" and "Honorable" were unwelcome, and whose official chamber was accessible to casual callers.

Jefferson would have frowned on the noisy tribute of July 4, because in life he sought no tribute but his own conscience. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's pet brain child, gave but a sharper retort to the firecrackers. So this double celebration would have nettled Mr. Jefferson. In deference, therefore, to his wish were he alive today, we shall not toast him for historic achievement; we shall rather present him as the plain man, the man of simplicities, profiled against private life and public life.

Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph were the influencing parentheses in the boyhood of their son Thomas. From his father, a Goliath of the Virginia backwoods, he inherited a stubbornly strong body which he was taught to care for by simple meals of boiled beef and lamb, simple recreations of gardening and horseback riding, and simple clothing of homespun. Although Thomas was her first son, Mrs. Jefferson primed him early in the elementary art of waiting on himself. When he was a student at William and Mary College, Williamsburg, his natural simplicity once bolted, and attired in brocaded coat and lacy garters he attended brilliant soirées on week-end visits to relatives. When he reported his expenses to his guardian he punished himself for the extravagant departure by charging the sum against his own share of inheritance.

The mature Jefferson in the privacy of his beloved Monticello, spent his day in simple routine. We can see Ursula, one of his favorite slaves, waddling about "Massa Jefferson" as he eats his scant breakfast of coffee, bread, and wafer of cold meat. He spent most

of the morning in his study, a silent figure in black coat in his famous "whirligig" or swivel chair, of which he was the inventor. Here he read; entered such commonplaces in his diary as "the first shad has appeared on the market, . . . we are out of myrtle candles," on the same page with important affairs of state; wrote letters to English lords, French counts, and German barons, all with non-essential postscripts as to the effects of a cold in the head, the particular kind of rainbow that arches over Monticello. The ordinary bearings of daily life were romance to Jefferson's Saxon soul. Perhaps it was during an interval of musing between letter-writing that he sketched the plain stone obelisk that was to mark his grave, and perhaps, too, he confided his wish for unostentatious burial to an odd scrap of paper on which he wrote: "Choose for a burial place some unfrequented vale in the park, where there is no sound to break the stillness but a brook."

Later in the morning we see Jefferson meeting his world of plebian folk. Usually a silent man, he would perch on an anchor at the end of a wharf and joke with shipwrights. In his whitening seventies he would sit day after day on a camp-stool in the midst of masonry, suggesting plans to the workmen who were rearing his dream of higher education in enduring stone—the University of Virginia. Thirty slaves ministered to the Jefferson household, yet they were not of Jefferson's own purchase but "black chattels" inherited from his father. The master was a benign king among them, patting the head of a pickaninny, teaching the men carpentry, bandaging a hurt finger.

After lunch he mounted his horse, Wildair, not with a flourish of slave-curtsying and a donning of glossy boots and princely spurs, but quietly, with worn overalls for toggery and a passing negro lad for servant. Wildair looked the statelier of the two. After leisurely cavaliering along the banks of the Rivanna River Jefferson would drop the reins for the hoe. Sunset found him working in his garden.

Dinner at Monticello was a festive affair with Jefferson as shy but genial host to the distinguished guests who drank to his health. At table he addressed conversation to his next-door neighbor. Southern hospitality was not wanting in him—his kitchen gave forth tempting odors of roast beef and mutton, his cellar brimmed with cider and rare wines, and sometimes fifty beds were in magic readiness for those who wished to stay overnight—but he was rather personally sparing. Self was a beggar whom he never befriended.

In the evening in family reunion about the hearth, Jefferson's candle and Bible were twin comforts. He had a simple concept of religion—belief in God and

reverence for Jesus Christ. He retired habitually at nine o'clock.

Jefferson's public life, a thick slice of forty years off his eighty-three, was bleached of personal glorification. He campaigned for democracy and his first act toward that end was to uproot the enthroning weeds of rank that grew about himself as a public figure. Colonial Virginia was servile. Slaves cringed before their masters. The lady in crinoline dropped a curtsy and a handkerchief when a dashing Continental passed her gate and would be blushing honored by his attention. Assembly members in lace cuffs greeted one another with cotillion bows. The newspapers were extravagantly salutatory. Mrs. Washington's arrival in New York was heralded by the following grandiloquence from the Gazette: "Arrived in this city Mrs. Washington, the amiable consort of the President of the United States. At Elizabeth Point she was met by the President . . . and several other gentlemen of distinction. She was conducted over the bay . . . rowed by thirteen eminent pilots." Jefferson called this gushing punctilio a "frenzy."

The famous "Jefferson" of the British artist, Gilbert Stuart, tallies with our pen portrait. The Chief Executive sits in a suit of black "plain cloth" on the edge of the chair rather than assume a stately posture against the back. His stock is a bit awry, his hands clasp no keys of power, even the right hand resting on a writing tablet is devoid of the simple quill. The painting might be called "A Man in Black," so scrupulously has the artist respected Jefferson's wish that nothing should distinguish him as President.

On inauguration day Jefferson defied convention. The buff-colored chariot with its tinselled horses and attendants in cloth of scarlet, was to conduct the Honorable and Distinguished Mr. Jefferson to the Capitol at Washington. The road along which the procession was to pass was aflutter with waving handkerchiefs. But instead of cheering, the crowd suddenly fell back. In the distance came Jefferson, seated nonchalantly on Wildair, unaccompanied by servants, his tri-cornered hat a little askew, his riding-coat mud-spattered. He dismounted at the gate of the Capitol and hitching the bridle to a picket fence thus unceremoniously presented himself at the White House.

For eight years Jefferson sat in a hush in the presidential chair. The infant republic was an anaemic baby, born after the blood of Revolutionary patriots was spilled. It needed vigilant nursing and this Jefferson gave it, rocking its cradle quietly, and at the same time shielding it from alien dangers. He was accused of timidity and vacillation probably because his decisions were never explosive but budded gradually from quiet interviews or from the seclusion of personal correspondence. The word-duelling between Hamilton and Jefferson was a clash of personalities—the audacious egoist against the discreet altruist.

Jefferson opened Congress, not in the customary

English manner with a lengthy speech, but by jotting down a few noble sentiments couched in household language, and sending his message by private hand. He was also an economist of time. He could not see the morning hours wither in the hands of the fashionable clientele that met at the weekly levees to honor the President. So he abolished these breakfast matinees. Many a damsel was cheated of the opportunity to parade her newest "Dolly Varden" on the Monticello lawn. Because Jefferson believed that "the rulers of America are but honored servants," he clipped more weeds of caste from around his feet by refusing to have his birthday celebrated. A committee member asked him:

"What is the date of your birth, Mr. Jefferson?"

"Of what concern is that to you?" he replied.

"We wish to give it fitting celebration."

"For that reason," answered Jefferson, "I decline to enlighten you. . . . I shall also be obliged if you will omit the 'Mr.'"

When in January, 1785, Jefferson was elected to succeed Franklin as Minister Plenipotentiary to France a friend congratulated him on replacing Franklin. Jefferson modestly replied: "I go to succeed him, for no one could replace him." Gilded France held no witchery over Jefferson. He admired her art but he felt "at home" on stolen visits to French peasants. As welcome guest to a lilac-covered cottage he would sit down to a meal of crackers and cheese while the host and the pig-tailed children clacked in ecstatic French about him.

Jefferson's official papers are characterized by the same simplicity that molds the man. His masterpiece, the Declaration of Independence, is unvarnished argument proceeding from a terse statement of self-evident truths, up neat steps of fact, to a platform of blunt conclusion. Unity of thought through a lattice of varying sentence structure labels this famous document a model of argumentative writing.

Simplicity is the vital ingredient in nature's mixing of the magic potion—a great man. Thomas Jefferson was one of her choice concoctions.

The Invalid

Old ships are tired sailing into port—
Dim, white-winged galleons weighted down with wares
From lands away off there. Adventuring
In strange sea-ways enshadows them. Who cares
That they are gale-torn by the sweep of years
When they have seen gold dawns in Sicily—
In far Japan young, cherry-blossomed dusks
Agleam on waves of lapis lazuli?
I have on me the weariness of ships
Long journeyed although I have never gone
Beyond these four walls where my fingertips
Might love old things of mine about the room.
Yet I am like home-coming ships wind-blown—
I dream the vagabondage they have known!

VIRGINIA J. FOLEY.

Let's Stand Up and Be Counted

A plan to underwrite every American's freedom from want lies on the President's desk.

And look! Before any of its specific details are known cries of protest rise, led by Frederick C. Crawford, president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers.

Maybe it's because there are no specific details yet that the howls are so prompt and anguished. The beauty of the British Beveridge plan, the thing about it which knocked for a loop the men waiting for it with knives out, was that it was full of specific detail—all set forth in shillings and pence.

So we hope that when the President does submit this plan for public discussion it turns out to be a proposal detailed in dollars and cents—things which all men can translate into rent and meat on the table.

There the discussion can cut through vague generalities and get down to such questions as: "Do you think \$18 a week is too much unemployment insurance? Or too little? How much do you think would be about right then? \$15? \$8.60? None at all?"

Three Years of Study

This plan, drawn up by the National Resources Planning Board, is nothing whipped up to quiet a sudden demand. It is the result of a study begun in 1939. If it follows hard on the heels of the Beveridge report it shows only that two great democracies have been thinking along the same lines, responding to the desires of their plain people in much the same way.

Let the Nazi radio, which has been tearing the air to tatters over the Beveridge plan, make the most of that.

These moves in that direction scare the Nazis infinitely more than anything we have heretofore done in the field of psychological and political warfare. They are watching us. They know that all the plain people of the world will be watching us.

We are eager for the President to present the American plan and as dramatically and effectively as possible, with himself giving his interpretation on a world-wide hookup.

Then we can all stand up and be counted. We shall want to know what many men think of it. Including—

The New Chairman

Of the G. O. P. National Committee.

He is, of course, Harrison E. Spangler, and he starts his campaign to eliminate the New Deal in 1944 with the statement that "Those bungling New Dealers haven't awoken the fact that we have a war on our hands. They've been too busy with regimentation and interference with private enterprise."

Mr. Spangler's election to his new post has been hailed as a victory for the liberal Willkie wing of the G. O. P. It was. But only in the forlorn sense that it meant defeat for Werner W. Schroeder, the Chicago Tribune's isolationist candidate.

But we can't throw our hat in the air over that victory—instead of a minus we get a zero, not a plus.

We've been looking over the long and depressing record of Mr. Spangler's contribution to the political history of our times. The most illuminating, and, we're afraid, characteristic contribution was when he made the hopeful prediction back in 1936 that the Republicans might name "another dark-horse candidate, like Warren G. Harding, in 1920" to lick Roosevelt.

There's nothing in the record to reassure us that his dream for 1936 is not also his dream for 1944. What does Spangler think about unemployment insurance? Does he want weekly benefits of \$12.86? Or does he prefer \$3.16? We'd like to know.

And while we're on the subject of party politics, it's encouraging to see Representative Michael J. Kennedy, leader of Tammany Hall, breaking with old Tammany practices. His latest is to call all Democratic legislators from New York County into consultation, and take up, among other things, the question of how the delegation can best support the President's legislative proposals, now that the Democratic majority in the House has been shaved dangerously thin.

Mike has taken a position, and is making New York's Congressmen stand for something, and he deserves a bow. Good, to see Tammany worry about something besides how to enlarge the local machine.

quests I
join wit
newsp
by wit
people
ditions
tire cit
articles.
This is
cannot b
closed doo
and the I
Our As
support
courageo
against
MRS. S.
Parent

Likes Gro To Post-V

Dear V
Samuel G
the Bever
observation
notice, nam
employee
need for in
ployment.

This str
which our
war plann
gun. Fone
er, instea
unemploy
phenomen
to-be cor
governme
discover
ment and
source? 9

Says F. I Place Be

Dear Ed
a great se
series of
"There W
Days."

Washing
coln, ever
was victo
bers of C
ly their
these line
nant fact
... most
papers of
ed, attac
course of
day, Line
slander, a
tion, vitu
mors, hab
lampons,
free press

Today N
of malign
against P
history pi
tonly wor
they were
I am a
whose fa
founders
ty under
torian I
cations p
velt will
hearts of
greatest
world Lin
FRANCI
LER, Aut
Lincoln."

The Ch

As aim
as to
Of way
foolis
Are the
loft
That
large
of
97-C

ve
97-C

New York Post

Arthur C. ...

FOUNDED IN 1801 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Published daily except Sunday by New York Post, Inc., 75 West Street, New York
Whitehall 4-9000. Entered as 2d-class matter at Post Office, New York.

DOROTHY S. BACKER..... President and Publisher
TED O. THACKERAY..... Editor and General Manager
PAUL A. TIERNY..... Managing Editor

Subscription Rates	Postpaid	One Year	Six Months	One Month
UNITED STATES.....	\$12.00	\$6.00	\$3.10	
CANADA	15.00	7.50	1.45	
FOREIGN	35.00	17.50	3.00	

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it, or not otherwise credited to this newspaper, and also the local news published herein.

The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Prospectus of the EVENING POST, No. 1, Nov. 16, 1891.

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1942.

Meat on the Table

We're a little jealous of the way the Nazi radio is raving against the British because of Britain's new Beveridge plan for social security.

We'd like the Nazis to hate us, too, because we Americans had also begun to promise our people a complete system of social security.

We'd like Nazis to be watching us, in ideological terror, and we'd like the plain people of the world to be watching us, too, in a new, flooding tide of hope.

Funny thing. Here the world has been talking about war aims for three years. Pretty vague stuff, mostly. Kindly speeches, not very definite. Then, suddenly, a mild, elderly English economist proposes a system of social security for England, not intended as war aims at all, and the thing stands up and begins to walk by itself, and now it is striding across the world.

It Will Be Talked About

We think the Beveridge plan will be talked about in remote huts in China before its career has ended.

We know it is being talked about on the Nazi radio, which raves that England is lying, that it has no intention of providing unlimited unemployment insurance, and maternity care, and medical insurance. For all. For everybody, workman, youth, doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief—and housewife, too.

And the job that the House of Commons asked Sir William Beveridge to do for England, for England alone, mind you, becomes the best statement of war aims we've had, a statement with enough muscle and vitamins to it to be able to live even away from the lecture platform.

Why? Because, perhaps, Sir William's plan meets the needs of this age, as Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points met the war-aims needs of an earlier age.

The Fourteen Points were largely concerned with problems of national sovereignty, problems hot and lively in an age in which imperialism was still pushing out its chest.

The Beveridge plan talks to the individual about his individual problems of want and fear and freedom, and in an era in which mass unemployment and insecurity have gripped the minds of men.

The Nazis Know

The fright of the Nazis shows they understand how profoundly the Beveridge plan challenges them.

The Nazis "solved" the problems of individual insecurity by merging the individual with the state. The Beveridge plan would solve the problem of individual security, and still leave the individual in control of the state. This is a deep challenge to Nazism, a blow struck where it hurts.

And we begin to see, perhaps, the face of the future.

We think there ought to be an American Beveridge plan, and that an authoritative and unbiased American economist like Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago (now a captain of Marines) ought to be put to work to draw it up.

And will we offer it, when completed, to Chinese and Siamese, to Italians and Albanians? What about those Americans who make those jokes about not wanting to fight for a quart of milk a day for every Hottentot?

Take the First Step

We'd say, strike out for justice and the truth, and let nature and bad jokes take their course.

Each nation will want to solve its internal problems in its own way. Each has different standards. Each has a lot of history to live through.

But to start it, first in England, then here, to show the world it is spreading, that we can stand on our two feet, that we can help smaller Beveridge plans along in smaller places—that makes a program of war aims. It is the more exciting precisely because it is not too pat and too nicely finished off, because it deals in the realities of meat on the table, and is not afraid to take the first step because the road ahead may be long and full of turns.

end
conscience which is
angely perverted spiritual
human history

For Reasonable Restraints

The President has asked Congress to give him plenary power to suspend for the duration whatever tariff, immigration and espionage laws impede the joint prosecution of the war by the United Nations. Testimony that many of these legislative restrictions have proved an embarrassment to the joint effort has been given by the most distinguished and trustworthy of our war executives. But Congress has been coy and perhaps deservedly. With an eye on the recent elections it would delegate the authority requested with restrictions which retain the reins in its own hands.

No one can quarrel with this objective. The only point at issue concerns the degree of restriction and its effect on the prosecution of the war. As we read the election returns they constituted a popular mandate that our representatives in Washington concentrate on the efficient prosecution of the war above any other consideration. All subsequent signs have strengthened our conviction in this particular, and the passage of the teen-age draft law without emasculating amendments appeared to indicate that Congress, too, shared this understanding. We wish we could be as sure that in its approach to the third war powers bill it was not playing politics.

According to reports of the latest version of this measure to be entertained by the Ways and Means Committee of the House, the President is to have the right to suspend certain annoying tariff regulations, but he is still to be hedged about with stingy and annoying doubt's respecting immigration. One can easily sympathize with the fear that our barriers to indiscriminate immigration, a serious threat to our national unity in the last war, will be impaired by any concession. But a realistic comprehension of the situation should dispel the fear. The President has asked merely that while the war lasts he be permitted to set aside such barriers to admit Allied nationals on official missions, civil or military, free from head taxes and other limitations of residence. The country has nothing to lose and everything to gain in complying with this request. War conditions absolutely prohibit the entry into this country of persons other than the few required to promote inter-Allied co-operation. And common sense demands that they be freed of the hampering red tape.

It is all right that Congress should be anxious to contradict its reputation of subservience to the Executive by insisting on reasonable restraints. But by all means let them be reasonable, not obstructionist.

Whimsy at Its Worst

If we may say so, it seems to us that Rooseveltian whimsy struck a new low for 1942, if not for all time, at the President's Tuesday press conference.

The President was discussing the question whether Congress would extend the \$25,000 ceiling to cover all income from any

an
hon
fact
satisf
The
tingua
worker
the St
hearted
conduc
the co
patient
the cor
hospital
firms d
which
ple. s
In vic
tions m
hope th
years m
mand n
makers
who app
1940, pla
the tent
successor
that the
having
psychiat
run sav
man we
ings, as
work to
more ho

The
this ne
on the
we are
we sho
name.
received
named
and it
of an h
paper
been cr
ping ce
tains at
Teed is
friend
feeble
ably ju
pointin
such d
sagsha
Kostru
May 11

33
477
220
100
281
2012
2.00
1.23
1.00
1.75
2.75
1.50
1.00
use
of
cal
s of
red.
e
dly
nis
are
an
k-
te
3-
er
y
et
de
n-
no
ave
in-
ble
the
n a
n in
ious
th a
this
the
utes
na-
gen-
cult
i and
s an
d his
man"
piece
go on
their
rescue
l Duce
sible"
m the
scismo
mean
will
ves
T-

Esc
ber

Chicago Daily Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

FOUNDED JUNE 16, 1847

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER MAY 14, 1902,
AT THE POSTOFFICE AT CHICAGO, ILL., UNDER
ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

All unsolicited articles, manuscripts, letters and pictures sent to The Tribune are sent at the owner's risk, and The Tribune company expressly repudiates any liability or responsibility for their safe custody or return.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1942

Newspapers are the sentinels of the liberties of our country.

—Benjamin Rush.

A DURABLE PEACE.

A memorandum to the President and congress telling them how to go about making an enduring peace is being circulated about the country. The declaration bears the title "Program for a Union of Nations and the Adoption of Those Fundamental Economic Principles Which Are Necessary to Insure a Just and Lasting Peace." The proposal is indorsed by about 50 men and women, including a good many in the academic world, some writers, some clergymen, an actress, some business men, some lawyers, some government officials, and the usual sprinkling of professional doers of good. All of the signers are more or less prominent; the representation from the seaboard states appears to be disproportionately high.

The memorandum says that "legal, geographic, ethnic, and other questions" will be presented at the peace conference for decision, but economic reorganization of the world must be attended to at once. "In the economic field . . . it is imperative that the general principles laid down be implemented now." The nations are to form a world economic union to which they will send delegates, and the world union will have branch agencies in each country. This machinery is to be readied for operation as soon as the war ends. "Its general purpose would be to create equitable relationships between the nations of the world so that no nation need turn to warfare as a method of attaining free access to raw materials and goods with which to support its population."

And so on. The world economic union is to lend money to get the impoverished nations started again. Currencies are to be stabilized; and in this connection kind words are uttered about the gold standard. Trade barriers, including tariffs and quotas, are to be largely eliminated, but something, unspecified, must be done to overcome the competition of extremely low wages prevailing in some countries. An international central bank is to be established. The backward peoples are not to be ruled as colonies nor yet turned over to individual nations under a scheme of mandates, but this time are to be governed "under the protection and care of the international union."

This will give some idea of what is in the minds of the 60-odd ladies and gentlemen. There is much in this program that is desirable, tho a great deal of it is so vaguely expressed that it is difficult to know just what is intended. It is amusing to note that much of Hitler's propaganda about the have-not nations has been swallowed as gospel. In fact, of course, these nations before this war were free to buy raw-materials almost anywhere on equal terms with everybody else. Japan had no difficulty in accumulating stocks of oil, cotton, scrap steel, and machine tools. She went to war against us after monopolizing vast natural resources and markets in Manchuria. Germany is still drawing on the stocks of rubber, oil, tin, and copper she had no difficulty in obtaining overseas before the war. After the last war we lent money to Germany in amounts not likely to be exceeded this time even if an elaborate machinery for international lending is created and Germany is again welcomed as a borrower.

An underlying assumption in the memorandum appears to be this: Prosperous nations and peoples do not start wars. History will not bear out this thesis. It is much nearer the truth to say that free peoples seldom engage in wars of conquest. It follows that the most serviceable means of preventing wars is to encourage the spread of republican institutions and especially of the Bill of Rights to peoples who do not now enjoy them. In lands where there is no freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly, and religion a people can easily be led into aggression by governing officials who see their own profit in war.

"The American people," the memorandum says, "recognize the need for preservation of individual rights . . . as the ultimate object to strive for," but adds that "such aims can only be attained if they are based on a sound and workable economic policy which ties the nations together and makes possible the interchange of vital national resources. . . ." That is stating the matter upside down. If there is to be closer cooperation among nations the first step must be the liberation of the slave nations—Russia and India as well as Germany and Japan.

We are frank to say we don't know how that can be achieved and we got no help from Mr. Roosevelt when he announced the four freedoms as the goal of our war policy. It is hard to see how the Bill of Rights can be implanted by force of arms but perhaps it can be done. At any rate the American people will be more than a little reluctant to join a union of nations, some of them free and some of them enslaved. If we should ever decide to qualify our independence it will surely not be to ally ourselves permanently with nations in which the people are not politically free, for such nations cannot be trusted.

FOREIGN LEGIONS.

Secretary Stimson's permission to Otto Hapsburg to raise a body of household troops—paid, fed, and clothed by the United States army—has naturally brought protests from spokesmen for the different peoples who threw off Hapsburg tyranny after the last war.

Our alliance with Otto may please the other royal fugitives who frequent the White House, but it can do nothing but harm to our relations with the people of occupied Europe. A joint protest against this country entering any relations with the Austro-Hungarian pretender has been issued in New York by Austrian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, and Yugoslav spokesmen.

In Chicago the Czechoslovak National council has attacked the deal, but its secretary has stipulated that the organization is not opposed to "units of freedom-loving nationals of other countries fighting as units of the United States army." This raises another question.

Aliens resident in this country are subject to the draft, as they should be. If they wish to enjoy freedom in the United States they should fight

Official
Copy
File

DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1942

Willkie Forces Keep Schroeder From Rule

By DORIS FLEESON

St. Louis, Dec. 6.—Wendell L. Willkie tonight apparently had won his fight against the selection of Werner Schroeder as chairman of the Republican National Committee. Willkie had opposed Schroeder on the ground that the Chicagoan was a former isolationist and his selection would represent a retrogression for the party.

Conferences between Willkie spokesmen, party harmonizers and representatives of the Schroeder group are scheduled. Harrison Spangler, national committeeman for Iowa, and Barak T. Mattingly of St. Louis were possible compromise selections.

Martin Pulls for Unity

The sentiment for harmony crystallized late this afternoon after spade work by retiring Chairman Joe Martin. Among the national committeemen who met and arranged tonight's harmony meeting was J. Russel Sprague of New York.

Schroeder, who had said from the start that he felt party harmony was imperative, was reported sending spokesmen to the meeting with Martin.

The defeat of Schroeder represents a triumph for Willkie, who from the start offered no candidate of his own but stood on the ground that Schroeder would not do.

Taft Stand Boomerang

The Willkie camp avoided drawing any issue, but they were aided by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, prominent pre-war isolationist, who on arrival here announced he would vote for Schroeder. This, in the view of the Willkieites, helped fasten the isolationist label on the Chicagoan.

Willkie's victory is the more remarkable since most G.O.P. politi-



Wendell L. Willkie
Blocks choice of Schroeder

cos feel he had run out on the party by his support of the Roosevelt foreign policy.

The chairman will not be named until tomorrow afternoon but any agreement reached tonight will prevail.

Wouldn't you like to give a Christmas doll to a little girl who has never had one? Then send it to Sally Joy Brown.

Published daily except Sunday by News Syndicate Co., Inc., 229 E. 42d St., Borough of Manhattan, New York, N. Y. Daily mail subscription rates: U. S. \$3.00, Canada \$13.00 a year. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S. \$10.50 per year; Canada \$29.00. President, J. M. Patterson; treasurer, R. H. McCormick; second vice president and general manager, Roy C. Hollis; secretary, F. M. Flynn, all of 229 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

\$67,200 GROSS, \$25,000 NET

The \$25,000 annual wage limit, which the President decreed after Congress had twice refused to enact it, has aroused considerable discussion.

Roosevelt Vs. American Way

What it comes to is this: That nobody in the United States, at least for the duration of the war, can keep more than \$25,000 of what he earns in any one year. Income taxation will cut him to \$25,000 net if he earns \$67,200; above \$67,200, the plan is, in effect, to tax him 100%.

Thus, by Executive fiat, the President stabs at the philosophy which has underlain the American system. That philosophy has been that if people are given leeway to make money they will compete ardently with one another. Since most people who make money for themselves also bring benefits to many other people—cheaper cars, for example, or better and cheaper food, clothing, houses, train service, etc., etc.—the theory has been that all this competition is for the good of society as a whole.

If the President's fiat stands, a lot of things will have to be given up by a lot of people.

Night clubs will fade; so will private golf clubs. So

"The Theory of Conspicuous Waste" will medium and high priced cars, diamond necklaces, beach and mountain vacation resorts, most domestic servants, medium and high priced houses. Grand opera and the legitimate theatre. Big privately endowed prep schools like Groton, St. Paul's and Lawrenceville, colleges like Yale, Harvard and Princeton, will tend to disappear. Great charitable and research organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation will be stationary or go backwards.

All these things have come into being because Americans have been free to compete with one another, and because when a man makes a lot of money his natural impulse is to advertise his success to the world by hanging diamonds on his wife, buying a big country place, endowing a foundation, or in some other way substantiating what Thorstein Veblen called "the theory of conspicuous waste."

We know that anybody can scrape along on \$25,000 a year net. We believe, too, that the current trend in this country to spread the wealth around is a healthy trend.

Evolution; Revolution; If there were no limits to the money anybody could make and keep, we would all wind up eventually as slaves to the shrewdest and most acquisitive man among us, or maybe to the shrewdest half-dozen men.

And it may be that the Communists, who are ballyhooing this Roosevelt fiat, are right in saying that a better society can be built if the profit incentive is taken completely away. Perhaps the pre-war Soviets produced better conditions for the average citizen than the pre-war United States, but most unbiased reports are otherwise.

The spreading of the wealth, however, should be accomplished gradually, we believe, not by a confiscatory wrench. The former is evolution, the latter revolution. And the former is what has been going on up to now.

Under the new tax laws, a single man making \$3,000 a year will lose \$472 of it to the Government, or about 15%. A \$10,000 single man will pay \$2,390, or almost 24%. On \$20,000—\$6,816, or 34%. On \$50,000—\$25,811, or over 50%. Make \$1,000,000 in a year, and, if single, you pay \$354,616 to the Federal Government, or if married, \$854,000.

Inheritance and gift taxes also prevent accumulations of enormous untouchable and high-powered wealth. And these limits on wealth accumulation should be retained, for the welfare of us all.

These arguments pro and con "conspicuous waste" and the profit motive, however, are beside the main point in the argument over the President's \$25,000 wage limit fiat.

Congress Bypassed The main point is the fact that the limit was clapped into effect by that fiat.

Theoretically, this is a government consisting of three branches: the Executive, Legislative and Judicial. The Legislative branch—Congress—is supposed to make the laws; the Executive—the President—to carry them out; the Judicial—the courts—to interpret them.

Congress twice refused to make a law limiting net wages per year to \$25,000 for the duration of the war. The President thereupon took one of the judges off the Supreme Court, gave him a Government job combating inflation, and told him to make the \$25,000 limit law regardless of Congress.

There is the real danger in this business. It is another step toward dictatorship in this country.

SUNDAY NEWS

Sunday, November 29, 1942

Tel. MURray Hill 2-1234

Published every Sunday by News Syndicate Co. Inc., at 229 E. 42d St., Borough of Manhattan, New York, N. Y. Mail subscription rates: U. S., \$2.50; Canada, \$5.00 per year. For the Sunday and Daily News, U. S., \$0.50 per year; Canada, \$2.00 per year. President, J. M. Patterson; treasurer, H. B. McCormick; second vice president and general manager, Roy C. Hallis; secretary, F. M. Flynn, all of 229 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

FEEDING THE POSTWAR WORLD

President Roosevelt a few days ago appointed Gov. Herbert H. Lehman of New York Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation.



Herbert H. Lehman

his best, within the limitations of his experience, should be good.

One would have expected Ex-President Herbert Hoover to be given this job, had it not been for politics. Hoover did the same work in the previous war era as Lehman is to do in this one, and did it in masterly style. But an Administration which has sidetracked an Al Williams and snooted a Lindbergh for political reasons can hardly be expected to give a Republican, no matter how able, a job involving the expenditure of billions of dollars.

This jawbreaking title (and you can search us why some of them can't be simpler) means Mr. Lehman has quite a spell of work ahead of him. During the war, he will direct the sending of food relief and other material help to poverty-stricken or Axis-leached territories taken by our forces, such as Morocco and Algeria. After the war, he will direct American relief of various kinds to all countries that need it.

Mr. Lehman is a conscientious, hard working citizen who has made an able Governor of New York. He can be counted on to do his best; and

It so happens that Mr. Hoover has just been telling in Collier's how big his task actually was in the years following World War No. 1, and how much bigger the same task

What Hoover Accomplished

is likely to be after World War No. 2. In the first 12 months after the November, 1918, armistice, about 27,000,000 tons of food were shipped into the European area. More than 16,000,000 tons of it came from the United States. The money value of our food contribution was \$3,300,000,000. About \$2,400,000,000 worth of this was furnished on credit (we eventually collected only about 6% of the money due), about \$325,000,000 worth by charitable organizations, and about \$575,000,000 worth was paid for in goods, gold and services.

The work went on for more than two years. It had two main objects: (1) to prevent actual starvation by rushing food to hunger and famine areas; and (2) to help the war-weakened countries get back to producing for themselves as soon as possible, rather than put them on a permanent breadline supplied mainly by the United States, Canada and the Argentine.

Altogether, the Hoover organization kept 28 nations—about 375,000,000 people—from sinking into a famine-ridden, pestilence-rotted chaos that might have compared favorably with the times following the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), when one-third of Europe's entire population is believed to have died off.

This time, what with large parts of Russia devastated and a good deal of China scorched by war, Mr. Hoover expects the relief job to involve 500,000,000 people, as against the 375,000,000 after World War No. 1. As we've remarked before, World War No. 2 in every way is a bigger, better and therefore more glorious conflict than No. 1.

The saving of Europe is one of the postwar jobs to which Americans will in all likelihood dedicate themselves. We did it before, willingly and in a mood of high self-sacrifice. This time, our leaders apparently are resolved that we shall do it whether most of us want to or not, and even if it may result only in fattening Europe up for another war in another 15 or 20 years.

So it looks to us as if one of the more urgent jobs facing the Government at this time is the job of bringing some kind of order out of the chaos that now bedevils our farmers.

Draft boards yank farmers and their hired help into military service regardless of what happens to the farm, in numerous cases. High war plant wages are pulling men off the farm as if by magnetic power. Priorities are cutting down farm machine production. The OPA price ceilings, according to some accounts, often counteract the high farm prices supposedly guaranteed by the parity provisions. We can't figure that last one out; but anyway, farm production is going down.

If the American people themselves are short on food after the war, we do not see how the Administration can either kid them or force them into feeding any large part of the rest of the world.

Pearl Buck Says Fight for Freedom Has Died *Annual message*

Author Tells Fellow Nobel Winners That 'Victory Over Axis Does Not Mean Victory Over Fascism'

Pearl S. Buck, speaking before a group of her fellow Nobel Prize winners, last night put into words her profoundly pessimistic conclusion that the war between the United Nations and the Axis has ceased to be a fight for freedom.

In an address which unquestionably will be quoted, debated, denounced, and evoked for months—and perhaps years—to come, the author of *The Good Earth* affirmed her conviction that "the victory over the Axis does not mean the victory over Fascism." A second war must be fought, she said, for freedom.

Mrs. Buck spoke at the Nobel Anniversary Dinner given at the Waldorf-Astoria by the Common Council for American Unity. In her audience were such distinguished winners of Nobel awards as Sir Norman Angell, Sigrid Undset, Arthur H. Compton, Harold C. Urey, and Otto Löbwe. Thomas Mann, unable to be present, sent a manuscript which was read by his daughter, Erika.

"We know now," Mrs. Buck said, "what we could not know a year ago, that this war is not only between the United Nations and the Axis.

"We know that the war between the United Nations and the Axis is only the beginning of the real war, which remains the war between the principles of Democracy and the principles of Fascism. We know, in this, the war has no geographical boundaries.

"We have said and it may be true that we are fighting a war to save civilization. But what we must foresee is that unless there is a miracle we will have to fight another war to save freedom.

"When did the character of this war change? I think we all entered into the war knowing that however it might have been avoided, it had to be fought with all the strength of body and will, since it was inconceivable that our enemies should re-

there have been a man great enough at that significant moment to have declared that this war was a war for the freedom of all peoples, we would not have had to face now, as we do face, another war of which this one is only the beginning.

"One can only hope at most, now, that there will be a breathing space between this war and the next. One cannot guarantee that there will be that space.

No Man Great Enough

"For we had no man great enough to declare at the necessary moment the true meaning of this war. Let us reckon with this fact—our leaders are men of local minds. They have not been able to think in terms of the world.

"And I mean by the world not merely the geographical world in military terms, so that an army is sent here or sent there. I mean the world of human beings. This war has been limited in its true aims. It has become a military struggle. It has ceased to be a fight for freedom.

"The times do not always produce the man. When the peoples of Asia and of Africa, yes, and when many among our own peoples here and in South America, looked and listened and heard no great voice, at that moment the shadow of the long war ahead darkened and fell upon us. The peoples of Asia are further from us today than they ever have been.

"They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not with us. We are, to a certain guarded degree, for a moment, for a while, but they cannot trust us.

"They see that while this first stage of the war must be won against the Axis, there will be another war, following hard upon this one, a greater war, the real war for freedom, in which none yet sees clearly either friend or foe.

"It is not now so certain what this first war will mean. Because it will not mean



Pearl Buck

intact at the end of this war. One thing is true—the promise of freedom cannot be given to one colonial people without giving it to all and therefore it may be argued, prudently, that it is easier to make no promise of freedom. It is easier to cease talking about freedom at all. It is easier to say that we had better win the war before we discuss the postwar world. It is less disturbing to our allies, both actual and potential, three of whom are empires, with vast and rich holdings in the East and Africa.

"So in this fashion, the danger is that this war will cease to be a war for freedom and become merely a war against the Axis. All of Asia now knows and acknowledges, and so must we if we are honest that the principles of human equality and human freedom may have nothing to do with our victory in this war.

"Certainly the peoples of Asia are now coming to believe that for them our victory will have nothing to do with freedom and equality.

save a partial thing, a secondary thing. The civilization of Europe has never been integrated, ordered civilization. Because of this Europe has been the breeding place of wars, and will continue to be.

Roots in Asia

"The roots of human civilization are in Asia, not in Europe. It is in Asia that people have learned the ways of living together that bring peace and not continual war. It is in Asia that people believe in and practice the laws of individual and collective freedom upon which alone peace can be built.

"The only war-like people there are the Japanese whose civilization, like that of Europe, is a derivative secondary thing.

"Let us face this moment in this year, therefore, and not be deceived in the nature of the struggle that lies ahead.

"I am not afraid to speak to you boldly. The victory over the Axis does not mean the victory over Fascism and you and I must know this, we must acknowledge it, we must reckon with it.

"Only by acknowledging it, and reckoning with it, can we do our part to save civilization—not only the civilization of Europe, of our own country, but human civilization, for all humanity."

Sigrid Undset Cites Crimes Against Spiritual Values

Sigrid Undset, Norwegian Nobel Prize winner and author of *Kristin Lavransdatter*, last night urged that the crimes committed by the Germans against spiritual values be added to the overwhelming horror of their physical crimes.

"The horrors of reprisals in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia," Mrs. Undset said, "the tortures of civilians in all of the occupied countries, the massacres of the Jews in Europe, are apt to give us an impression that the outrages committed against spiritual values against the interests of

war between the principles of Democracy and the principles of Fascism. We know, in this, the war has no geographical boundaries.

"We have said and it may be true that we are fighting a war to save civilization. But what we must foresee is that unless there is a miracle we will have to fight another war to save freedom.

"When did the character of this war change? I think we all entered into the war knowing that however it might have been avoided, it had to be fought with all the strength of body and will, since it was inconceivable that our enemies should prevail.

'Fate Coming Closer'

"It is even more inconceivable today that our enemies, Germany and Japan, should win. But the strange thing is that the shadow of war does not grow less as these enemies grow weaker.

"The heavy foreboding, which is upon the heart and mind of every thinking man and woman, is not lifted as it should be now, at the end of this incredible year. Why can we not take more comfort in today's news? It is comforting, yes. It is something to be grateful for that our military machine is better than the enemies' machine. Why, then, are we not comforted?

"It is because we see a certain Fate coming closer to us, and these victories do not hold back its march. Somewhere in this year the step might have been taken which could have averted this Fate. Until that moment this war was being fought as a war for freedom.

"You remember how heartily all our allies, in Asia as well as in Europe, entered into the war for freedom; No war that ever has been waged was entered into with more devotion to freedom than was this war. Millions of people, dark and light, rallied to the cause of Democracy.

"I am not exaggerating when I say that there was a moment, almost a day, nearly six months ago now, when the great peoples of Asia were very close to the anti-Axis peoples of Europe and America. Could

of whom are empires, with vast and rich holdings in the East and Africa.

"They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not with us. Allies we are, to a certain guarded degree, for a moment, for a while, but they cannot trust us.

"They see that while this first stage of the war must be won against the Axis, there will be another war, following hard upon this one, a greater war, the real war for freedom, in which none yet sees clearly either friend or foe.

"It is not now so certain what this first war will gain us. Perhaps it will not even save civilization for us. For it is in wars that civilizations are lost, if they go on too long. Good ends are too often lost in the means.

Military Gain Not Enough

"The oppressed people of France, too, are not as close to us as they were. Military victory in Africa has not won us a victory among those in France who still love liberty.

"Our own colored people are not closer to us at the end of this year than they were at the beginning. Military victory is not enough to lift their hearts. . . .

"Now it is quite true that this war is more than one war. There is a good deal of reason on the side of those who say let us fight one war at a time. For example, obviously in a purely military sense it is to our benefit if, in need of all possible allies, we can keep political France with us, even though the death of France has been seized by the enemy. Obviously then the sensible thing is to sacrifice the faraway peoples of France's empire, and say nothing at this time about giving the hope of freedom to colonial peoples. Will political France fight so well on our side, when the moment comes, if she knows that there would be no empire at the end of this war? Would imperial Holland be so enthusiastic for the allied cause if her empire were no longer to exist if the United Nations won?

"There are many persons who argue that England herself would be less enthusiastic if her empire were not to be restored to her

of whom are empires, with vast and rich holdings in the East and Africa.

"So in this fashion, the danger is that this war will cease to be a war for freedom and become merely a war against the Axis. All of Asia now knows and acknowledges, and so must we if we are honest, that the principles of human equality and human freedom may have nothing to do with our victory in this war.

"Certainly the peoples of Asia are now coming to believe that for them our victory will have nothing to do with freedom and equality.

"And who can give them any other hope? One hears everywhere of plans for a reconstructed Europe, of plans for feeding Europe's hungry millions, of health measures for Europe's sick and wounded. But who hears anywhere of feeding India's hungry millions, hungry not only in the brief years of this war; but always hungry?

"Eighty per cent of India's people do not know and never have known what it is to be fed adequately. Yet there are no plans made for feeding them. Medical care is even more inadequate, in Asia always has been, but who plans for that?

"There are no plans, there never were any plans. A medical watchguard is kept at the gates of the East in the Middle East and at the western ports, lest the dread diseases of Asia creep into our countries, into the beloved Europe, but who cared how many of the peoples of the East suffered and died?

"The war has been limited still further. It is now not even a war to save civilization. It is only a war to save European civilization. For we of the West never seem able to realize that in the East there are civilizations far older and as great if not greater than Europe's civilization. Shall those not be saved?

"It was out of the Mideast that Europe's civilization was once reborn. It will be out of the Far East, out of India and out of China, that our own civilization will be reborn.

"When we talk of saving only Europe we

Against Spiritual Values

Sigrid Undset, Norwegian Nobel Prize winner and author of *Kristin Lavransdatter*, last night urged that the crimes committed by the Germans against spiritual values be added to the overwhelming horror of their physical crimes.

"The horrors of reprisals in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia," Mrs. Undset said, "the tortures of civilians in all of the occupied countries, the massacres of the Jews in Europe, are apt to give us an impression that the outrages committed against spiritual values, against the integrity of science and the freedom of men's creative spirit, were after all minor crimes.

"The river of blood of millions, crying to high heaven for vengeance, has washed away the ashes of the book-burnings. The thought of famine and pestilence stalking Greece makes us almost forget that Acropolis now flies the Swastika.

"And, yet, it was exactly these crimes against spiritual values, it was exactly the assassination of these convictions in the German people, that had to be committed before the full tide of fiendish cruelty and incredible obscenities could be let loose wherever the German military boots trample.

"It is exactly for the vindication of these principles of the freedom of mind and the brotherhood in veneration for truth and humanity and plain common sense and the creative possibilities of men and women we, the Allied Nations, fight, when we fight to tear the prey out of the Nazi paw and to conquer an opportunity to rebuild our old world better still and exalt the old sacred values even higher than before."



Remember Bataan
Invest
A Dime Out of
Every Dollar in
U.S. War Bonds

Senate Votes to Investigate Federal Forms and Quizzes

Baffling Symbols on Questionnaire Just Printer's Notes, Smith Reveals

TIMES HERALD By LAURENCE BELL 12/4/42 p.2

New Deal masterminds who have turned the war effort into a supercolossal quiz program, with already harassed businessmen being forced to supply the answers, yesterday were slated for a little grilling themselves.

These boys, who toil mostly at OPA and WPB but also buzz busily in other bureaucratic vineyards, will have to answer "how come?"

to the joint committee on the Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures. The Senate approved unanimously a resolution by Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R.), of Michigan, authorizing a probe of the Government questionaire and paper form situation.



Senator Vandenberg

Explains "Mystery"

Meanwhile, in a move to take some of the heat off the New Deal quiz kids Budget Director Harold D. Smith came up yesterday with the key to the mystery of what "1-1071-PLOF-5-NOBU-COS-WP" means.

When this perplexing array of figures and letters appeared as the title of an OPA questionnaire, unenlightened persons figured it either was shorthand or double talk. An outraged toothpaste tycoon waved the form at the economy committee on Tuesday, demanding to know what the symbols meant. Senator Kenneth D. McKellar (D.) of Tennessee said not only that he didn't know, but that "it would take a hundred experts to figure it out."

Smith pooch-pooched such talk, saying that the whole furor over 1-1071-PLOF-5-NOBU-COS-WP was just "another example of the tendency to leap at conclusions when Government agencies are under attack."

"The symbols have nothing to

do with the questionnaire itself—they are merely the printer's notations," declared the budget boss, who proceeded to translate as follows:

"1—Printer's designation for OPA.

"1071—Serial number of job performed for OPA.

"PLOF-5—A misprint of 'P. 1 of 5' meaning this is the first of five pages.

"NOBU—No backup. A printing instruction.

"COS—Collating and stapling. Likewise a printing instruction.

"WP—Wrap. A printing instruction."

"No Esoteric Code"

In effect, said Smith, the frightened industrialists can come out of their hideaways and tend to their own affairs. The symbols are just guides for the printers and are by no means an esoteric code New Dealers use to keep unbelievers from knowing what they are up to.

Nevertheless, the economy committee continued with the hearings which already have brought out that composing lengthy and puzzling questionnaires—one of which was a full four feet long—has become a major Government enterprise. One witness averred Wednesday that small grocers in California are spending more time filling out OPA questionnaires than they are putting to selling their rapidly dwindling stocks of merchandise.

The witness, Fred A. Baughan, general manager of the California Retail Food Dealers Association, asserted that "tons and tons and tons" of these forms are now piled up in garages, never indexed and apparently forgotten by the bureaucrats who devised them.

262 Periodical Reports

Another witness, George B. Roscoe, of the National Association of Manufacturers, testified that the Eastman Kodak Company, alone had filed 262 periodical reports related directly to the war effort, and 147 "special forms" during the three-month period ending in June.

The man-hours involved in answering the questions contained in this mass of paper, Roscoe declared, total enough to have built three Flying Fortresses.

1-1071-PLOF-5-NOBU-COS-WP Is Explained

Budget Director Harold D. Smith today came to the defense of 1-1071-PLOF-5-NOBU-COS-WP.

This jumble, which appeared on one of the exhibits, flattened the Byrd Committee Tuesday when the questionnaire probe started. It is only an innocent combination of printer's symbols, according to Mr. Smith.

"The symbols had nothing whatever to do with those who were asked to answer the questionnaire, nor with the issuing agency. They are merely the printer's notations for his own convenience," he said.

Mr. Smith interpreted the hieroglyphics as follows:

1—Printer's designation for OPA.
1071—Serial number of job performed for OPA.

PLOF-5—Misprint of PL OF 5—meaning that this is the first page of five pages.

NOBU—No Backup. Printing instruction.

COS—Collating and stapling. Printing instruction.

WP—Wrap. Printing instruction.

Mr. Smith described the furor caused by the questionnaire with the overweighted designation as "another example of the tendency to leap at conclusions when Government agencies are under attack."

STAR 12/3/42

Front page

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 4, 1942

*Special
clippings
file*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I would like especially to call your attention to the attached clippings. I think you will enjoy the story. This is fast stuff and had to be done on the spot. It is a good counterirritant, however, and represents one way of getting space for answers to some of the criticism which you mentioned today.

HDS
H. D. S.

The Evening Star

With Sunday Morning Edition.

TREODORE W. NOYER, Editor.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
WEDNESDAY, September 16, 1942

The Evening Star Newspaper Company,
Main Office: 1115 H. and Pennsylvania Ave.
New York Office: 110 East 42nd St.
Chicago Office: 428 North Michigan Ave.

Delivered by Carrier—Metropolitan Area.
Collections made at the end of each month or
each week. Orders may be sent by mail or tele-
phone National 8000.

Weekly Edition.
Evening Star, 72c per mo. or 12c per week
The Evening Star, 45c per mo. or 10c per week
The Sunday Star, 10c per copy
Night Final Edition, 10c per copy
Night Final and Sunday Star, 50c per month
Night Final Star, 50c per month

Outside of Metropolitan Area.
Carrier or Rural Take Delivery.
The Evening and Sunday Star, \$1.00 per month
The Evening Star, 50c per month
The Sunday Star, 10c per copy

Rates by Mail—Payable in Advance.
Anywhere in United States.

	Daily	Sunday / Evening	Sunday
1 year	\$12.00	\$4.00	\$3.00
6 months	\$7.00	\$2.00	\$1.50
3 months	\$3.50	\$1.00	.75c

Entered as second-class matter post office,
Washington, D. C.

Member of the Associated Press.
The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for publication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of publication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

Getting in the Scrap

As the President said yesterday, the Government yet may be forced to confiscate metal in order to get the scrap it needs for manufacture of steel. But there is still a vast and virtually untouched reservoir of valuable scrap metal in homes and on farms, readily available and cheerfully surrendered if means are furnished to haul it away.

A major difficulty in Washington's past scrap campaign has been that normal collection agencies, overwhelmed as they are by the demand, have been unable to make individual trips to homes unless the metal to be collected was valuable enough to pay for the trip. This difficulty will be eliminated under plans announced by the Commissioners' committee.

Next Sunday all residents living in the area east of North and South Capitol streets and east of the Anacostia River are requested to place their metal scrap at the curb by 8 o'clock in the morning. During the day trucks will call for it and transport it to designated depots, where it will be assorted and hauled away to the processors for loading on railroad cars. On the following Sunday residents in the areas west of North and South Capitol streets will do the same thing.

Following this quick collection effort, the machinery set up by the District Salvage Committee will resume its functioning, with school children and others "mopping up" the territories and collecting what has been left over. In this respect, the President recalled yesterday that the first search of the White House yielded enough scrap to fill three trucks. But later on a second search revealed enough left-over materials to fill still another truck. Private homeowners will find themselves repeating the President's experience on a smaller scale. For there is a valuable assort-

military output and are urging that every effort be made to increase it.

For the full board to ratify the principle involved would be to put the fostering of unionism ahead of our military necessities. This war will not be won that way.

Dangerous Illusions

In his recent address stressing the importance of recognizing the fact that this war is the "real thing, played for keeps," Ambassador Grew was urging the people and the Government of this country to rid their minds of the illusions which are threatening us with military defeat.

Just how we have been, and are being, handicapped by muddled thinking can best be illustrated by looking back over the past year or two and appraising the things we believed in then when measured against the war picture as we see it today. This is not merely a matter of "second guessing"—we must recognize these past mistakes to measure the correctness of our present attitude.

It was not so long before Pearl Harbor that we were told we could have guns and butter, too. The people believed it. They believed that our social gains could be preserved, because every one said so. We were going to superimpose our military program on our normal industrial establishment so that there would be plenty of everything—munitions as well as washing machines. And all of this was going to be done in a forty-hour week, because experience had shown, it was said, that men could not work longer hours and retain their efficiency.

We have gotten over most of those illusions by now, but we believed them at the time. And, that being the case, it is not surprising that our enemies believed them, too—and jumped to the conclusion that we would never be ready to fight.

This obviously was the background that Ambassador Grew had in mind when he said that we have been challenged by a people (the Japanese) who have been hypnotized into believing that democracy weakens those who possess it, that a high standard of living weakens those who enjoy it, that peace and the love of peace weaken those who cherish them. Were our enemies wrong in holding these beliefs? Mr. Grew implies his conviction that they were, but the military record should give us some pause on this score.

The Japanese have not enjoyed democracy, a high living standard, nor even entertained a love of peace. But, with greatly inferior resources, they have gained more by conquest in less time than any other modern nation. They may lose it all in the end, but it is foolish to ignore or to minimize what they have been able to accomplish.

One of our most popular present-day convictions is that somehow "free" men will always outfight and outproduce those who have no individual freedom. But it is dangerous just to take this for granted and to assume, because we are free, that

in the not-too-distant past. But it cannot be argued that they are popular in Germany, Italy or Japan today. Indeed, it is evident that they could not be offered unopposed under any dictatorship. They are a product of the greatest mind of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that mind is unchained in the nations arrayed against the aggressor powers. Curiously, perhaps, the poet-anticipated the prevailing crisis. Let any skeptic read "Macbeth" in the light of the fires lit by Hitler and he will be convinced. Also it is "Hamlet," born again, who symbolizes most perfectly the spirit of determination to set the world right.

Injurious and Pointless

Cavalrymen used to say that each trooper thought his own mount the best in the regiment. The idea was never discouraged by the officers. It helped morale. It was a psychological offset to actual defects in horseflesh. Some of our Congressmen seem to be taking the opposite course in their criticism of American airplanes. Ostensibly hitting at the "braas hats"—a generic term applied in derogation of military leadership—what they actually are accomplishing is to tear down civilian morale and the morale of the pilots. At least the pilots who are yet to fly in combat and who, when they do, will take off handicapped at the very outset by the feeling that they are armed with inferior weapons. That, in itself, is a dangerous handicap.

We cannot hope, nor would it be desirable, to stifle criticism of the war effort in Congress. But it would be a far less dangerous sort of criticism if it were made specific and if generalities, in relation to leadership and equipment, were abandoned entirely.

There is a tendency in Congress to speak of airplanes indiscriminately. Comparisons of this nature are utterly without meaning. You cannot say, and be accurate or informative, that British airplanes are better than American airplanes, or that German airplanes are better than British planes. You cannot say that the Japanese Zero fighter is a better ship than an American fighter. Such comparisons are irrelevant—as if the comparison were between the efficiency of a plough horse and a race horse, without specifying the field in which the efficiency were to be applied.

Rapid specialization in aircraft, designed for particular areas of combat and the performance of definite tasks, no longer permits of generalized comparisons of merit. Planes superior in one respect are inferior in others. The Japanese Zero has gained speed and maneuverability and altitude at the sacrifice of armament. Which is, in the long run, preferable—these qualities or armament and armor? The British Spitfire was designed and developed to fight the Battle of Britain. In some respects superior on this battle front, it is definitely inferior on others.

ment of usable scrap in almost every home, if only the search for it will be made.

Here is a splendid opportunity for every one to make a valuable contribution of material vitally needed in fighting the war.

A Strange Doctrine

A recent report from a War Labor Board panel recommends that an employer with plants in Chicago and Elizabeth, N. J., be ordered to sign a union shop contract despite the fact that he has been operating on an open shop basis since May, 1941.

Apparently this panel recommendation poses a difficult question for the full board, which, in promulgating its so-called union security formula, has taken the position, by implication if not in express terms, that it would not order the union shop. The union security clause is intended to enable unions to maintain their membership to the extent that workers desire to retain their union status, but the board has recognized that it ought not to use its authority to compel all employees to join a union, which is the case under a union shop agreement. In these circumstances, it is difficult to see how the board could require an employer to restore a union shop agreement which expired sixteen months ago without going dangerously far afield from the principles it has laid down under the maintenance of membership formula.

There is another aspect of the panel's ruling, however, which seems strangely out of line with the realities of our military requirements, and which should interest the board members and the American people as a whole. One of the reasons cited by the employer in explanation of the refusal to extend the union shop agreement was the inability of the union (CIO) to provide a necessary supply of skilled craftsmen. To meet this difficulty, the panel, with the industry member dissenting, proposed that the company be permitted to hire AFL members, who would be exempt from the union shop, when the CIO group could not supply skilled help, or when it was impossible to find non-union men who would agree to join the CIO union.

Thus, the panel apparently is of the opinion that a half-union loaf is better than none, and that non-union men should not be permitted to work in these plants even when the union in question is unable to supply necessary help from among its own members. This is a very strange doctrine for a panel of the War Labor Board to be preaching at a time when the President and Donald Nelson, war production chief, are deploring the inadequacy of our

ultimate victory is inevitable. France was a free nation. The British are free, too, but after four years of preparation for war their record as a whole is not impressive. On the other hand, the Russians were not free, but we hail them today as the one United Nation which has been able to meet the full force of German military might and still survive.

In this country, after nine months of adverse fighting, it is doubtful that we have yet looked the facts in the face. Mr. Grew urges us to "stop groping." Our production leaders plead with men to stop strikes, to work harder, to give up Monday lay-offs and week-end holidays. There are no strikes and no lay-offs in the enemy countries; they are not trying to maintain the living standards of the pressure groups; they are not waiting until after an election to draft the young men and the men with dependents. They are fighting the war, in deadly earnest, with everything that they have, and they are winning it. We will not begin to defeat them, in any important sense, until we discard the last of our illusions and make up our minds to fight harder than they are fighting, both on the battlefronts and at home. We are not going to win just because we are free men, who believe in democracy and the ways of peace.

Freedom's Bard

The annual Shakespeare festival at Stratford-on-Avon, where the poet was born on St. George's Day, 1564, has survived three years of war, thanks to "the enthusiasm of the people." Air raids, gasoline rationing, constant interference with ordinary train schedules, many other difficulties are necessarily admitted by the Memorial Theater management, but there have been audiences for nine different productions this season.—"Midsummer Night's Dream," "As You Like It," "The Winter's Tale," "The Tempest," "The Taming of the Shrew," "The Merchant of Venice," "Macbeth," "Hamlet" and Sheridan's "The School for Scandal." Each of the works presented has its own distinct claim upon the British nation and the world at large.

Shakespeare, as it happens, stands very close to the Bible and to the basic charters upon which life in the United States was established—the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution. Take away his book and what remains is only a fragment. He is as much American as he is British. And all the vast body of literature accumulated since he died in 1616 is the common possession of the English-speaking community wherever it may dwell.

Of course, Shakespeare's plays have been presented in the Axis countries

As everybody knows, military aviation in this country was disgracefully starved until just before we entered this war. We have had to design planes without knowing where they were to fight. We have had to standardize to get rapid production. We doubtless have emphasized qualities which, under important conditions, are less valuable than others. Certainly we will not gain air superiority overnight. Yet actual battle reports indicate the high quality of our planes and of our pilots.

What purpose, then, is being served by generalized, loose talk in Congress, based on second-hand information anonymously supplied, the purport of which is that we are manufacturing inferior, second-rate airplanes? Is this criticism helpful to the war effort? If it is not, there should be an end to it.

FULL WAR SUPPORT PLEGGED BY N. A. M.

But Speakers Denounce Use
of Emergency as Springboard
for Revolutionary Experiments

WAR CABINET ADVOCATED

W. P. WitheroW Opposes Plans
for Radical Readjustment of
Economic Structure

Pledging their full continued support to the war production program and acceptance of any sacrifices that may be necessary to achieve victory, leaders of American industry in addresses before the War Congress sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers demanded yesterday that the system of free enterprise be preserved after the war and warned against utilizing the war emergency as a springboard for revolutionary experimentation.

Thousands of industrialists from all parts of the nation, assembled at the Waldorf-Astoria, heard demands for more efficient organization of production, curtailment of bureaucracy and "no surrender" to those "who desire to change our form of society and government."

Leading in these demands was W. P. WitheroW, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, who declared that while the government must participate in international affairs after the war, it should not attempt to "dominate the economic foundation of the peacetime world."

Wallace Program Assailed

Without mentioning his name,

national basis. Mr. WitheroW warned, "It may benefit those in foreign lands, but only by the impoverishment of the American people," for "government has no source of capital except by taking the income of its citizens."

"The American people will shoulder crushing tax burdens cheerfully during the war, but I question whether they will encourage their government to raise the tax burden even higher when peace comes," Mr. WitheroW said.

The task of economic reconstruction after the war in the United States must be that of private enterprise, he maintained. Private capital "can and will do the job," he added, if the government would declare that "private capital will be encouraged to provide the motive power for post-war reconstruction."

To promote more efficient conduct of the war and reduce "red tape," Mr. WitheroW urged the setting up of a war cabinet comprised of the administrative head of each important division of the war machinery.

"One of the significant members of that war Cabinet," he emphasized, "should be the one man who has full authority over the production of war material. I cannot come down too hard or with too much emphasis on that word 'one.' Manpower problems, war financing and other major undertakings also should have single-headed representation on the war Cabinet."

Would Limit Labor's Role

Mr. WitheroW contended also that management-labor cooperation is "a worthy and essential goal," but that it "should not be translated into that dangerous substitute—joint management-labor responsibility."

"Labor's more definite responsibility in the war management picture should be in the field of its specialized ability," he said. "Labor leaders should be put in an official position to keep their no-strike pledge, to hold down the alarming growth of absenteeism, put an end to the production delays of jurisdictional strikes."

Mr. WitheroW assailed also the

Swedish Bishops Protest Norse Jews' Persecution

By Telephone to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Dec. 2

—A flaming protest against persecution of Norwegian Jews has been issued and signed tonight by all Swedish Bishops, headed by Archbishop Eldem.

"Let us pray for our brothers of the tribe of Israel," says the protest, which scores in particularly severe terms introduction into the Scandinavian peninsula of the inhuman methods alien to the sense of justice and compassion of the peoples up here.

aim seems to be not winning the war, but the substitution of political domination for industrial self-government," Mr. Pew charged. "The industry of this country cannot be run from Washington. This war cannot be won in Washington. But it can be lost there."

This is no time for "business reform," Mr. Pew insisted, saying that "unfortunately the socialistic planners of the New Deal are receiving encouragement from many men whose faith in the worth of the American system is beyond challenge."

Manpower Draft Opposed

Mr. Pew declared that the proposed drafting of manpower for industry arose from a "bureaucratic desire for a short-cut through coercion that in the end will be proven going the long way around."

"Compelling men to work where they do not desire would strip the worker of his dignity as an individual and reduce him to the status of a serf," Mr. Pew said in opposing the proposal for the freezing of labor. "The surest way for us to lose this war is to ape Hitler. The surest and quickest way to win this war is to place our faith in American initiative."

"Cut away the ropes of bureaucratic red tape now hamstringing industry. Give management and labor a chance to exercise initiative by reopening the door of opportunity. Do these things and the output of war materials will

tion Board, and expressed the hope that the problem would be solved under new regulations and the recently announced controlled materials plans.

Railroad Record Reviewed

Ernest E. Norris, president of the Southern Railway System, told the Congress that 85 per cent of the increase of the nation's total freight traffic since Pearl Harbor has been handled by the railroads.

He paid tribute to Joseph B. Eastman, director of the Office of Transportation, saying "he has the sincere respect and confidence of every railroad officer."

"The resulting teamwork of the ODT and the railroads has been a major factor in the latter's contribution to the war effort," he added.

Mr. Norris warned, however, that unless the railroads could get the cars, locomotives, rails and maintenance material they need, "we may encounter difficulties in moving all of next year's traffic efficiently and promptly."

Aircraft Leader Speaks

Eugene E. Wilson, president of United Aircraft Corporation, said that the aircraft industry has been justly characterized as "America's No. 1 industrial giant." He pointed out that recently Donald Nelson, War Production Board chief, had estimated its peak at 30 to 40 billion dollars, or ten times the peak of automotive production.

"Loyal initiative is our secret weapon," Mr. Wilson said. "Against it no aggressor can prevail. The cost of victory will depend upon how we utilize it. American industry has so far wielded it quite well indeed."

Henry J. Kaiser, Pacific Coast shipbuilder, disclosed in an interview that in about two months he would be able to define publicly his plans for the giant cargo planes to be built by his organization and Howard Hughes.

Mr. Kaiser, who will address the congress at the closing session tomorrow evening, said the ships "will certainly be able to fly over the ocean, land cargo and fly back without refueling."

the war on a scale greater than that of the automobile industry.

Yesterday's congress program included also three panels, dealing with economic stabilization, renegotiation of contracts and civilian industry. Participating in the discussions were government officials and representatives of industry.

Soviet Spy in Sweden Sentenced

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Dec. 2 (Reuter)—Vasilio Sldorenko, director of the Soviet Travel Bureau in Stockholm, was sentenced today to ten years' penal servitude on a charge of espionage. A Swedish woman and her 17-year-old daughter were sentenced to lesser terms for participation.



\$2750

Achieve victory, leaders of the American industry in addresses before the War Congress sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers demanded yesterday that the system of free enterprise be preserved after the war and warned against utilizing the war emergency as a springboard for revolutionary experimentation.

Thousands of industrialists from all parts of the nation, assembled at the Waldorf-Astoria, heard demands for more efficient organization of production, curtailment of bureaucracy and "no surrender" to those "who desire to change our form of society and government."

Leading in these demands was W. P. Witherow, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, who declared that while the government must participate in international affairs after the war, it should not attempt to "dominate the economic foundation of the peacetime world."

Wallace Program Assailed

Without mentioning his name, Mr. Witherow assailed the program expounded by Vice President Henry A. Wallace for a "people's revolution" as the objective of the war on the basis of a radical readjustment of the economic structure.

Mr. Witherow, who is also president of the Blaw-Knox Company, demanded that the post-war readjustment in the United States be founded upon the basis of encouragement of private capital.

"Personally, I am not interested in any other form of government or form of economy than our own," he said. "I admire beyond expression the stand the Russians have made. They are fighting nobly for Russia and Soviet ideals. We're fighting for America and American ideals. I am not making guns or tanks to win a 'people's revolution.' I am making armament to help our boys save America. I don't want any 'modified' free enterprise or bill of rightless democracy. Immediately after the war, government aid to war-torn countries is a foregone conclusion. But not the rehabilitation of their economy or the reforming of their lives. I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot, or for a TVA on the Danube, or for governmental handouts of free floras."

If government undertakes a share-the-wealth plan on an inter-

sized, "should be the one man who has full authority over the production of war material. I cannot come down too hard or with too much emphasis on that word 'one.' Manpower problems, war financing and other major undertakings also should have single-headed representation on the war Cabinet."

Would Limit Labor's Role

Mr. Witherow contended also that management-labor cooperation is "a worthy and essential goal," but that it "should not be translated into that dangerous substitute—joint management-labor responsibility."

"Labor's more definite responsibility in the war management picture should be in the field of its specialized ability," he said. "Labor leaders should be put in an official position to keep their no-strike pledge, to hold down the alarming growth of absenteeism, put an end to the production delays of jurisdictional strikes."

Mr. Witherow assailed also the \$25,000 limitation on salaries, saying this would not help win the war or facilitate its financing, nor stop inflation.

"This lead was unblushingly borrowed from the public platform of the Communist party in 1928," he charged, "and foisted upon the country over the expressed refusal of Congress to pass such a restriction. It constitutes open, recognizable surrender to those who desire to change our form of society and government. It is a ceiling on initiative, a damper on opportunity. We seem fond of following the English pattern in most things but this: in England they knight business men for good services—over here we indict them."

Pew Criticizes 'Restrictions'

J. Howard Pew, president of the Sun Oil Company, Philadelphia, declared that "government regimentation and industrial cartels are Siamese twins of evil, for one is just as destructive of industrial production as the other."

Mr. Pew said that government policies threatening war production included renegotiation of war contracts, time and half pay for workers without a similar incentive for management, the \$25,000 salary limitation, and similar "restrictions."

"In Washington, at times, the

planners of the New Deal are receiving encouragement from many men whose faith in the worth of the American system is beyond challenge."

Manpower Draft Opposed

Mr. Pew declared that the proposed drafting of manpower for industry arose from a "bureaucratic desire for a short-cut through coercion that in the end will be proven going the long way around."

"Compelling men to work where they do not desire would strip the worker of his dignity as an individual and reduce him to the status of a serf," Mr. Pew said in opposing the proposal for the freezing of labor. "The surest way for us to lose this war is to ape Hitler. The surest and quickest way to win this war is to place our faith in American initiative."

"Cut away the ropes of bureaucratic red tape now hamstringing industry. Give management and labor a chance to exercise initiative by reopening the door of opportunity. Do these things and the output of war materials will soar to heights that even today would be called fantastic. Fail to do them, and we lose initiative, lose production, lose the war, lose our freedom, and become German and Japanese slaves."

War Production Praised

Congratulating the industrialists upon—"the magnificent job of production" they have done so far—Hiland G. Batcheller, chief of the iron and steel branch of the War Production Board, declared that the board also deserves "some credits" for keeping industry supplied with the necessary materials. He cited figures showing the phenomenal growth in steel output under the stress of the war emergency, pointing out that 1,100,000 tons of plates were delivered in October, 1942, an increase of almost 100 per cent in this critical item over the corresponding month of 1941.

"The rate at which you can now turn the steel and other raw materials which are furnished to you into finished munitions and tools of war is literally incredible in terms of a year or eighteen months ago," Mr. Batcheller said.

He added that the resultant problem of continuing to provide raw materials to meet the expanded production rate is being tackled with energy by the War Production

Eugene E. Wilson, president of United Aircraft Corporation, said that the aircraft industry has been justly characterized as "America's No. 1 industrial giant." He pointed out that recently Donald Nelson, War Production Board chief, had estimated its peak at 30 to 40 billion dollars, or ten times the peak of automotive production.

"Loyal initiative is our secret weapon," Mr. Wilson said. "Against it no aggressor can prevail. The cost of victory will depend upon how we utilize it. American industry has so far wielded it quite well indeed."

Henry J. Kaiser, Pacific Coast shipbuilder, disclosed in an interview that in about two months he would be able to define publicly his plans for the giant cargo planes to be built by his organization and Howard Hughes.

Mr. Kaiser, who will address the congress at the closing session tomorrow evening, said the ships "will certainly be able to fly over the ocean, land cargo and fly back without refueling."

"As a result, they must be able to carry the greatest possible load on the lowest possible consumption of gasoline," he explained.

Mr. Kaiser foresaw the development of commercial aviation after



\$2750

Store Hours 9:30
Thursdays until

A soft answer turneth away wrath; but grievous words stir up anger.—Proverbs, XV., 1.

(The text for today is suggested by Rev. Walter G. Brun, pastor, Lutheran Church of Good Shepherd, Brooklyn. The next text will be suggested by Rev. Donald F. Schumann, rector, St. Josephs Episcopal Church, Queens Village.)

Drip Coffee



War News

The People Want Unvarnished Truth About Our Battles

"There is not a truth existing which I fear or would wish unknown to the whole world."—*Thomas Jefferson in a letter to Henry Lee in 1826.*

IF there is an underground swell of resentment throughout the country against the Administration—and acute Washington observers say there is—one cause of it may be laid to the Administration treatment of the war news.

The American people do not like the truth on vital matters needlessly withheld from them.

They do not like to be told UNTRUTHS instead of TRUTHS.

They resent this attitude of the powers that be in Washington.

Concretely:

1. After the Doolittle raid on Tokio last April, Washington told us "no losses." Six months afterward the people are reluctantly told planes were lost and some of Doolittle's bombers are now prisoners in Japan.

2. Up until almost the last moment the authorities led us to believe that we were winning the battle of Bataan.

3. The American people have never been told our exact losses in planes and damaged ships at Pearl Harbor.

4. When the Aleutians were invaded we were—there is no other word for it—deliberately LIED TO for days. They told us there "were no Japanese in the Aleutians." Then they dismissed the matter as "unimportant" when, as a matter of fact, the invasion of American territory by enemies is of overwhelming importance at ANY TIME AND IN ANY PLACE.

5. The Administration withheld from the American people for SIXTY-FIVE days that three of our cruisers had been sunk in the first enemy onset in Guadalcanal.

6. The loss of the airplane carrier Wasp was suppressed for more than a month.

The cumulative effect of this evident lack

of candor toward the people by our rulers is, in return, to inspire a lack of confidence of the people in the men conducting this war—a grave situation fraught with peril to all of us.

The newspapers—by emphasizing "good" news and minimizing "bad" news—have loyally played this disreputable game of hide-and-seek with the Government up to date.

On this very subject, Mr. William Randolph Hearst recently in a vigorous editorial addressed to the whole nation said:

"I think the public likes to hear true news.

"Every once in a while an Administration official or military officer rises to his feet and declares that we are losing the war and that the people are to blame.

"The people are not to blame.

"They are doing everything they are called upon to do—everything they possibly can do.

"They are sacrificing their sons and their fortunes.

"If the war is being lost it is being lost through bad leadership and possibly to a degree through bad journalism—journalism which takes the easiest way and avoids the hard realities.

"I think the newspapers should perform their functions and tell the truth—print the bad news along with the good news.

"If we are losing the war, as these important officials say, let us print how we are losing it and why we are losing it."

The Administration has as great a responsibility as the press.

That responsibility involves the TRUTH, the WHOLE TRUTH and NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.

We are all the heirs of Jefferson, and as he said he did not FEAR the truth, neither do the people of America—whether it comes from Valley Forge, Bull Run or Guadalcanal.

Over-Burdened Hospitals

THE Greater New York Hospital Association has expressed concern over the shortage of skilled workers in its institutions.

Hospitals have lost not only their doctors, nurses and technicians, but such trained mechanical workers as electricians, engineers and carpenters as well.

"The situation is now somewhat alarming," the Association frankly states. "The tremendous increase in births, added to the normal demand for the care of the sick and injured, with the peak period of sick care just ahead, is a source of worry to trustees and hospital administrators."

What is the solution?

The Association urges fewer visits to patients for one thing. It asks the public to consider the hospitals' problems and "bear with them in these times."

Educations in Uniforms

IT IS a comforting and satisfying thing to know that America's armed forces, man for man, boast the highest educational level of any in the world. Not only are they the most educated, according to a dispatch sent to the *New York Journal-American* from its Washington bureau, but they are the most temperate and the most music-minded!

Compared to World War I, in which only 1,500,000 high school graduates were available for the draft, today more than 7,000,000 men with high school diplomas or better are available. And through the Army Institute, a virtual service university, an enlisted man can continue his education so that he becomes not only a better soldier and a better citizen, but better fitted for the civilian life he resumes after the war.

MR. WILLIAM L. GIBSON
535 NORTH WEST 27th STREET
MIAMI, FLORIDA

11-2-42

535 So. PALMWAY
LAKE WORTH FLA.

Dear Mr. President,-

I enjoyed this cartoon so much, I felt you should have some of the same chuckles that have shaken me each time I have looked at it today. Thank God for a Country where we may enjoy things of this nature without fear. I am sure Mrs. Roosevelt would enjoy it too.

Tell Ross his Navy seems to be doing all right, from

MRS. WILLIAM L. GIBSON
~~638 NORTH WEST 77TH STREET~~
MIAMI, FLORIDA

tonights broadcast. May God and the
wisdom of the White House continue to
further our interests, on land as well
as at sea.

With sincerity
William L. Gibson

Just Don't Be Surprised, That's All



POST-WAR WORLD

Having hitched his own little wagon to Hitler's fading star, Laval now parrots Hitler's battcry against the menace of Communism, which he declares is threatening France, Europe and civilization. That was to be expected. Communism and conquest were the two talking points which brought Hitler to power in Germany. By raising the threat of a Communist dictatorship in Germany he won the following of the German bourgeoisie; by promising conquests he won the support of the military and the German youth. And a crusade against Communism is the slogan with which Hitler is now trying to sell his dictatorship to Europe and the world. Laval is using the same slogan to sell France to Hitler.

But Laval dons the armor of the anti-Communist crusader too late. Because of the subversive and, in the result, suicidal activities of a Communist international guided by the Trotskyist ideology of the proletarian world revolution, Hitler could still raise an issue which frightened many Germans into his camp and won a following for similar crusaders elsewhere, including the United States. But with the "liquidation" of the Trotskyists in Russia, the proletarian world revolution began to take a back seat, on which sat in the main the Communist dupes in other countries, whom the Moscow rulers despised as tools and liquidated first wherever Moscow itself took over, as in the Baltic states. The state of Stalin became more and more a national state, and the Communist international became the tool of Russian power politics. And this nationalization of the Bolshevik revolution is now being completed and solidified in the fires of the Russo-German war.

Stalin himself was the first to realize this. He was the first to take account of the fact that as a crusader for Communism, fighting in foreign, even though adjacent, lands, Russia was no match for Hitler, but that it developed an unparalleled heroism which won the applause and the thanks of the world when it began to fight in defense of Russia's own soil. The slogans with which Stalin is spurring the Russian armies to ever greater efforts today, are not the Marxist slogans, urging the proletarians of the world to unite, but slogans about patriotism, liberty and the fatherland.

As regards the rest of Europe, there are good reasons to believe that the masses who have been crushed in the fight between Communism and Fascism are sick and tired of all "isms." The ground swell throughout the world is against fanaticism, intolerance and, most of all, against the strutting and posing conquerors. After wandering for two decades in the wilderness of purely intellectual abstractions or clashing ideologies, which led only to a new world holocaust, the patient but not always articulate masses are finding their way back to the fundamentals of existence, to the eternal verities which a super-sophisticated age had tried to set aside as too hackneyed for modernity.

We can believe that the world that is being forged in the crucible of this war is not going to be a world regimented in the name of any single ideology or panacea, but a very practical world, in which man will demand a modicum of human decency and lib-

SAILOR'S RETURN

You see him here and there from time to time, but too often you do not recognize him. He is usually of military age. If things have been going well with him he is vigorous looking, often, but not always, with a face tanned and toughened by weather. He may have a tense look about the eyes. You might, too, if you had been where he has been.

He follows an occupation that provides for no parades. He goes about his "business in secret." No whistles blow for him and no flags fly when he puts to sea. His work, by long habit, has become monotonous. Day by day the gray, the green, the blue scenery of the ocean follows him. His variety is storm, fog and the blackness of night.

There are twenty-four hours in his day, sixty minutes in each of those hours, sixty seconds in each of those minutes—and for days on end any one of the seconds may be the one in which the enemy strikes. This knowledge he carries with him when he works, when he eats, when he reads, talks or plays cards, when he smokes his pipe, when he tries to sleep. He knows what can be done to a man by an exploding torpedo, by burning oil, by rough water, by cold, by hunger, by thirst.

Yet he goes about his necessary business. Escaping once, twice, three times, perhaps tossing in a small boat for days, he ships again. His is the strength that lies our earth-wide battles to the homeland. If he were to shrink from his task the battles would not be fought, the cause would be lost.

Much is being done for the merchant sailor by the United Seamen's Service. There is much that he still needs, particularly after he has suffered shipwreck. But mostly he needs to know that we know that he stands in honor with the other brave men who are winning this war. It is too bad that he wears no uniform, ribbon or button to tell us what he is. But those who can read men's faces, even when they are least pretentious, least conscious of their own worth, may perceive that valor is itself a decoration.

SAFE WINTER DRIVING

Winter motoring, always more hazardous than that of other seasons, demands special precautions this year. There is extra congestion in the neighborhood of industrial plants, military posts and construction projects. The share-your-car practice—not yet nearly as well established as it should be in the interest of rubber conservation—brings added responsibilities because of heavier average loading of passenger cars. The dimout, both in cities and rural areas, increases the danger of night accidents. They are sharply up in New York City this month as compared with the same period last year.

The War Department and the International Association of Chiefs of Police have joined in prescribing simple but often neglected rules for Winter driving based upon studies made by the National Safety Council. These include check-up of brakes, use of chains on snowy or icy roads (which cuts stopping distance some 50 per cent) and maintenance of windshield wipers, defrosters and headlights. But more than any other one thing it is the attitude of the driver and the pedestrian that counts. Impatience, a careless effort to save at most a few seconds or minutes, may cost a life or cause a crippling injury. The driver and the walker must remember that they too are at war, that their behavior on the

fre
has
the
bo
a
tes
To
of
for
slw
eve

T
este
sour
"ca
be
hea
san-
oth-
des
the
who
son,
the
moi
can
emi
and
ear
an
the,
T
hun
for
stor
as
P
eat
t
good
"cas
who
recei
work
impor

Cold,
verity
in
wha
depen
readi
the fr
woul
zero,
here,
orde
raw
We
serva
discun
try ma
he me
right un
man a
erage.
viewpt
The
tures
front
his dr
The c
er; u
down
the o
above
show
a wo
the P
the fa
under
The
of th
reco
by r
The
Com
serva
that
abus
simp
right

THE MAIL BAG

French Crisis Military, Not Political

To the Editor of The Herald:

How does a Frenchman react to the present developments in French North Africa? The question has been asked me several times in the last few days. May I try to answer it here? My feeling is a combination of happiness, gratitude and anguish.

There is anguish at the thought of so many new miseries and sufferings falling anew upon France. Not to feel this anguish would be unnatural and inhuman. At the same time, we all realize that this is part of the great surgical operation undertaken today to free the world of the scourge of Nazi domination. It has got to be accepted, and we accept it.

Then there is happiness, because we are witnessing a major step forward on the road to victory and to the liberation of France as well as to the restoration of her democratic liberty with all its free institutions. When we heard the message in French of the President of the United States, tears came to our eyes, and we experienced our first moment of joy and real hope since the nightmare of the armistice.

Finally, there is gratitude, because we, the men who fought on the French front in the World War, know that once more America is coming to help and save us, and, this time, to restore our independence.

At the present moment I refuse to think of anything else. There is no place for personal opinions in such big-scale military matters, and the present crisis is a military, not a political one. The man of the day is neither Darian, nor Nogues, nor Giraud, nor even de Gaulle, nor anyone else: it is Eisenhower and, behind and above him, the Commander-in-Chief of all American forces, President Roosevelt.

The Allied forces are achieving in French North Africa a feat unprecedented in history. The commanders of these forces know what they have to contend with; we don't. They know the capital importance of two factors: the first one is speed, to get to Tunis and beyond before the enemy gains a strong foothold there. The second is to manage things in such a way that the Vichy forces in North Africa will not become an obstacle to be overcome by bloodshed, and, if possible, will join in the fight. Whether this can be done by using Giraud, or Darian, or Nogues, or whoever is usable, is a question for Gen. Eisenhower to decide, not for us. For the moment, the political implications are negligible. The day will come when they resume their importance, and be again open for discussion: but that day has not come yet.

Especially since we have received the positive information that all the French underground movements of resistance have recognized Gen. de Gaulle as their leader and the French National Committee in London as trustee of the French democratic institutions, most of us, Frenchmen, inside and outside France, hope that he and the National Committee will play a decisive part in the work of liberation of the territory and of the restoration of democratic freedom. We hope also that the development of military operations and local conditions in Northern Africa will make it possible for the Fighting French forces, now already fighting in Libya or on active duty in the Chad region, to take part in the battles fought on French territory in North Africa.

We consider it as absurd, and in complete contradiction to the solemn declarations of the President, that any kind of government might be organized under the auspices of men who have been month after month denounced as Fascists, collaborationists or traitors. Darian is one of these men: His record for the last two years is clear, eloquent, and repulsive. We are confident that neither the President nor the State Department is actually thinking of giving him any dignified and honorable role, he is a despicable opportunist, a man without conscience or dignity, a Quisling. His main purpose, at this moment, is to save his skin. Nothing respectable about it. If he can be of any use at this moment, all right, let's use him. Squeeze the orange, and then throw it away. We shall never stand for any kind of "Darian government."

However, if Gen. Eisenhower believes he can get something out of Darian, let him alone. He knows. If, within a few days, he wants to shelve him, let him alone. If he feels that de Gaulle or Giraud is the best bet, again let him alone. I do not know of any Frenchman or American in a justified position to indulge in any back-seat driving, when a man like Eisenhower is at the wheel.

As a Frenchman for twenty-five years in America, I limit my field of speculation to three ideas: first, the war has to be won, and it will be won on the battlefields, and not by ideological discussions; second, my country is enslaved, and therefore my heart bursts with joy at any news which means a new effort to give France her freedom; third, that freedom means not only the liberation of her soil, but the liberation of her soul; and I trust America, speaking through her President, to help France to return to her tradition of "liberty, equality, fraternity," the common heritage of our two great democracies. Anything else would not be a liberation.

I feel confident that this statement reflects the views of most French people in the United States.

ANDRE MORIZE.

Harvard University.

Power to Perpetuate Peace Is Regarded as World Goal

Many Problems Will Have to Be Faced, Including That of Policing by Allied Nations, Which Will Have to Be Fitted Into an Organization for General Welfare

The writer of the following letter is a member of the Committee for National Morale and a trustee of the World Peace Foundation.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:
How much or how little is involved in the message "And on earth peace"? In this war we have at times deserved the phrase "too little and too late." In looking toward the peace, we at present need the warning "too much and too soon." If ridding the world of great military conquests depends upon our setting up at one and the same time the millennium in every other department of life, we are doomed to periodic catastrophes.

It would help us more clearly to see our aims so far as they affect war if we could fix in our minds the thought that there are two kinds of revolutionary movement going on in the world today. One is a revolution against war of conquest and subjugation; in this revolution through which civilization is trying to enforce a law of peaceful development among nations, Hitler and Hirohito are on the throwback side—like their more remote ancestors they want no such regime.

The other is a revolution which has quite incidental relation to the war, has been going on, and will continue, for a long time. This represents a peacetime social revolution which cuts across the national boundaries of friend and foe alike. Except in the form of contradictory promises, it has scarcely touched Japan or Germany, though on its back Hitler at least is attempting to ride to universal power.

Peaceful Revolutions

It is in terms of the revolution against war of conquest that we should express our war aims and our post-war policies. On the other hand, it is under the heading of the social and economic revolution that we should group and can best understand what we more properly should call peacetime programs of reform. Like Hitler, reformers tend to seize the war as an occasion, when in truth their better world has been on the way, and in any event should be and would be reaching acceleration, war or no war.

In any improved world that we are likely to attain within a thousand years the monster of ambition can still breed the monster of war. Unless, that is, we determine to do something about the primitive doctrine of subjugation itself, and the warmed-over savage instinct, which two together are the parents of deliberate wars of conquest. At present our sights need to be narrowed to enable us to hit anything at all. To use a cruel figure, we are in danger of missing the white dove for trying at the same time to get all the ducks.

The tendency of the day to combine together in one peace bundle many issues which are not necessarily related causatively is due to a variety of conflicts of motive and interest:

1. A natural desire completely to redesign the future house now that the present one is burning.
2. A semi-conscious giving and taking of bribes for present help, in the

social aims for a democratic society. But it could as properly have been made before the war as during the war. Much of it is concerned not primarily with war aims growing out of this war, but of general peacetime social aims. When of course he emphasized that this is a fight for victory between an arbitrary or slave world and a reasonable or free world, and called for the overthrow of conquering aggressors, he expressed a clear purpose inherent in this war and the peace to come out of it.

The British Beveridge report likewise is a great social document. In only one or two connections perhaps is it a report on post-war policies as such, related to the problem of war; in dealing with the shifts back to peace employment of returned soldiers, it does deal with a war-peace problem and has direct bearing on problems growing out of the war.

Ruthlessness Not Compatible

This is to say that if we cannot first concentrate on the control or elimination of the types of mind which thrive on becoming ruthless conquerors, we can have no peace.

It seems fairly generally admitted among the rich and the poor alike, in labor circles, in Congress, in India and possibly even in the minds of many Italians, that an Axis victory would not be a good thing, that it at least would be the greater of two possible evils. It appears, however, to be an unlovely tendency in human nature to attempt to bargain in the face of danger for some advantage which has no relation to that danger nor to the successful meeting of that danger.

It is surprising how many unformed cheerers spring up from outside at the sight of an India trying to commit suicide before the Axis, by waiting to bargain. That bargaining may have something to do with the ultimate political development of India, which obviously has been on the way anyhow as fast as India can break with her own self-imposed historical limitations and tyrannies. But it has nothing to do with the security of freedom throughout the world, which is the present paramount stake.

It is these tendencies which have led the best of us, perhaps unwittingly, to offer bribes beyond our performance as the price for present help. It is not that the substance of these bribes is bad. On the contrary, these attainable visions are among the best hopes of mankind, and our mutual assurances of cooperation and support in giving them actuality are not without value.

But we need to foresee that events may not quickly bring full fruition to all these future hopes. In some circumstances it may be the people themselves who stand in their own way. Yet if it should so turn out, we ought not, therefore, to lose the great present prizes to be gained from victory in this war—namely, another chance for free institutions, and an unshakable determination to be ready to meet conquest in the future before it starts at any point to endanger those institutions.

It would be idle not to admit that any condition which falls short of af-

forms flow the stream of competition, political differences, social adjustment and progress. We progressively achieve added sets of these forms; they become our temporarily "static" law—personal rights, the ballot, representation, civil safety, social security.

In the world of nations today we are attempting to establish peace under law between nations as we have between citizens, as a conditioning framework for the struggle for progress. Without it we can go little farther in the endeavor to bring about human welfare.

Many a German and some Japanese think, feel, aspire and act like the rest of us. But from time immemorial, and especially latterly for more than one generation, there have been nurtured certain litters of tiger cubs to whom milk is anathema and blood is pap. We like to think that meeting them at least halfway in a spirit of friendliness will produce a change; the thought gives great internal comfort to some souls. But it gives no solace to the hundreds of thousands of murdered and dying Poles, Jews, Greeks; and the rest of those from whose blood the Nazi would purify the race of man while the Nazi himself pollutes the stream of the ages.

Too Much Loose Talk

When we sublimate the issue of control of conquest in a variety of fancied excuses and palliatives for it, we but invite the indefinite postponement of the reign of peaceful order. There has been too much loose talk about the "mistakes of the last peace" with emphasis on the wrong mistakes; the mistakes were that we did not take, and—as evidenced in the loose clauses, Fifteen and Sixteen of the Covenant—never really intended to take conquest by the throat.

The peace we want will deal with the militant mind of conquest as a problem. Whatever else is attained, peace must be established. This involves power among the peace-loving nations to perpetuate peace. We have been too easily turned aside by talk about perpetuating the status quo, when in truth the quo has had very little status in the gradual political flux toward free existence. Almost any status would be better than the status pro-Nazi. For a long time the peace police power will necessarily rest with the United States, the British Commonwealth, Russia and China. Merely because it is power, it need not be any the less a policing for peace. And it none the less can be fitted into the formation of post-war organization not only for peace but for general welfare.

Underlying and giving reality to this power for peace there must become conscious of their duty and might the spiritual forces of individuals in many nations who see in law a spiritual quality, and in the support of a law of peace a high and real call of man's nature. We resist this call for a time and then events overtake us and force us to be better than we intended. In this unexalted way exalted law may be born, as in this very hour it is gestating in the war of the world.

More Problems

There are other peace-front wa-

ova gets the hout and neral could Ge in s ben d and Anglo-squered
s been merged illusion- id noth- d things As for econcile ith the on and bit their that it. That is "Sisters" w to be he with
f recep- s new i that e are Jhek- i the agni- riter n the ia of the and His- spor- rror y be-
se, a the his- s. If reeps look- iding and volu- with- i go find ere alth
a in the and pe- ave the and and lan on, on of
not al the by en ov oe ly-

world has been the way, and in any event, should be and would be reaching acceleration, war or no war.

In any improved world that we are likely to attain within a thousand years the monster of ambition can still breed the monster of war. Unless, that is, we determine to do something about the primitive doctrine of subjugation itself, and the warmed-over savage instinct, which two together are the parents of deliberate wars of conquest. At present our sights need to be narrowed to enable us to hit anything at all. To use a cruel figure, we are in danger of missing the white dove for trying at the same time to get all the ducks.

The tendency of the day to combine together in one peace bundle many issues which are not necessarily related causatively is due to a variety of conflicts of motive and interest:

1. A natural desire completely to re-design the future house now that the present one is burning.
2. A semi-conscious giving and taking of bribes for present help, in the form of promises of future perfections, even though Axis victory in any event would be fatal to all other parties involved.
3. An inclination to supply large-hearted but erroneous economic excuses for the periodic outbursts of Mars.
4. Failure to see the relation between, on the one hand, certain progressively won "static" phases of law as a framework for peaceful social evolution and, on the other hand, the "dynamic" processes by which modern society can within—and only within—that framework evolve certain social and economic adjustments.
5. An implied belief that since war usually is made to appear to have a basis in economic and social maladjustments, and therefore appears to be forgivable, we can erase war by being sufficiently kind and abnegating, especially to two men with small mustaches east and west of Suez.
6. An unconscious and specious hope that for the moment we can escape making a predetermined stand about the sharp international issue of aggression; this, until again we find that the conqueror is at the gates of somebody else, while again we debate whether to do anything about it until we wake up one morning to find him at another gate—namely, our own.

Better Houses

Improved houses often come out of fires. The closet that Mary found inconvenient can be made better in the next new house; the kitchen that mother abhorred will be made right; none of the inconveniences about which the head of the family used to complain will occur in the next building. To hear the discussion, the neighbors almost are led to conclude that it was the flaws in the old house which caused the fire. When in truth, as events later prove, it was a plain case of arson. And no matter how splendid the new house, if something is not done about arson as arson, quite likely the new house will some time go the same way. Some people, however, say: "Let us improve all houses, and presto! we will have no more arson."

But the lack of improved houses had little to do with causing this war—witness nearly any pre-1914 German home.

The statement by the Vice President of what a free world involves, in concern for the general welfare, is an admirable statement of the inherent nature of freedom and of the proper

throughout the world, which is the present paramount stake.

It is these tendencies which have led the best of us, perhaps unwittingly, to offer bribes beyond our performance as the price for present help. It is not that the substance of these bribes is bad. On the contrary, these attainable visions are among the best hopes of mankind, and our mutual assurances of cooperation and support in giving them actuality are not without value.

But we need to foresee that events may not quickly bring full fruition to all these future hopes. In some circumstances it may be the people themselves who stand in their own way. Yet if it should so turn out, we ought not therefore to lose the great present prizes to be gained from victory in this war—namely, another chance for free institutions, and an unshakable determination to be ready to meet conquest in the future before it starts at any point to endanger those institutions.

It would be idle not to admit that any condition which falls short of affording to human beings as reasonable a living as their own self-imposed limitations permit results in those human beings being susceptible to the wiles of demagogues. Any promise will seem to hold out improvement.

Germans Not Undernourished

But who can possibly say that in any true sense the ruddy-faced German of pre-1914, before he dug his own pit, represented an undernourished people? Who can properly say that the post-war German with most of his land intact, who refurbished his cities and factories with outside money, corrupted his own currency, cut his actual reparation payments to less than one-fifth of the fifty billion for rearmament he then willingly assumed for another foray of world conquest, bears the slightest resemblance to a noble but put-upon people? How can it be said that the economic machinations by which a coterie of German industrialists deliberately aimed to further the political conquest of the world by economic invasion of our industries, not for mutual service, but for the sabotage of our ability to hold our freedom—how can this be truthfully represented as the effort of a people so impoverished that the only way out was wars of conquest?

How long shall we be deluded by shoutings—not by Nazis alone—against a now fading imperialism when their aims are an enslavement imperialism of the whole world? How much longer will our kindly people believe Junker and Nazi alike, while he howls about the "inaccessibility of raw materials" materials which he says he is denied, when at the very same moment in order to build up for this war, he laid about in every direction to buy, and freely did buy, years ahead of supply from all of us—British, American and from others—at whose throats he aimed to stick the very bayonets he forged from those self-same "inaccessible" materials? For these doings, chapter and verse can be cited and they are not to be gainsaid.

It is an easy belief that social progress comes primarily through the challenges of the violent. It has, of course, more than once been true—before the ballot and constitutional government existed or when they were but a sham—that progress has been brought about by violence. The centuries, however, are expected gradually to supplant violence with pacific struggle. From era to era new legal shapes for the funnel of progress are enacted. Through these

gradual political flux toward free existence. Almost any status would be better than the status pro-Nazi. For a long time the peace police power will necessarily rest with the United States, the British Commonwealth, Russia and China. Merely because it is power, it need not be any the less a policing for peace. And it none the less can be fitted into the formation of post-war organization not only for peace but for general welfare.

Underlying and giving reality to this power for peace there must become conscious of their duty and might the spiritual forces of individuals in many nations who see in law a spiritual quality, and in the support of a law of peace a high and real call of man's nature. We resist this call for a time and then events overtake us and force us to be better than we intended. In this unexalted way exalted law may be born, as in this very hour it is gestating in the war of the world.

More Problems

There are other peace-from-war problems. Upon them we should concentrate our thought: the feeding of the post-war starving, the rehabilitation of the homeless, the repossession of stolen goods, the resettling of populations, the treatment of those obsessed with inhuman tendencies, the re-education of Nazi youth, the re-education of Japan, the problem of the German military mind, the control of economic penetration as an instrument of war, the watch on new methods of rearmament, encouragement to liberal factors in backward administrations, the application to post-war international problems of suitable elements of the United Nations machinery of war collaboration, international organization to give expression and actuality to these matters, and arms and an alliance for peace—a very special kind of alliance indeed.

The kind of peace we want, and the kind of world we can get, are not necessarily coextensive nor immediately coexistent. In both spheres we may well hasten our aspirations. But without peace to the world man will lose not only the riches of his flesh but himself as well. With peace man can begin the age of his greatest glory.

LEONARD W. CRONKITE,
Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 23, 1942.

BOY ON THE PASTURE GATE

Dream wisely, boy, of those strange years to come:
While you are counting time's slow pendulum,
Tether your dreams to earth, and turn your eyes
Away from distant and seductive skies.
What city boy has ever felt the thrill
Of hiding in long fields of grain, so still
That tiny creatures anchored to a blade
Inspect him curiously, yet unafraid?
Store in your memory the brimming laugh
Of gladness at a wabbling new-born calf;
Cherish the fun of cupping in your hand
A baby rabbit cradled in the land.
Dream wisely, boy, and build your castles near
The rich, brown soil. Keep your heart channels clear,
That Wisdom may, in ever-changing stream,
Replenish the sweet wonder of your dream.

BLANCHE STEWART.

YOUR LIFE IN 1943



LEE GLASSER runs the hardware store in our town. Lee is a girl — tall, competent, taciturn. I went in the other day looking for a certain aluminum gadget, and Lee shook her head.

"No more of those," she said.
I said it was too bad.

"What's too bad about it?" she snapped. "I have three brothers in uniform and another going, and I guess they need the aluminum worse than you do."

It shamed me. Somewhat lamely I parried, "But what's going to happen to your business if you can't get things to sell?"

She shook back her hair. "I'll get things to sell," she said, confidently. "I'll get along all right."

Frank Barnes is a barber in an Ohio town. Stuck between trains, I dropped in for a haircut. We got to talking about



Here's a forecast: Some of it bad, some good — but all of it based on the hard facts of what we must do to win the war

by Don Eddy

Some things they see ahead are not pretty. But when you blow away the smoke, you begin to take heart. For these, I believe, are as true as any prophecies it is possible to make for 1943:

the age of 16, subject to conscription for wartime work. You could be drafted, just as men are drafted for military service.

Once you prove adept in a war job, you are apt to be "frozen" there for the duration. Workers in many lines already



LEE GLASSER runs the hardware store in our town. Lee is a girl — tall, competent, taciturn. I went in the other day looking for a certain aluminum gadget, and Lee shook her head.

"No more of those," she said.

I said it was too bad.

"What's too bad about it?" she snapped. "I have three brothers in uniform and another going, and I guess they need the aluminum worse than you do."

It shamed me. Somewhat lamely I parried, "But, what's going to happen to your business if you can't get things to sell?"

She shook back her hair. "I'll get things to sell," she said, confidently. "I'll get along all right."

Frank Barnes is a barber in an Ohio town. Stuck between trains, I dropped in for a haircut. We got to talking about income taxes, and I said that a lot of us were going to have a tough time meeting the ante this next year.

Frank just laughed. "It doesn't worry me," he said. "After all, I can only eat so much. I only need one roof, and one bed, and decent clothes. Beyond that, the gov'ment can take everything I've got, and welcome. The main thing is to win the war."

That's America talking — America, 1943.

The main thing is to win the war. Let the "gov'ment" take everything it needs to do the job. We'll get along all right.

That's what they're saying in the grass roots, and it makes your insides tingle with pride. It's pretty fine, this tough, hard, confident, new wartime America.

The funny thing is, we will get along all right. It isn't going to be so bad this next year. Sure, we'll sacrifice plenty — if you want to call it that. We'll sacrifice, and we'll win the war, and a few years from now we'll have to think hard to remember what it was we sacrificed.

I've been in Washington trying to get a picture of what 1943 holds in store for you and me. It isn't easy. I talked with such men as James F. Byrnes, director of Economic Stabilization; Donald M. Nelson, chief of the War Production Board; Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr.; Petroleum Co-ordinator Harold L. Ickes; Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard; Leon Henderson, the boss rationeer; Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission; Transportation Chief Joseph B. Eastman; Rubber Czar William M. Jeffers; Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, director of Selective Service, and others — scores of others. I talked with hard-boiled, far-seeing Washington correspondents, with anybody and everybody who could shed light on the future.



Here's a forecast: Some of it bad, some good — but all of it based on the hard facts of what we must do to win the war

by Don Eddy

Some things they see ahead are not pretty. But when you blow away the smoke, you begin to take heart. For these, I believe, are as true as any prophecies it is possible to make for 1943:

No American is going to suffer from hunger or cold. We'll have sufficient food, homes, heat and clothing.

Americans won't go broke unless they refuse to work, and it may be hard to do even that. Severe adjustments are ahead for many small businessmen and employees of nonessential businesses, and for those who cannot adapt themselves to war work. But for the physically and mentally fit, there will be jobs, at good pay.

No American is going to be taxed to death. Taxes will be higher, but they'll leave enough for necessities and a few luxuries.

If we drive carefully, and protect our tires, most of us will keep our automobiles and keep them running.

We'll be able to travel for essential purposes but not for pleasure. We'll have electricity, movies, radio and beer. We'll even have gadgets. They'll be made of synthetics and non-essential metals, but they'll work just as well.

No, it isn't going to be so bad. We'll get along all right.

And now that we know the best general picture, let's examine the details. Let's see what things are in the minds of the men and women who are running the war — and us.

YOUR JOB. It is entirely possible that you will have to change your job. Thirteen and a half million more individuals will have to be in essential war work by the end of 1943, and you're apt to be one of them. You'll want to be, for nonessential workers won't be popular.

Unless you make the change voluntarily, Uncle Sam may do it for you. A strong Washington faction has been trying since midsummer to get Congress to pass a National Service Act which would make everybody, male and female, above

the age of 16; subject to conscription for wartime work. You could be drafted, just as men are drafted for military service.

Once you prove adept in a war job, you are apt to be "frozen" there for the duration. Workers in many lines already are forbidden to change jobs without permission, and this practice will be widely extended. You may work more than 40 hours a week before starting overtime, but probably not longer than 48.

If you don't go to work in war industry, you may be expected to help on a farm next summer. The shortage of farm labor in 1943 will be crucial. A land army will have to be recruited by some means, largely from among city people.

Women will have to come out of the kitchen. About 2,000,000 are in war production now; at least 5,000,000 more will have to start work by the end of 1943.

Shortage of workers is the most serious situation facing America today. What's the answer? Find people who never worked with their hands before! Maybe that means you.

YOUR INCOME. By and large, wages and salaries will be fairly static during 1943. If there are changes they are more likely to be up than down.

What about the "freezing" of wages and salaries? Will that stop you from getting a raise? Not necessarily. Increases in pay will be granted to "correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate substandards of living, to correct gross inequities, or to aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Also, increases can be granted for "individual promotions or reclassifications, individual merit, or increased productivity." That seems to put it strictly up to you.

YOUR CHANCE OF BEING DRAFTED. If you are under 45, single and sound, and have been passed over because you hold a so-called "key" job, you'll probably be taking orders



from a top sergeant any moment now. Employers will find it increasingly difficult to hold single men of military age, no matter how irreplaceable they may be.

Childless married men are already being drafted in some localities, and all others may expect to be re-examined early in 1943. Those classed as eligible will be inducted rapidly. Large numbers of married men will be in the Army before the year's end.

The Selective Service System has laid down hard-and-fast rules. They call for inductions in this order: 1. The teen-agers and all remaining single men. 2. Childless married men not working in one of the 34 essential industries. 3. Childless married men working in one of the essential industries, but who are not completely irreplaceable. 4. Married men with dependent children.

The first group will be exhausted by the middle of this

happen to you? Well, ask yourself whether your business is a commodity or a luxury. If it is a luxury, lock it up for the duration. But if it is a commodity business, take heart. Help may be coming.

Behind the scenes, Congress is trying to evolve a law intended to save the little businessmen in essential lines. Something is reasonably sure to come of all the talk, possibly by late spring.

Meantime, there are other things you can do. One of the best is to emphasize service. Things are going to get broken, and they'll have to be fixed. Why not be the fixer?

You can look into the substitute products. For many items that have disappeared through priorities, duplicates are coming along in nonessential materials. Perhaps it will take digging to find them, persuasion to sell them. So what? You didn't build that business by sucking your thumb, did you?

If you can't get clerks, start self-service. If you can't make deliveries, make jokes and let the customers carry their own.

YOUR TAXES. More than 7,000,000 people are going to pay income taxes in 1943 for the first time. Those taxes will be higher than we ever paid before — but lower than people are paying in most of our allied nations. Taxes will be higher because this year we have spent the equivalent of \$600 for every man, woman and child in the United States — on the war alone.

How much income tax will you have to pay? Here's the official dope. The first column represents *net income* before personal exemption. The second column is the tax for a single person with no dependents. The third column is the tax for a married person with no dependents. The fourth column is the tax for a married person with two dependents. This will give you an idea:

\$1,000	\$ 89	\$ 00	\$ 00
2,000	273	140	13
3,000	472	324	191
4,000	686	532	378

These figures do not include the Victory Tax, which, starting next Friday, will nip five per cent off all salaries over \$624.

New tax legislation is sure in 1943. One faction is plugging for a sales tax on everything you buy — and they may win. Another faction wants a compulsory savings plan, with savings deducted from pay checks; they may win, too. And there is strong pressure for a plan to deduct *all* income taxes from pay checks, so that you will pay as you earn and not have a whopping tax bill staring you in the face the following March. Don't be surprised if that goes through early in the year — but not early enough to stave off the jolt March 15. Whatever new laws may be written, you'll have to pay the tax on 1942 earnings in the usual way during 1943.

YOUR FOOD. You'll have all you need — though it may not be the kind you've been used to. For the whole dope, see Clementine Paddleford's article, "What You'll Eat Next Year," in this same issue.

Men will continue cuffless, and vests may be ruled out, but who cares? Gloves will be scarcer, but you can have your coat pockets extra deep.

There's considerable fog about shoes. One group says they'll be scarce and rationed; another group says it isn't so. My personal guess is that all shoes will be rationed before the end of 1943. But before that happens, the thousands of present styles will be drastically reduced. If rationing starts, you may be required to turn in your worn-out shoes when buying a new pair. Don't count on that; it's just a guess.

Hats, socks, underwear, shirts, girdles, brassieres, slips — all the essential garments will be normally abundant and reasonably priced. You may not get the precise material you want, but you'll get something that will fill the bill.

By and large, you'll be able to dress just as modishly at the end of 1943 as you do now, and at no material increase in cost.

YOUR TRANSPORTATION. The belief everywhere in Washington is that civilian automobiles must be kept running. We won't have gasoline for frivolity, but we'll have enough for the necessities of travel. Don't try to fool your ration board about necessity, though, because they'll smack you down!

The first synthetic tires are coming out of the factories, and they are good. The Army is taking them now, and it's very doubtful if you will be able to buy these before the end of 1943. Meanwhile Grade III War Tires, made from reclaimed rubber, are now being produced. You can get those, if you can prove you *need* them. And they'll last you 5,000 to 10,000 miles if you hold your speed under 35 miles.

There is no real shortage of gasoline; there is a severe shortage of carriers to transport it. Ocean tankers used to carry 95 per cent of it to the East; now, 70,000 tank cars are burning up the rails trying to do the job, and not quite accomplishing it. What's the answer? Pipe lines, of course. We're building a 24-inch line from Texas to New York. When it is finished next summer, the gasoline shortage will be materially relieved.

Meantime, treat gas with care — and don't step on it! Judges are going to throw the book at speeders in 1943.

Rail transportation is apt to go on a priority basis by mid-year, maybe sooner. You will be asked *why* you want to travel; you may have to fill out a form to buy a ticket. If your story is good, you get the ticket; if it isn't, you don't. Travel rationing isn't definite, but it is in the wind.

GENERAL FORECASTS. The draft of the teen-agers is expected to revolutionize school curriculums. Educators are making plans to train youngsters for war and war work. New York City high schools switched over last fall, tossing tripperies out the window and concentrating on mathematics and manual arts. Schools elsewhere will follow suit. Many small colleges will close for the duration at the end of this semester; larger colleges and fancy-name preparatory schools will either cut out vacations and cram their courses into three years, or become military-training schools exclusively.



from a top sergeant any moment now. Employers will find it increasingly difficult to hold single men of military age, no matter how irreplaceable they may be.

Childless married men are already being drafted in some localities, and all others may expect to be re-examined early in 1943. Those classed as eligible will be inducted rapidly. Large numbers of married men will be in the Army before the year's end.

The Selective Service System has laid down hard-and-fast rules. They call for inductions in this order: 1. The teen-agers and all remaining single men. 2. Childless married men not working in one of the 34 essential industries. 3. Childless married men working in one of the essential industries, but who are not completely irreplaceable. 4. Married men with dependent children.

The first group will be exhausted by the middle of this winter, at which time induction of the second group will begin. The third group will be called by midsummer. Nobody in Washington, so far, expects that the fourth group will be called.

YOUR BUSINESS. You've worked hard all your life to build up a little one-horse business, and now you see it shaking like a hula dancer. You can't get your regular merchandise. Your help is leaving. You can't make deliveries. What's going to

\$1,000	\$ 89	\$ 00	\$ 00
2,000	273	140	13
3,000	472	324	191
4,000	686	532	378

These figures do not include the Victory Tax, which, starting next Friday, will nip five per cent off all salaries over \$624.

New tax legislation is sure in 1943. One faction is plugging for a sales tax on everything you buy — and they may win. Another faction wants a compulsory savings plan, with savings deducted from pay checks; they may win, too. And there is strong pressure for a plan to deduct all income taxes from pay checks, so that you will pay as you earn and not have a whopping tax bill staring you in the face the following March. Don't be surprised if that goes through early in the year — but not early enough to stave off the jolt March 15. Whatever new laws may be written, you'll have to pay the tax on 1942 earnings in the usual way during 1943.

YOUR FOOD. You'll have all you need — though it may not be the kind you've been used to. For the whole dope, see Clementine Paddleford's article, "What You'll Eat Next Year," in this same issue.

YOUR CLOTHES. Early in the war it looked like we would have a shortage of wool, but that was before we started sending mammoth convoys to Australia. Now those ships go down loaded with munitions and come home loaded with wool. We'll have enough for everybody.

True, our stocks of cloth will have to be used wisely. Women will find fewer styles in ready-made coats, suits and dresses.

plishing it. What's the answer? Pipe lines, of course. We're building a 24-inch line from Texas to New York. When it is finished next summer, the gasoline shortage will be materially relieved.

Meantime, treat gas with care — and don't step on it! Judges are going to throw the book at speeders in 1943.

Rail transportation is apt to go on a priority basis by mid-year, maybe sooner. You will be asked why you want to travel; you may have to fill out a form to buy a ticket. If your story is good, you get the ticket; if it isn't, you don't. Travel rationing isn't definite, but it is in the wind.

GENERAL FORECASTS. The draft of the teen-agers is expected to revolutionize school curriculums. Educators are making plans to train youngsters for war and war work. New York City high schools switched over last fall, tossing fripperies out the window and concentrating on mathematics and manual arts. Schools elsewhere will follow suit. Many small colleges will close for the duration at the end of this semester; larger colleges and fancy-name preparatory schools will either cut out vacations and cram their courses into three years, or become military-training schools exclusively.

Rugs will get scarcer. So will draperies, all-woolen blankets, bed and table linen. New furniture, too, and candy and cosmetics. You may not get fancy cooking ranges and heating stoves, but "Victory" models will be plentiful.

Mechanical refrigerators will go the way of typewriters, but the iceman will be working overtime. Production of 300,000 iceboxes has been okayed. Banned for the duration are washing machines and ironers, electrical appliances, ranges and fans, golf clubs and balls, lawn mowers, metal household furniture, musical instruments, outboard motors, radios, toys, vacuum cleaners and juke boxes.

There will be more babies but fewer baby buggies. Also fewer bicycles, coal stokers, hot-water heaters, hairpins and bobbie pins, electric-light bulbs, jewelry, kitchen and household utensils, razors, blades, sewing machines and a number of other items.

The present price-control system, with ceiling prices based on March, 1942, is likely to be junked before midyear, to be replaced with a specific dollar-and-cent ceiling for each item. Government inspectors will be numerous, and any dealer who tries to chisel will find himself behind the eight-ball. Moral: Whether you're buying or selling, don't cheat.

That's the picture of what life is going to be like for all of us next year. We're going to have to make sacrifices — sure. But they're for the best cause in the world — and worth making.

As Lee Glasser told me in her hardware store, "We'll get along all right!"

The End

HOW THE WAR CHANGES OUR WAY OF LIFE

