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 heretofore 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 exactly 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 wasn'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 give 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 seat."—Tomba 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.

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.

Let's Stay Prepared with the President assuring us from time to time that business need not be discommodared while we built a first-class defense machine.

What we hope most earnestly is that when our next war comes along we shall 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.

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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 President had received sound advice from the only living former President Herbert Hoover, food administrator during the last war.

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 with his own "principles," which manifestly with one exception. That was in regard to the tremendous civilian set-up, with its 2,500,000 civil employees 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. 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 conscription 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 with limited 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. It 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 before the Labor Board at a well-known mail-order house, Montgomery Ward & Co. The dispute went to the Labor Board at Washington, D.C. The Labor Board handed down a decision which the employer company, Montgomery Ward & Co. in a contract with the C. I. O. union, ordered to sign a contract unconditionally to the benefit of the labor leaders. Doubtless Mr. Roosevelt would do this in fact, if 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 membership, and a lot of other things. Quite a number, quite a majority, believe that a man is a man at any time, any place, at any country, so that the labor leaders happen to be in political offices of the United States, by dint of money, and the British government, or something, or a lot of other things, they have been complying with that, or not. The recognition, comply or keep your doors open. If, any one who is so stupid as to have a union, ought to be dropped out, and not to be paid for what not.

Upon the company's refusal to sign the Labor Board's order丁。r. a member, Mrs. Wayne M. L. Morliss, declared the Labor Board would use "whatever forces of Government are necessary to compel compliance, for its enforcement of the Labor Board's order". The United States, President Roosevelt, November 18, 1918, issued an order to the "Montgomery Ward... He said he was speaking as "commander-in-chief in time of war". Few will find fault with the "fact that the Constitution makes the President commander-in-chief in time of war. The Constitution makes the President commander-in-chief of the Army and the Navy. Almost any citizen will order the President to do something for the war, and in the war..."

At once Montgomery Ward replied, and complied. In 12 lines the words of the president of the company were: "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 to 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 commander-in-chief in time of war. Almost any citizen will order the President to do something for the war, and in the war...

In this case, C.I.O. is ordered to do so for the war and

OVERSEAS CAPS
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 they may not send comments, printed here which tend to emphasize dishonor in this country instead of stating the facts as they are to be censored.

The attitude of the foreign correspondents is that responsible editorial comment is important, and that Washington correspondents, for example, assigned to interpret American public opinion to English leaders, should be permitted to send in to their newspapers 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 the 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 correspondent tells me that when he recently incorporated quotations from their columns in his editorials, he was told by the American censor 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 and foreign policy, struck the American censor as dangerous thoughts that must be kept from British eyes on the ground that they tend to emphasize dishonor among the citizens of this republic.

This choice 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 newspapers 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 was a race problem could possibly exist in this land of free and compulsory voting.

With this in mind, the correspondents from abroad sat down and sweated over their job of writing a poll-tax story for foreign, enlightening 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.

Elmer Davis in OWL 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 newspaperman who shoulderled 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 is of course of the dictatorship gang. But 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. Paulmier, correspondent in the United States for the London Telegraph and Morning Post:

"If we were reporting from Axis countries, this kind of thing about things infinitely worse would have been made.

It seems likely that in a round-up of the view of foreign correspondents on American censorship made by Editor and Publisher. He follows with the public comment:

"If we did not all have such great pride in the traditions of freedom of speech and freedom of press which is common in 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. Allison Cook points out that American censors are "unhappily, all too often, brought by rules and have not been able to take the line which occasionally, they have clearly thought was intelligent."

"I coveck further pointing out that on the subject of how to stand against Britain by responsible American writers we have not been allowed to transmit their views to London, so that (A) British readers would have known what was being said; (B) American correspondents would have been able to remove false impressions; (C) I do not believe the American people to be immature children and if I feel that is how in some ways the censorship has been treating 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 for their pieces for the London Press, Hessel Thuman utters the restrained and conservative judgment:

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

And Robert Wallihan 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."
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-COS-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 an-guished outcry here in America than it has 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 that it is different from America, as regards the degree of public controversy.

Had such a state paper been issued here, proposing, in sub-stance, 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 irrelevances would have been brought into the argument at once.

"We can easily imagine that rumbling protest against the Beveridge truth" 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 conserva-tive government, has just got itself involved in a major one.

Why the difference? One of the reasons is Dunkerque. Eng-land has had 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.)

Thus the English government 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 1914, an "economic bill of rights," adding the right to a secure life to the older right of free speech.

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

But, begun in the shadow 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 more sure of the stronger. When Mr. Churchill drops too 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, can we 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 guaranteed majority of whole communities of the serious-minded. Under the 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 as a cost modifier. 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.
COURTEOUS BUT CALM
COURTEOUS BUT CALM
The Royal pilgrimage through Canada is a huge success to date. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth are 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.

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 goodwill 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 mien in big parades (maybe up Broadway and down Pennsylvania Ave.) at great public gathering places? Why should they be confined to comparatively small garden parties for 1,500 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
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. ml.) 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 235,000,000 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. We merely express the earnest hope that Wilson Did It

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.
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
Judge Duffy Sees the Way.

Federal Judge Paul Bryan of Milwaukee, after giving 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 General John J. Pershing 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 and 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 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 war time, 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 muddled 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 season which was trying to disintegrate the Union.

The great humanitarian and our president had gone to Washington to find that the arms of the United States army had been mysteriously shipped to southern states by secession-motivated 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 immoderate "drugging of 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 imprisoning 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 left America destroyed by observing every fine point of law and 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 guilt 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, 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 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 distraction 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 smacked 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 Pierre Laval, a key 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 defeat 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 it 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 Tehran 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 Northwestern 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 northeastern 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 tucked 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-
On the Record

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 have written it requested to be quoted exactly. Since a version was reported in the press, I have talked with two participants in the conference who gave quite different accounts 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 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 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 in the hospitals, are becoming bitter antilabor, even desiring their own laboring fathers. At the same time, in such hospitals as those at Atlantic City and Miami, the wounded soldiers are outraged by the display of luxury amongst vacationers and infuriated by the war profiteering.

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

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 the 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 the only candidate 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 the important public figures ring the public sense, but the recent events in the war have done so. The leaders of the Axis powers have been busy trying to maintain their hold on the countries they have conquered by using fear and propaganda. The people of these countries have been fed lies and propaganda, and have been kept in the dark about the true state of affairs.

In fact, these indirect methods of influence are increasingly being used by the Axis powers. They are trying to divide the countries they have conquered by creating discord and distrust among the people. By doing this, they hope to make it more difficult for the people to resist their rule.

It is time for the people of these countries to stand up and fight against the Axis powers. They must not be afraid to speak out and express their thoughts and opinions. Only by standing up and speaking out can they hope to win freedom and independence for their countries.
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, Governor Dewey and Mayor Farley, Democratic State Chairman, called upon Governor Dewey last night for a special session of the Legislature to amend the law to make it workable.

Mr. Farley, whose speech was over WABC radio over a State-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System in reply to Governor Dewey's speech which was heard over a State-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Mr. Farley said that most of the people serving in the armed forces, that they were not in this country and that the major party of the State wanted to have an opportunity to vote in the easiest way possible.

"Selfishness" is Assailed

"There may be some who can see the political advantage in war ballot, but it is not difficult for the armed forces to vote," Mr. Farley aid. "I am to ask the Governor not to believe the selfishness of the State who want to have an opportunity to vote in the easiest way possible."

Mr. Farley quoted Governor Dewey as saying that any soldier can be provided with a ballot which will be valid under the 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 laws were faulty and that the "liberal interpretation" of the law was adopted by William T. Simpson, chairman of the commission, showed that the statute was not clear and left the way open for any person to protect the tallying of all soldier ballots.

Mr. Farley said Mr. Simpson's statement that the services of about 3,000 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.

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 must fill out the ballot and return it to him before the attesting officer.

This, he declared, would delay the voting of the soldiers.

"The simple way," he said, "is to send the War Ballot Commission a ballot to every service man or woman. The ballot shall be furnished by any relative, friend or neighbor, or any person charged with the State Constitution and eliminate the mistakes and delays.

"This method is a far better method," he said, "and will be far better in the long run."
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 Djidjell, 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. Otto F. Bryan of Kansas City, Mo., who flew the President into the combat zone in North Africa.

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. MARSHALL; GEORGE on Maj. Bryan's second, and most recent, flight with President Roose-velt; 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 Transcon- tinental & Western Air directs the operations of the intercontinental division, related the incident as one of many experienced during the 83 1/2 hours in which the President was flown 9,784 miles.

On the last flight, he was com мissioned a major in the Army Air Forces 'Air Transport Command. Once the flight was over, he was back in civilian clothes, but he was also prepared to go on 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, F-39 fighters arrived for local coverage and to cover the flight to Tunis.

"The plans were that the F-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 Djeridell." 

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 White House 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 Mediter- ranean, 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 was flying under cover of darkness the
Sees Turkish President

From the day of the arrival in Teheran, November 27, when President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill went into conference, until December 7, 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.
December 7

Now that we know the grim story of a year ago today in Hawaii we can see, in 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 oneself 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 hating 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.
ISOLATION'S NEW FACES: Mr. Hoffman, of Michigan (the
negro 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 auto-
matic 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 rounding 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, in-
tensively, 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 once-
time isolationist ought to be pleased if we can win victories with
food instead of live foods. But the remnants of isolation will not give
up the chance to make much of the food issue, to chivvy 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 'would 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 any-
thing about colonialism. It seeks, in fact, many conflicting privi-
leges, 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 at-
tack the enemy, and also to mutter about the dam bureauacrat 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 freble, 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, meaning-
less world in which to do its business, and thus it enjoys getting
the discussion of government down to an incomprehensibly 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 shrieking for a formless, irrelevant sort of world,
one that can stagger along, concealing its losses, masking the costs
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 com-
plicated struggle, on the home front, against all the jiggling bat-
talions of obstructors.
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 Napoleons have been telling us how imprimitur or confused we are, we have quietly become the strongest military power on earth. Few have noticed, because most minds, even those of high places, are conscious of minds, and their attention is therefore divided by exceptions, the by-play of the Adonis Amusing them with the silly, but not the customers, on the big stage.

Thus, while many men have been holding some unfortunate government questionnaires to his nose, with an expression that nobody knows how sad it is to be a mother, we have somehow come to produce the entire Africa and the field of missions. By the end of next year, we shall produce the world, and we shall have done all this without much of us having talked about something else.

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

Every public issue must be discussed in the light of the fact that this is an entirely different country from the one of two years ago. Is it a question of whether America has come to the rest of the world to stability after the war? If you are still living, 1939, we cannot do so, because then we produced about $100,000,000 of machines. But, with the present depression, in 1943, we can, and, because then we must produce more than $100,000,000 of machines or 20 for 1.

New Test for Lawmakers

And now we have a new test for judging commentators, Congressmen, etc.: Does the gentleman talk in 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 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 on all these matters, or else the speaker ought to applaud some；lavender on himself, like a boracic pinch, and put himself away in a drawer.

To capture the merit becomes the highest duty of the average man.

He is not helped by the public opinion, who jumps up and down in a tempest of anger, and 1,000 "Wahh" because we have more civil servants than we had during the last war. What does that computation mean; we go with anything? This is a new country.

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 clear of glass in the vicinity of the William Brown's residence.

Mr. W. F. Wilson, who spoke in favor of the proposal, said: "The street is often crowded, and there is no room for cars on the roadway. The people who live in the area are constantly running into broken glass, which makes it difficult for them to get about."

William F. Brown, treasurer of the association, reported a balance of $395 in the treasury.
Today And Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

The Great Adventure

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

Naturally enough there will be many who will think that such a situation 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, which 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 and security, there will be another great war—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 movement of peoples will be of 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 forerunners 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 knowl-

Only if we allow the world to sink into a morass of miseries will America be faced with the dilemma of granting asylum to other human beings or with the necessity of turning the great development of the primitive places, the meaner after political security is established, and communications and public works and the exploration of their hidden resources. In the sparsely inhabited and poor countries, it means the encouragement of the simpler industries which 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 our own. 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 Government has relied again and again.

In this prejudice, all schemes of conquest and exploitation are engendered. It is this prejudice which causes almost all men to think that the Government's counsel of perfection 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 is prosperous. 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 the world must be a buyer, and that there can be no lasting profit in the exchange unless the exchange is profitable to both.

THE FEAR then is groundless that the promotion of prosperity in the outer world will diminish our own. It will enhance it—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 modern social order. In 1920 no one understood them, and so there was some excuse for the disastrous follies into which we landed. 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. It helps 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 of resources in every imaginable area. For 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 possessions 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.
CONCLUDED

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 home, the right to worship as one pleased, protection from aggressors. The Four Freedoms: if you please.

The Four Freedoms is the concept which, never before has been so tremendously difficult to accomplish. For in this world, which daily becomes a closer and more integrated unit, no man can be free so long as personally or otherwise any one is not 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 simply in concept, but to understand it you must understand the fact that there is a relationship between the standard of living of the Chinese coolie, or the Bulgarian peasant, or the Japanese fisherman, and J... Homer Neavely of Yellow Springs, O."

It is on this principle that the understanding of the Midwesterners—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 the 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 farm unions to unite in teaching world unity; as they so often successfully have taught, local unity. I don't think it is too late for newspapers, radios, and parties, 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 a man to talk and think in terms of people 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 darky 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 we are 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 days 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 commonplace 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 realizing 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-curtseying 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 blushingly honored by his attention. Assembly members in lace cuffs greeted one another with coition bows. The newspapers were extravagantly satirical. 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 punctillo 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 askew, his hands clasped 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 alight 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-splattered. 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-dwelling 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 fashion-able 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, 1788, 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 next 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 dawnings 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 left forth in shillings and pence.

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.

The discussion can cut through vague generalities and get down to such questions as: "Do you think $15 a week is too much unemployment insurance? Or too little? How much do you think would be about right then? $15? $40? 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 1935. 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 the comparison when it comes. These moves in that direction scare the Nazi infinitely more than we have heretofore done in the field of psychological and political warfare. They are watching us. We 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 its 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 awoke to the fact that we have a war on our hands. They've been too busy with regimentation and interference to entertain the public.

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, who threatened to 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 are 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 $3.18? 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 shot through dangerously thin.

Congressman has taken a position, and is making New York's Congressmen stand for something, and he deserves a bow.
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.
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 the Union of Nations and the Adoption of Those Fundamental Economic Principles Which Are Necessary to Insure a Just and Lasting Peace." The proposal is endorsed by some 60 men and women, including a large number of the academic world, some writers, some clergy, some actresses, 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 seaborne 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 of trade be laid down and 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 reared for operation as soon as the war ends. The general purpose would be to create equitable relationships between the nations of the world so that no nation need turn to war 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 the impoverished nations on liberal terms. 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 they 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-old ladies and gentlemen. There is much in this program that is desirable, the great deal of it is so vaguely expressed that it is difficult to know just what it is intended. It is amusing to note that much of Hitler's propaganda about the haves against the have-nots 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. Germany 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 materials 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 China. 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 assume that free peoples seldom engage in wars of conquest. It follows that the most servile means of preventing wars is to encourage the spirit of cooperation among nations. The spirit of international institutions and especially of the Bill of Rights to peoples who do not now enjoy them. The idea is spreading that the matter upside down. If there is to be close 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 frantic to pay, 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, unless 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 will not be trusted.

FOREIGN LEGIONS.

Secretary Stimson's permission to Otto Happeburg 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.

All citizens 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
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-
$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 leisure they will 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 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.

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 $854,616 to the Federal Government; or if married, $854,616.

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 was clapped into effect by that fiat.

Bypassed 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.
FEEDING THE POSTWAR WORLD

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

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-occupied territories taken by our forces, such as Morocco and Algeria. After the war, he will direct American relief to 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 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.

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 is likely to be after World War No. 2:

What Hoover Accomplished

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 monetary 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 $750,000,000 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 hungry 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 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 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

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, Halley E. Urey, and Otoe LeRoy 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, there is no geographical boundaries.

"We know that the war is not only against Germany, but against all those who 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, who have learned the ways of living together, is the war against the whole world.

"We know now that 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, 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 atrocities committed by the Germans against spiritual values be added to the overriding horror of their physical crimes.

"The horrors of reprisals in Yugoslavia and Canadastock," Ms. Undset said, "the torture 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 moral values, cannot be compared to the physical."

"We can only hope, 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—people of Asia and of Africa, yes, and when many among our own people here and in South America, looked and listened and heard no great voice, at that moment the shadow of the long war has cast upon them. The people of Asia are further from us today than they ever have been.

"They are realizing soberly that they must find salvation in themselves, that we must each find our own salvation, and in our own little way we must do what we can to reach it.

"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, the war for freedom, in which none yet sees clearly either friend or foe.

"It is not now so certain as what this first war will mean in the future. But be sure it will mean 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, who have learned the ways of living together, is the war against the whole world.

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

"I am not afraid to speak to you boldly. Let 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, but human civilization for all humanity.

"Sigrid Undset Cites Crimes Against Spiritual Values"
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? It was when we realized that the war was not about a fight between peoples of Asia and Europe. It was about a fight for freedom, a fight for the values of democracy and human rights."

"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 events move forward."

"The heavy blows, which are 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 time. 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 and Europe, as well as in the West, fought 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 day, nearly six months ago now, when the great peoples of Asia were very close to the anti-Fascist peoples of Europe and America. Could the peoples of Asia be further from us today than they ever have been."

"They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not in 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 one yet sees clearly either friend or foe.

"It is not so certain what this first war will gain us. Perhaps it will not even save civilization for us. 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.Victory is incomplete unless it lifts their hopes."

"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 way we cannot benefit if, in need of all possible allies, we can keep political France with us, even though the earth 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 the need for a return to those peoples."

"Military victories have helped, 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 was 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 new 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 they must let us know 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 not 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, and India is always hungry, but who plans for that?"

"There are no plans, there never were any plans. A medical watchman is kept at the gates of the East in Egypt in the Middle East and at the western ports, lest the dread diseases from countries of creep into our country. But who cares 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 seem to be 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 Midwest 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..."
The Senate has voted to investigate Federal Forms and Quizzes. Baffling Symbols on Questionnaire: Just Printer's Notes, Smith Reveals.

TENNESSE HERNAL 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 toll mostly at the 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 questionnaire and paper form situation.

Explain "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 the "P-11-PLCP-5-NOBU-COS-WP" means.

When this perplexing array of letters and figures appeared on the title of an OPA questionnaire, bewildered persons figured it either was shorthand or doubletalk. An outraged toothpaste tycoon waved the form at the economic 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 pooched such talk, saying that the whole future over 11071-PLOP-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.
2—1071—Serial number for OPA.
3—PLOP—A misprint of "P" of 5" meaning this is the first of five pages.
4—NOBU—No backup. A printing instruction.
5—COS—Collating and stapling. Likewise a printing instruction.
6—WP—Wrap. A printing instruction.
7—"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. 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.

Another witness, Fred A. Baughman, 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 bureaus who devised them.

262 Periodical Reports

An additional witness, George B. Roscoe, of the National Association of Manufacturers, testified that the Eastman Kodak Company, alone, had filled 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 five Flying Fortresses.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 4, 1942

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
WEDNESDAY, September 14, 1943

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Delivered by Carrier—Metropolitan Area.


For full board to ratify the principle involved would be directly 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 “privileged citizen” 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, if we have been, and are being, handicapped by misjudgment.

It can be illustrated by looking back over the past year and two and appraising the things we believed or assumed when measured against the wire picture as we see it today. This is not merely a matter of “second guessing” but must, regrettably, be a past mistake to measure the correctness of our present attitude.

It was not so long before Pearl Harbor that we were told we 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 the people and the National Government would be speedily for peace. This obviously was the background that Ambassador Grew had in mind when he made the statement that we have been challenged by a people (the Japanese) who have been hypnotized into believing that democracy, weaknesses those who possess it, is a high standard of living for those who enjoy it, that peace and the love of peace, weaken those who cherish them. Were our enemies weak, then we would be ready to fight. But this is not true of the Japanese, who have been challenged by a people (the Japanese) who have been hypnotized into believing that democracy, weaknesses those who possess it.

We cannot have the Japanese Zero fighter, a better ship than an American fighter. I have not less dangerous a sort of criticism if it were made specific and if generalizations, 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. We cannot say, be accurate or informative, that British airplanes are better than American airplanes, or that German airplanes are better than British planes. We cannot say that the Japanese Zero fighter is a better ship than an American fighter. Such comparisons are irrelevants 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.

The Japanese have not enjoyed democracy, a high living standard, nor even entertained a love of peace. But, with greater income resources, they have made more by conquest in less time than any other modern civilization. They not only preyed upon others, but, at the same time, they increased their own standing.

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 just to take this for granted, 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.

Indeed, it is evident that they could not be offered under any dictatorship. They are a product of the greatest mind of the Anglo-Saxon race, that mind is unchained in the nations arrayed against the aggressor powers. Curiously, perhaps, the post-anticipated the prevailing critical phrase, “Macbeth” in the light of the fires lit by Hitler and he will be convinced. Also it is “Ikelet,” 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 never discouraged by the officers. It helped morale. It was a psychological tool.

Some of our Congressmen seem to be taking the opposite course in their criticism of American airplanes. Ostensibly hitting at the “bureaucrats” as a generic term applied in derogation of military leadership, what they actually are accomplishing is to tear down civilian morale and to kill the morale of the pilots. At least the pilots who are not-to-fly in combat and who, when they do, will take off handicapped at the very start, are indicated 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 generalizations, 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. We cannot say, 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 irrelevants 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 tasks, has made the performance of definite tasks, no longer permits of generalized comparisons of merit. Planes are designed and built for particular purposes and of others. The Japanese Zero has gained speed and maneuverability and altitude at the sacrifice of armament. Which is, in turn, and the performance of definite tasks, no longer permits of generalized comparisons of merit. Planes are designed and built for particular purposes and in others. The Japanese Zero has gained speed and maneuverability and altitude at the sacrifice of armament. Which is, in turn, preferrable—the qualities of armament and armor? The British Spitfire was designed and developed to fight the Battle of Britain, is superior in 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.

Apparantly 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 members 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 plant 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 Nations, which has been able to mobilize 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 workers to stop striking, to work harder, to give up Monday layoffs and weekend holidays. There are no strikes and no layoffs in the enemy countries; they are not trying to maintain the living standards of the pressure groups; they are not waiting until an election to draft the young men and the men with dependents. "They are fighting the war," in "deadly earnest," with everything 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 books 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---""
FULL WAR SUPPORT
PLEDGED BY N. A. M.

But Speakers Denounce Use
of Emergency as Springboard
for Revolutionary Experiments

WAR CABINET ADVOCATED

W. P. Witherow Opposes Plan
for Radical Readjustment of
Economic Structure

Pledging their full continued
support to the war production pro-
gram and acceptance of any sac-
rifices that may be necessary to
achieve victory, leaders of Ameri-
can industry in addresses before
the War Congress sponsored by
the National Association of Man-
facturers demanded yesterday
that the system of free enterprise
be preserved after the war and
waried against utilizing the war
economy 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 organi-
sation 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 Manufac-
turers, 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
peace time world."

Wallace Program Assailed

Without mentioning his name,
national basis. Mr. Witherow
warned, "it may benefit them in
foreign lands, but only by the
imposition of the American
people," for "government has no
source of capital except by tak-
ing the income of its citizens."

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

The task of economic recons-
structing 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
decide that "private capital will
be encouraged to provide the mo-
tive power for post-war recon-
struction."

To promote more efficient con-
duct of the war and reduce "cut-
tape," Mr. Witherow urged
the setting up, of a war cabinet com-
prised of the administrative head
of each important division of
the war machinery.

"One of the significant members
of that war cabinet," he empha-
sized, "should be the one man
who has full authority for the
administration of war material. I
cannot come down too hard or with
too much emphasis on that word
"one."

Manpower problems, war financ-
ing and other major undertakings
also should have single-headed rep-
resentation on the war cabinet."

Woud Limit Labor's Role

Mr. Witherow contended also
that management-labor cooperation
is a "worthy and essential" goal,
but that it should not be trans-
formed into that dangerous
-join management-labor respon-
sibility."

"Labor's more definite responsi-
bility in the war management pic-
ture should be in the field of
specialized ability," he said, "La-
bor leaders should be in an
official position to keep their
no-strike pledges, to hold down the
wage growth of unessential work,
put an end to the production de-
lays of jurisdictional strikes."
Mr. Witherow asailed also the
Swedish Bishops Protest
Norse Jews' Persecution

BY TELEPHONE TO THE NEW YORK TIMES
STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Dec. 2
A flaming protest against per-
secution of Norwegian Jews has
been issued and signed today
by all Swedish Bishops, headed
by Archbishop Eldem.

"Let us pray for our brothers
of the North," Bishop Eldem says.
the protest, which scores in partic-
ularly severe terms introduction
into the Scandinavian peninsula
of the inhuman methods alien
to the sense of justice and compa-
nion of the peoples up here.

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

"This is not the time for "busi-
ness reform," Mr. Few insisted, say-
ing that "unfortunately the social-
istic planners of the New Deal are re-
ceiving encouragement from many
who have faith in the worth of the
American system is beyond chal-
lenge."

Manpower Draft Opposed

Mr. Few declared that the
proposed drafting of manpower for
industry arose from a "bureaucratic
derangement through coercion in
that the end can 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 indi-
vidual and reduce his to the status
of a servile instrument," Mr. Few said in
opposing the proposal for the freeing
of labor.

"The surest way for us to lose this
war is to lose it the easiest and surest way to win
this war is to place our faith in
American initiative."

"Cut away the red tape and hamstraining
industry. Give management and
labor a chance to exercise initiative
by reopening the door of oppor-
tunity. Do not let land and cargo and the
outlet of war materials will end,
Swedish Bishops' Protest,
Norse Jews' Persecution,
Stockholm, Sweden, Dec. 2.

A flaming protest against per-
secution of Norwegian Jews has
been issued and signed today
by all Swedish Bishops, headed
by Archbishop Eldem.

"Let us pray for our brothers
of the North," Bishop Eldem says.
the protest, which scores in partic-
ularly severe terms introduction
into the Scandinavian peninsula
of the inhuman methods alien
to the sense of justice and compa-
nion of the peoples up here.

Full War Support
Pledged by N. A. M.

Yesterday's congress program
included also three panels, dealing
with economic stabilization, ren-
gotiation of contracts and civilian
industry. Participating in the dis-
кусions were government officials
and representatives of industry.

Soviet Spy in Sweden Sentenced

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Dec. 2
(Rewer) - Vasili Sidorenko,
director of the Soviet Travel Bureau
in Stockholm, was sentenced today
to ten years' penal servitude on a
charge of espionage. A Swed-
achieve victory, leaders of American industry in hearings held before the War Cabinet in addresses before the National Association of Manufacturers have demanded 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 efficient organization of production, curtailment of bureaucracy and “no surrender” to those “who desire to change our form of government by any means.”

Leading in these demands was W. H. Withrow, 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 peace-time world.”

Wallace Program Assailed

Without mentioning his name, Mr. Withrow 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 re-adjustment of the economic structure.

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

“Personally, I am not interested in any other form of government. I am interested in the form of democracy that we have,” he said. “I admire beyond expression the stand the Russians have made. They are fighting nobly for freedom in Russia and Soviet ideales.”

We’re fighting for America and American ideals. I am not making guns or tanks to win a “people’s revolution.” I am making armor to help our boys save America. I don’t want any ‘modified’ free enterprise or bill of righted democracy.

Immediately after the war, government action will be demanded in war industries. But not the rehabilitation of their economy or the reforming of their lives. I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every father, nor for continence under the gun for governmental handouts of free meals.

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

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 chairman, had estimated the 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 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 to-morrow 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 largest possible load of the lowest possible consumption of gasoline,” he explained.

Mr. Kaiser foresaw the development of commercial aviation after...
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. Schummann, rector. St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, Queens Village.)

Drip Coffee

Good To The Last Drop

One-Cup-A-Day
War News

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 Tokyo 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 last stage 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 grave situation fraught with peril to all of us.

The newspapers—by emphasizing “good” news and minimizing “bad” news—have lazily 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.

“There is no league sacrificing their sons and their fortunes.

“If the war is being lost is it 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 hospital’s problems and "bear with them in these times.”

The People Want Unvarnished Truth About Our Battles

Edisons 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.
Mrs. William L. Gibson  
535 So. Palmway  
LAKE WORTH FLA.

11-2-42

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
tonight's 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

MY DAY HAS BEEN RATHER A BUSY ONE...
The New York Times
"All the News That's Fit to Print."
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erty—a decency that will preserve his human dignity and a liberty which will permit him to make a living according to his abilities, without fear or kowtows to self-appointed dictators. And this resurgence of the old virtues for which men are fighting and dying today, even more than any political pledges, provides the guarantee against the further spread of both Fascism and Communism—for France, and for the world.

THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" AGENCY

Herbert H. Lehman now bears the resounding title of Director of Foreign Relief and "Rehabilitation Operations." One wishes a simpler title could have been found. Our Latin-American friends ought not to mind if we call Mr. Lehman's organization the Good Neighbor Agency, thus applying to a larger field an idea that the Roosevelt Administration has tried to work out in this hemisphere. Its purpose is to aid liberated countries by sending them the food, clothing, medical supplies and other things they will need when the Nazi loots have been driven out; and to encourage the peoples of Nazi-occupied lands by promising them this help at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. Lehman said, at his first press conference last week, in his new capacity, that arrangements were being made for joint action by the United Nations in this field. The immediate need will be urgent, as it has seemingly been found to be in North Africa. Beyond feeding the hungry, caring for the sick and sheltering the homeless will lie the larger tasks of restoring economic life so that, that shattered communities can get back as soon as possible to making and distributing their own goods. By sheer incompetency as well as by design the Germans have wrecked the trade and industry of every country where they have trespassed.

This will be the biggest reconstruction job in history. Half the earth will be like a burned city, in which the old streets and buildings cannot be and should not be restored exactly as they were before. The Good Neighbor policy will be a shrewdly realistic as well as a humanitarian method of making sure that the conditions which produced the present configuration shall not recur.

by p time

show the as con less den una stop dist con car fro for pri yes jec 2,0 0 shi au hul shi un An be im Gr he Ur ft 2, le ar th Yc dot bul war selc pound dous d icon en struct anythi Sim terial kev hit b pi part sion of
Post-War World

Having hitched his own little wagon to an empty stage, Laval now parades Hitler's battle cry against the menace of Communism, which he declares is threatening France, Europe, and civilization. That was to be expected from a Communist and conqueror. But the method, the threatening polemics, which brought Hitler to power in Germany. By raising the threat of a Communist dictatorship in France, Laval has won the support of the anti-Communist German bourgeoisie; by promising conquests he won the support of the military and the people. 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 does the armor of the anti-Communist crusader too late. Because of the subservient and, in the result, suicidal activities of a Communist International guided by the Trotskyist ideology of the proletarian world revolution, Hitler could still raise his voice in a warning to many Germans into his camp and won a following for similar crusaders elsewhere, including the United States. Laval, with the "initiation" of the Trotskyists in Russia, the proletariat world revolution began to take a hold there which will in time make the Communists dupes in other countries, whose the Moscow rulers despise as tools and liquidate when necessary. Moscow itself took over, as in the Baltic states. The state of Stalin became more and more a mass force. No question of a Communist international became the tool of Russian power politics. And this nationalism once more Hitler 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 occupied, soil, Russia was no match for Hitler, but that it developed an unparalleled heroism which won the communists an important stage of its war when it began to fight in defense of Russia's own soil. The slogans with which Stalin was appealing to 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 swells throughout the world is against fanaticism, intolerance, and most of all, against the strutting and posturing of the pretenders. After wandering for two decades in the wilderness of purely intellectual abstractions and claims to power, 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 going to be a world represented in the name of any single ideology or panacea, but a very practical world, in which men will demand a demand of human decency and liberty.

SAFE WINTER DRIVING

Winter motoring, always more hazardous than that of summer, is one of the special precautions this year. There is extra congestion in the neighborhood of industrial plants, mills, and construction works. The share-your-car practice—not yet nearly as well-established as it should be in the interest of road conservation—brings added responsibilities because of heavier average loading of passengers, cafés. The "dimout" both in cities and "no go" 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 presenting these neglected rules for winter driving based upon studies made by the National Safety Council. These instruct on checking up of brakes, tires, lights, on snow-covered or icy roads, which cuts stopping distance some 50 per cent and maintenance of windshield and headlights. But more than any other one thing it is the attitude of the driver and the pedestrian that counts. Impatience, wireless effort to save at most a few seconds or minutes, may cost a life or cause a crippling injury. The driver must remember that they too are at war, that their behavior on the

To: the

From: the

Subject: To: the

Date: the

Attachments: the

Body:

The weather has been very inclement recently. The temperatures have been fluctuating widely, with sudden changes from freezing to mild. The roads can be treacherous, especially in areas that have been recently barren of snow. It is essential to drive with caution and to be aware of the potential hazards.

- Keep your headlights on at all times, day or night, to increase visibility for other drivers.
- Use low beam headlights when it's not necessary to blind oncoming traffic.
- Keep a safe distance from the car in front of you. If it's snowing, it takes longer for a car to stop.
- Avoid sudden braking or acceleration, as this can cause skidding.
- Use your turn signals and mirrors to indicate your intentions clearly.

It's important to stay informed about the weather conditions and to adjust your driving accordingly. Taking these precautions will help ensure your safety and the safety of others on the road.

Sincerely,

[Your Name]
French Crisis Military.
Not Political

To the Editor of The Herald:

Have you discussed the present developments in French North Africa? The news has been received by me several times in the last five days. May I try to answer it here?

The news of the fall of Dakar, so many miseries and sufferings falling on the French community, has brought much unhappiness, bitterness, and anguish.

But I believe that the French people and government will learn from this experience and that they will eventually overcome the difficulties.

In conclusion, I would like to express my sympathy to the French people and express hope for their future.
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 trustees of the French democratic institutions, most of the 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 the restoration of democratic freedom. We hope also that the development of military operations will make it possible for the 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 governments might be organized under the auspices of men who have been month after month denounced as Pétainists, collaborators or traitors. Darian is one of these men. His record for the last two years is clear, eloquent, and regalure. We are confident that neither the President nor the State Department is actually thinking of giving him any such dignified and honorable role. He is a despicable opportunist, a man without principles or science, a man of no distinction. His main purpose, at this moment, is to have his bacon and eat it too, respectable about it. If it can be of any use at this moment, all right, let him use it. Squeeze the juice out of the egg and then throw it away. We shall never stand for any kind of Darianism.

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 throw him off, that is all right. 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 sit 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 expression to three ideas: first, the war has to be won, and it will be won on the battlefield 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 its 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.

ANDRÉ MONIZE
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 Moratorium of the World Peace Foundation.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

How much or how little is involved in the peace drive depends upon our setting up at one and the same time the millennia in every other department of life, we are doomed to the same bitter fate.

In this war we have at times observed the phrase "too little and too late." In looking toward the peace, we must perforce heed the warning "too much and too soon." If ridding the world of arms is not enough, we must also be concerned that we are not buying more peace than we can use.

If there are two kinds of revolutionary movement going on, in the world today, both of them are war. One is the war of conquest and subjugation; in this revolution through which civilization is trying to enforce a law of peaceful development among nations, and Hirohito are on the throwback side—like their more remote ancestors.

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 peace-time social revolution which cuts across the national boundaries of friends and foes alike. Except in the form of one traditory promises, it has scarcely touched Japan or Germany, though on its basic Hitler at least is attempting to ride to universal power.

Peaceful Revolutions

It is in terms of the revolution of the people that we may 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 best understand what we more properly should call peaceful processes may be considered as a reason why the Allied powers are on the same occasion, when in truth their better world is on the way, and in 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 learn to do something beyond the primitive doctrine of subjugation itself, and the warmed-over savage instinct, which so many of our leaders have been discussing, we may be the instruments of deliberate wars of conquest. At present our sights need to be narrowed to enable us to hit anything at all. To see a clear figure is burning... Like Hitler, reformers tend to see the war as an occasion, when in truth their better event should be and would be reaching acceleration, war or no war.

Peaceful Revolutions

In the terms of the peaceable revolution, we must 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 best understand what we more properly should call peaceful processes. This means that the Allies are on the same occasion, when in truth their better event should be and would be reaching acceleration, war or no war.

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In any improved world that we are likely to achieve within a human lifetime, the monster of ambition can still breed the monster of war. Unless, that is, we are prepared to recognize the primitive doctrine of self-survival itself, and the warmed-over savage instinct, which two together are the parents of a separate warlike instinct. At present our sights need be narrowed to enable us to hit anything at all. To do that we must at least be seen missing the white dove for trying at the same time to get all the ducks.

The tendency of the day to combine together into one law of peace the bundle many issues which are not necessarily related causatively is due to a variety of constituent factors:

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 form of promises of future perfections, even though Asia variety in any event would be fatal to all other parties involved.

3. An inclination to supply large demands by short cuts for the periodic outbursts of Mars.

4. Failure to see the relation between the grossly, even fantastical, phase of the law as a framework for peaceful social evolution and, on the other hand, the "dynamic" processes by which the framework can be extended and enriched. This is not to say that the framework evokes certain social aspirations, but that these aspirations may be frustrated by the institutions, and an unhappy determination to be ready to meet conquest by force in the future before it starts at any point to endanger those institutions.

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

6. Better Houses

Improved houses often come out of fires. The closet that Mary found in the attic, her new house, did it in the next, new house, the kitchen that mother-shopped-and-was-made-right, some of the inconveniences about which the old houses can complain will occur in the new building. To hear the discussion, the neighbors almost are led to conclude that it was the original house at all which caused the fire. When in truth, as events later proved, it was a plain case of arson. The firemen are called, and a new house is built. But some of the inconveniences do not return to the new house, as it does not appear as arson, quite likely the new house will some time go the same way. Some say, "Let us improve all houses, and pronto we will have no more arson."

But the lack of improved houses had been preponderating in the 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 graduated political flux toward free existence. Almost any status would be more admirable than the status pre-Nazi. For a long time the peace police protection of the people, not necessarily rest with the United States. The British Commonwealth, Russia and France have shown what this kind of power may be; it need not be any less the less pointed for peace. And it then the less can be, for the existence of an international peace organization not only for peace but for general welfare.

Underlying and giving reality to this fact is a consciousness that the great powers are conscious of their duty and might the spiritual forces of individuals in many many, and in another chance for the institutions, and an unshakable determination to be ready to meet conquest by force in the future before it starts at any point to endanger those institutions.

But who can possibly say that in the end so many of the political forces from before 1914, before he dug his own pit, represented an undernourished people? Can we really say that the post-

BOY ON THE PASTURE GATE

Dream wisely, boy, of strange years to come; and while you are counting time's slow pendulum, cherish your dreams, and let your dreams give you the ideal you seek, and let your dreams give you the chance you long for.

Case study: 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.
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.

“Now 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" here by the duration. Workers in many lines already.
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 nonessential 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 learn 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 the 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 major adjustments or inequities, to eliminate substandard 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 classified 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 in-
tended to save the little businessmen in essential lines. Something
is reasonably sure to come of all the talk, possibly by late
spring.

Meanwhile, there are other things you can do. One of
the best is to emphasise 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 com-
ing along in nonessential materials. Perhaps it will take dig-
ging 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. These 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Net Income</th>
<th>Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1,000</td>
<td>$89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures do not include the Victory Tax, which, starting
next Friday, will hit 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 to
pay the tax on your 1944 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 medially 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 run-
ing. 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 selling 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 these,
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 gas; 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 accom-
plishing it. What's the answer? Pipe lines, of course. We're
building a 21-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 ration-
ing 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
planning to train school boys for war and war work.

New York City high schools switched over last fall, tossing
trip Bali 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.
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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 happen? What's the answer? Pipe lines, of course. We're building a 24-inch line from Texas to New York. When it's 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.

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GENERAL FORECASTS. The draft of the teenagers is expected to revolutionize school curriculums. Educators are making plans to train youngsters for war and 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 linens. New furniture, too, and candy and cosmetics. You may get fancy cooking ranges and heating stoves, but "Victory" models will be plentiful.

Mechanical refrigerators will go the way of typewriters, but the ice man will be working overtime. Production of 300,000 iceboxes has been okayed. Banned for the duration are washing machines and irons, 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 bobble 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 Ize Glasser told me in her hardware store, "We'll get along all right!"

The End