

Newspaper Clippings - Subject File

Box 160

1939-1943

Box 160

CONTINUED

American Way of Life Faces Fundamental Changes in 1943

Sacrifices, Efforts and Privations of War Necessary For Victory Are Just Now Being Brought Home to People of U. S.

By Felix Morley.

The close of 1942 marks more than an exchange of greetings and a wholesale replacement of calendars and engagement books. In many ways the close of the old year coincides with stern evidence that 1943 will bring fundamental changes in the American way of life. Those changes will come with less social and mental dislocation, and will, therefore, cause less bewildered resentment, if their inevitability is frankly accepted in advance.

There is no certainty, in the first place, that the year about to dawn will bring decisive victory to the banners of the United Nations.

It is encouraging that recent months have seen a fundamental improvement whereby the military initiative in Russia, in Africa and in the Far East has everywhere been lost by the Axis. This would seem to portend eventual triumph. But the quality of resistance encountered does not justify vainglorious optimism. It should be remembered that in the last war Germany alone fought desperately against a coalition more powerful than the United Nations for four years after the blitzkrieg was definitely checked in France.

As was the case a year ago, the Russian counterattacks are heartening. The Soviet regime continues to stir almost incredulous enthusiasm by the ability of the Communist system to produce and organize under tremendous handicaps, as well as by the epic heroism and self-sacrifice of its people. But the extent to which the Germans are being hurled back and the extent to which, as last winter, they are half-deliberately shortening their lines in order to hold more easily the gains regarded by Berlin as essential, remains uncertain.

The winter must pass and the spring reveal a continuously sustained Russian striking power before the heavy losses inflicted on Germany in the East can safely be regarded as decisive.

fication of the effects of war on the home front. Since November 7 the personal implication of these strains has begun to be apparent to every American.

Total war means exactly what the adjective implies. It means that the sacrifices, privations and effort of war are not confined to troops on active service but are spread without reference to convenience throughout the entire population. In this country, alone among the belligerents, such universal participation in the pain, so distinct from the pomp, of war is only just beginning. And there is yet little concept of what may be involved for Americans in securing the eventual victory of the United Nations.

Indeed, that pleasant but deceptive phrase unfortunately serves to prevent full realization of the fact that if the war is to be won the United States must win it and pay a major share of the price. Great Britain and Russia and China are together not strong enough for the task. In military capacity the rest of the United Nations, excepting only the self-governing British dominions, simply do not count.

So both the burden and the responsibility for victory are squarely upon the American people. And if that burden is to be supported and that responsibility met, enormous changes in our way of life will be inevitable.

Taste of Things to Come.

The first strong intimation of this has come home to many with the rapid increase of really urgent domestic problems during the closing weeks of 1942.

The sudden development of commodity shortages, the mounting transportation difficulties, the increasing administrative tangles, the emergency of an acute manpower problem even in advance of the heavy casualties to be anticipated—all these are samples of what must be expected in far greater intensity once the Nation engages in the large-scale fighting which is an indispensable prelude to victory.

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Picture in Far East.

In the Far East, the military picture is even more indefinite. The attack launched on Guadalcanal last August has not yet ousted the Japanese from this single outlying island, while in New Guinea enemy resistance is scarcely less tenacious. The naval fighting, while recently in our favor, is still inconclusive. And as time passes, Japan gains strength from exploitation of her enormous conquests.

Little that is substantial can as yet be claimed for the British re-occupation, so far virtually uncontested, of a strip of Burmese territory adjacent to India. Here, as in the Southwest Pacific, there is indeed no evident intention of doing more than harass and check Hitler's Japanese ally. The major military effort, British and American as well as Russian, is now focused against Germany.

If that was not certain before November 7, it became so when, on that night, a great Anglo-American armada launched the invasion of North Africa. The excitement engendered by the initial success of that complicated operation, coupled with the coincident defeat of Rommel by the British 8th Army, has obscured the strategical significance of the African campaign. It signaled decision to concentrate the bulk of American military strength in the European rather than the Asiatic theater of war. And, unless the shipping situation improves more rapidly than is anticipated, this in turn means no prospect of defeating Japan in the immediate future.

The arrested tempo of military operations in North Africa strengthens the abundant evidence that Germany still is far from beaten. The Nazi grip on Tunisia, and with it control of the narrow waist of the Mediterranean, is strong.

It will be stronger if Marshal Rommel, who must be given credit for extricating much of his army from disaster, establishes himself safely behind the well-fortified Mareth Line. A successful attack on Sicily might really isolate the German expeditionary force in Tunisia and further disintegrate Italian morale. But even this development would leave the outcome of the war in Europe, and even more the Far Eastern struggle, far from decided.

U. S. Efforts Intensified.

The attack on North Africa did more than reveal the major strategy of the war for the ensuing months. It also introduced the United States to the grim meaning of total war.

Concentration of a sizable army in Morocco and Algeria, together with the problems of augmenting and supplying this force for a major campaign, has brought an immediate and sharp intensi-

That the small foretaste of things to come has brought grumbling, irritation and to some extent a sense of resentment is at bottom evidence of the unpreparedness of the American people as a whole for the grim realities of the struggle in which they have become engaged. With that psychological unpreparedness our political leadership, which rather blithely took the country into war, must now take steps to cope.

It must, as one illustration, soon do something more effective in regard to those continuing strikes in war industries which have wasted millions of man-hours of precious time since Pearl Harbor—over 2,000,000 man-hours last June alone, according to War Labor Board statistics. And the administration must further frankly face the fact that desirable social gains, such as the basic 40-hour week, are inconsistent with a situation so grim as to force consideration of plans to conscript labor.

There is no pleasure in an attempt to make honest analysis of the picture as 1942 draws to its somber close. But such analysis is the more imperative because of the Pollyanna vaporings which have done so much to lull the American people into the dangerously false belief that this war can be won without appalling sacrifice.

Intelligent anticipation will cushion the shocks which 1943 unquestionably holds in store. The new year will be happier if we enter it with a resolution to meet our problem without evasion, discount or lack of faith in our ability to confront disagreeable facts.

Britain to Reorganize Small War Plant Output

Under plans recently put forward by Minister of Production Oliver Lyttelton for reorganization of British war industry, many firms face further governmental control which may, in some cases, involve their removal to new areas.

Small firms may have to undergo new "groupings of affiliations" to bring about a larger and more economical unit of production. Other small firms whose "resources or technical ability are too meager to permit the productivity needed" may have to close, releasing their labor.

These new plans are symbols of Britain's full mobilization. In the period after Dunkirk it was vital to use any productive unit, large or small, that lay to hand. Today increased production can be obtained only by "reallocation of contracts" and many other devices to avoid bottlenecks or overloading.

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THESE DAYS *By George E. Sokolsky*

Repopulating the World. 11/23

The question arises, in spite of congressional rejection of HR 7762, "Why Henry Wallace should want complete control of immigration." The bill was introduced in the House of Representatives at the suggestion of BEW, which is run by Henry Wallace and Milo Perkins and which has to do with remaking the world after the war is over. BEW once got the President to sign an executive order turning over to it certain vital functions of the State Department. Cordell Hull was on a vacation when it happened. Upon his return he kicked the BEW into a cocked hat. Since then this agency, Board of Economic Warfare, has been fishing for work to do, and now it has apparently hit upon the great idea of taking over immigration.

The bill would also give it authority over the tariff so that we might become a free trade country. In fact, as I read the bill, the agency designated by the President to enforce its provisions, could do almost anything. Let me quote the measure up to the first breath-taking period:

"That whenever the President determines that the effective prosecution of the war requires the free movement of persons, tangible or intangible property, or information, or any class or classes thereof, into or out of the United States, its Territories or possessions, he may suspend, in whole or in part, upon such terms and conditions as he may by regulation prescribe and to the extent that he deems necessary to permit that free movement, those laws or regulations, or any of them which in his opinion prohibit, curtail, delay, impede, or otherwise interfere with that free movement by imposing a duty, tax, impost or excise or a prohibition, limitation, restriction, or requirement of any kind upon the entry, importation, bringing in, departure, exportation, taking out, or transportation in connection therewith, of such persons, property, or information, or by imposing a prohibition, limitation, restriction, or requirement of any kind, including a tax, upon the procurement, processing, acquisition, disposition, transportation, transmission, or use of property, not the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, its Territories or possessions."

Under the provisions of this act, if five or ten million people are loose upon the earth, the Government of the United States might invite them to come here, pay their transportation, settle them anywhere and nobody could say anything about it. I see nothing in the act which would prevent the Government from picking up a million or so Americans and transporting them to some place on this earth. That is what is so funny about it, because most of the people in this country are descendants of those who ran away from Europe and who don't want to go back there.

We have here another imitation of the Hitler technic, the shifting of human beings upon the surface of the earth. Hitler has shifted Frenchmen to Poland, Poles from Poznan to Lublin, Jews to anywhere and Germans to areas where they might breed with the local populations. No man's rights were respected; no one's property was respected. It was all arranged scientifically to make sure that population is where the Fuehrer wants it to be. And we consider that inhuman, indecent, filthy.

Now along comes this idea of Henry Wallace's. It is to give the President of the United States authority to move people and to move them anywhere; that is, to do exactly what we think is wrong. Why is this necessary?

I cannot understand why this act includes the word, "Information." When governments speak of information, they usually mean the distribution of news, and that means the press and radio. I thought that we had a censor and the OWI to look after that. Why should Congress pass an act which puts "information" into an immigration bill?

There is something frighteningly phony about this measure, particularly as it is known to emanate from the BEW, the instrument of Henry Wallace's policy—the same Henry Wallace who so recently criticized so severely and repudiated so completely what he called "Bill of Rights Democracy." When Henry Wallace became Vice-President he took an oath to defend the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights. Maybe, Henry has forgotten about that.

TODAY IN WASHINGTON *By David Lawrence*

Honest Opinions Different:

*Special
classified
file*

'Hate Rumors' Hurting War Effort, OWI Claims

By United Press

The Office of War Information today warned the public to distinguish between repetition of a rumor and expression of honest opinion, following analysis of more than 4500 rumors reported to various Federal agencies since Pearl Harbor.

"Hate rumors" were found to be by far the most numerous in the OWI study. Those expressed prejudice or hostility for groups other than the enemy. Targets included the Army administration, business Catholics, defense workers, draft boards, the English, farmers, Jews, labor and unions, Negroes, profiteers, the Red Cross blood donor service, and Russia.

BROADCASTS IGNORED

Little relation was found between specific rumors and enemy propaganda appeals. Enemy shortwave broadcasts reach a very small American audience and have been largely ignored by the public. They do suggest rumor "lines" to enemy agents and sympathizers in this country, however, who plant and encourage rumors to aid enemy propaganda objectives.

False information carried by hate rumors is less important than the fact that they sharpen existing domestic social and economic problems, OWI said. That is part of enemy "divide and conquer" strategy in setting up group against group. Factual denials are of little good in stopping rumors. Persons who feel certain hatreds will readily believe and repeat any rumor supporting that hatred. The only real answer is to cure the cause of the hatred, OWI said.

Other rumors classified by O

were: "Anxiety rumors" such as unfounded reports of Allied disaster or weakness or of overwhelming enemy strength; "escape rumors" reflecting wishful thinking about the progress and duration of the war; "supernatural rumors" containing fantastic prophecies of disaster or miracles; and "curiosity rumors" containing amusing or novel so-called news.

By refusing to believe or repeat sensational stories not carried in the newspapers or on the radio, every American can help win the war, OWI said. It suggested observance of the following rules: (1) Never repeat a rumor even to deny it; (2) If you know the facts which can spike a rumor, cite them promptly; (3) If you don't know such facts, ask the rumor-teller where he got his facts; (4) Never give a rumor the benefit of any doubt.

Why Not?

Special Clipping

By Raymond Clapper



PEOPLE who think they are talking common sense say that we ought to win the war before we start thinking about what we will do with the victory.

That does sound like sense until you think a minute. It does make sense that Gen. Marshall and Admiral King should not stop working on the war to draw up peace blueprints. You certainly don't want the Joint Chiefs of Staff to stop fighting to work out peace terms.

But I don't think we are counting on Admiral King and Gen. Marshall to work out post-war problems. That job is supposed to be done by the State Department principally, and they haven't much else to do now except that. Why can't the war go on while the State Department crew, which long ago was set up to work on peace terms, goes ahead with its work? That won't interfere with the production experts who are rejiggering the airplane program or the ordnance program.

Why can't Wendell Willkie or Secretary Hull or Sumner Welles or Vice President Wallace discuss what we want to get out of the war? How does that interfere with Henry Kaiser's ship production or with the struggles at Ford's Willow Run plant? How does that interfere with the training of naval fliers, and with the Army's training of ground crews? How does it interfere with anybody who is on the fighting side in this war?

I can imagine that it would encourage a lot of parents whose sons are going into this war to feel that their boys were not going to be risked just to clear the way for a third world war. It makes more sense to fight this war if there is some assurance that we are going to reduce the risks of another one instead of inviting another one as was the case before.

ACTUALLY we haven't started planning soon enough. North Africa catches us with territory that we don't quite know what to do about. Why are we having to improvise our relief policy in North Africa? Why is it that we were not all set to go? The North African expedition

has been in the wind since July. But we are still canvassing the United Nations as to the set-up that Gov. Lehman is to have. He will start as a purely American administrator until the United Nations agreement is worked out so that he can become the United Nations administrator. If we had started earlier to plan on what we would do with the victory, the United Nations would have been all set to move into North Africa behind the troops.

Now Churchill is trying to persuade the Italians to throw over Mussolini and make peace. If they don't do it voluntarily the Allies will knock Italy out within a few months and then we will have another rehabilitation problem on our hands. The so-called post-war job isn't any longer something in the distant future. It goes right along with the progress of the war, and grows as the Allies take over new territory.

THAT is all part of the war. In total war a government carries on a wide variety of activities simultaneously. We started a campaign in the Solomons at the very time that Admiral King and Gen. Marshall were in London beginning preparations for the North African campaign. At the same time, we push to increase our production, we change our designs to obtain better weapons, we extend rationing to save shipping or rubber or whatever the purpose may be, and we search the world for new sources of critical materials. We do any number of different things, all at the same time, because you have to do it to carry on the war.

We plan next year's weapons while we make this year's. While the assembly lines are busy on one model, the machine shops are making the tools for the improved model that is to follow. The two jobs go on together, and that is accepted wartime and peacetime industrial practice.

But when you get into the field of statesmanship, and want to consider the next step there, or what to do about territory that even now is being taken over from the enemy, somebody shouts the old familiar cue: "Don't think about what to do with the victory until it is won."

One day, I hope somebody who doesn't know any better will break the rules and yell back, "Why not?"

This Morning

With Shirley Povich

"They figure to run us out of the park. We don't have any business on the same field with 'em. There isn't a boy on our squad who could make that regular Army team. All we can do is to go out there and take our beating." The speaker then trailed off into a long, low moan of despair.



POVICH

He was Commander John Whelchel, Navy's head football coach, who was pouring a miserable tale of woe into the ears of visiting football writers at Annapolis four days ago. And did you happen to notice that final result on Saturday? Navy 14, Army 0. Still chuckling, no doubt, is Commander Whelchel at the bum pregame rap he was giving his Navy team.

For a football coach it was an old wheeze, to be sure. And if the opposition was stupid enough to be disarmed, there was much gained. But with Whelchel the moan becomes an art. He made you shudder at the fate that was in store for Navy against Army. His poor little Navy lambs who were willing enough, but simply didn't know how to play football. No speed, nobody who could catch passes, no reserves. What a shame. They were such nice boys, too.

They were nice all right—nice for Whelchel to watch for 60 minutes against Army. Those poor little lambs of his gave West Point an awful shoving around. Nine first downs to one in the first half. Navy's line smearing Army's running attack, rushing Army's passers. When you couldn't see Navy's little boys making a tackle, it was easy to hear it.

Never before have we seen what was supposed to be a good football team look so impotent as did Army's team against Navy. The Middles shoved deep into Army territory on their first charge and kept Army progress beyond its own 41-yard line. Where was Hank Manur? Usually in the clutches of a Navy man not very far from the line of scrimmage either way.

Whelchel had talked about Alan Cameron, the Navy captain. "Count him out," said the Navy coach. "He's no use to us with those bad ankles. I'll start him in the game because he's the captain and the honor is due him; but the first time he gets hit we'll probably have to carry him off." The first time Cameron got the ball in scrimmage he galloped eight yards on a cut-back through tackle. The next time he got the ball it was Cameron running wide and slanting back through tackle again for 17 yards. Poor Cameron.

When Navy found it could stand off this Army team, Navy got bold. It didn't take Whelchel long to grasp an idea. Georgia Tech had beaten him earlier in the season with three Statue of Liberty plays. All work and no plagiarism might have made it a dull day for Navy on Saturday. Whelchel reasoned, so Navy pulled the Statue of Liberty play twice—once for a dazzling 60-yard play and again for an important 4-yard chunk.

What the final figures of the Navy triumph might have been except for the tremendous defensive play of Safety Man Manur of Army is hard to tell. Three times Manur stayed off Navy touchdowns with Navy backs in the clear and blockers ahead of them. Star-down field. But never were they able to shake off the amazing Manur. He had a bad day on offense but he was the defensive hero of the game with his down-field tackling.

There were times when Whelchel, to his own dismay had correctly tabbed Navy as a poor football team. Too many times Navy backs were fighting to get into the clear sans blocking. But on occasion Studer and Hume and Hamberg were able to rise above that lack. They simply bumped their way for long gains when they didn't get the blocking. They were hot articles.

And on those occasions when Navy's line did seem to flounder, Whelchel's dismal pregame outlook there was a chap named Dave Barksdale of the Navy secondary who was a tremendous compensating factor. Barksdale and Clyde Siegfried, his alternate, they were the Navy backers-up. The roof fell in on Army backs who stuck their noses into the heavy secondary.

Twice in one series of plays Siegfried forestalled Army touchdowns. With time running out in the last quarter, Ed Kenna broke loose on a fake pass and scampered 21 yards into the clear with a touchdown ahead, when Siegfried pulled him down from behind. On the next play Kenna tossed a screen pass to Woods. Woods was moving to a touchdown when Siegfried nailed him on the Navy 7. He was the only Navy man with a chance to make the tackle.

But somebody at the Naval Academy must have taken cognizance of Whelchel's role as a one-man cheering section for Army during the week before the game. Because when Saturday rolled around they replaced him with no less than two battalions of Midshipmen, detailed to sing Army songs and remind the West Pointers how wonderful they were.

On the Line

With CONSIDINE

Annapolis, Nov. 29.—We hope you had that parlay—Navy, Holy

Editorial

Dictator? YES!

THOSE who are afraid to give President Roosevelt complete power in the national effort to win this all-out war have little faith in America as a democracy.

In the face of an impending war, Mr. Roosevelt was elected for his precedent shattering third term. The people knew what they wanted.

As President he is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. The Constitutional Fathers ordained this with sound military practicality, in 1787—long before they had ever heard of a "blitzkrieg" or all-out war, where every civilian of every age is immediately a participant.

You may not like Mr. Roosevelt's domestic policies. You may feel that he should have been defeated by Alf Landon and, four years later, by Wendell Willkie. But he wasn't. And if you have any faith in the American principle of democracy there is but one thing to do and that is salute him as "Commander-in-Chief" in war.

THIS does not mean that you must relinquish the full freedom of press and speech to say what you please about the manner in which he conducts the war. In aiming to achieve VICTORY for our cause, it is your God given right to criticize.

But to expect the President to lead us without full authority is as stupid and senseless as is the conduct of the Administration itself in giving men offices of authority without delegating to them the power to function.

It is to be hoped that the inexorable law of events will awaken Mr. Roosevelt to that desperate need.

To deny him authority in the silly fear that he plans to use such power to make of himself a dictator is a confession of a lack of faith in the American doctrine of democracy.

The Free Press believes that in war time Mr. Roosevelt should become dictator in the same sense that Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson were dictators. That they were made such in the hour of crisis saved for us the whole principle of democracy. It is not our intention to compare Mr. Roosevelt with either of them. That is for history to determine. The point we are making is that he is NOW, by the will of the people, President of the United States.

WHEN we use the word "dictator" we mean it in its original dictionary sense, as devised by the ancient Romans: "a magistrate in case of emergency appointed by the Roman senate (Congress) to absolute authority." This power Mr. Roosevelt has pledged himself to give up when the war has passed. He does not need to make that pledge. The American people will see to that.

No democracy has ever failed because of any ruthless usurper. Any democracy which has failed—as in France—has been due to the failure of the people to understand the basic principles of their being.

In America there need be no such fear. We have never known anything else but democracy. Every election vindicates the power of that principle. It is in the very marrow of our bones.

IN A MAD, lawless sort of way it was demonstrated in the collapse of the Prohibition Amendment. It was proved again in the refusal of the people to accept the economic regimentation of the NRA. It was the will of the people making itself manifest that defeated Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to pack the Supreme Court. And it was made even more graphically evident when he ordained the political death of nine senators who dared to oppose his Court Plan—and eight of them were elected.

We know of no instance in American politics where any President has successfully dictated to the people whom they should elect to office. The tragedy of Woodrow Wilson was his attempt to tell the people the names of those he desired to have returned or rejected to the legislative body.

We have further evidence of it in the present primary campaign where, despite President Roosevelt's endorsements, in New York, Texas and other parts of the Nation, the people asserted wrathfully their right to make up their own minds.

Nobody can dictate to the American people when it comes to the determination of whom they desire to have represent them and to carry out their laws. They will gladly salute Woodrow Wilson or Franklin D. Roosevelt or whoever it is that holds the office of President when, in war time, it becomes necessary to ordain one man as leader in the conduct of the war; but they will not let him—or anybody else—tell them how to vote.

FROM the mountains, from the prairies, from the "oceans white with foam," God help any man who does not understand that this is no one man's country but a Nation of 130 million people giving voice to their collective thoughts. They will agree to one man—in an emergency—and then watch him. Being sensible, they know that in war time **SOME**BODY has got to be absolute boss as was Cincinnatus of old in Rome. The heritage of democracy is its great common sense, the instinct of the people to realization of both their freedom and their responsibility.

They want, the Free Press feels, Mr. Roosevelt to have complete responsibility so that there can be a head to this drive to win the war. They want it crystalized, centralized, complete, so that they can hold him to account.

And when the war is won they will do the dictating—as always.

That is America! Anybody who fails to see that point has no faith in the thing he pretends to defend.

DAILY NEWS

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LEAVE IT TO THE NEXT CONGRESS

The Administration insists on trying to push the so-called Third War Powers Bill through the present Congress, which now has only 33½ days to live. This is the bill to

Third War Powers Bill

give the President power, for the duration, to suspend the tariff laws. Given such powers, the President would be in position to let into this country any amount of goods made by low-paid foreign labor. These goods, because admitted duty-free, could be sold at prices with which American-made goods could not compete, in the United States' own domestic market.

Administration supporters pooh-pooh suggestions that any such things would happen if the President were given these powers. They argue that the bill is mainly a formality to cut various minor pieces of wartime red tape. If the bill is as unimportant as that, why the strenuous Administration efforts to get it passed in such a hurry?

The whole affair is so loaded with mysterious and far-reaching implications that the present dying Congress should leave it alone.

CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Prime Minister Winston Churchill's Sunday speech was another interesting utterance, we thought—not as interesting as some he has made, but certainly the most cheerful one up to now.



Winston Churchill

Mr. Churchill had reason to be cheerful. The Allied attack in North Africa has been pounding ahead on schedule time or better; and the dopesters say that it has forced Hitler to shift the bulk of his air power to southern Europe.

At the same time, the Russians are throwing some wicked punches into Hitler on the Stalingrad and Rzhev fronts, and are talking about cutting loose pretty soon on yet another front.

The scuttling of the French fleet at Toulon cured a long Allied headache on that score, and released for other duty some British ships which had been patrolling the Toulon harbor mouth for months.

Italy seems to be groggy already from the comparatively few large-scale RAF raids to date on its northern industrial cities. Mr. Churchill took occasion to plant some dangerous thoughts in the Italians' minds by giving them a vivid word picture of what will happen to them if they stay in the war and if the Allies consolidate a North Africa conquest so as to be able to bomb Italy from both Africa and Great Britain.

We were particularly interested in this passage from the Churchill speech:

"It may well be that the war in Europe will end before the war in Asia. The Atlantic may be calm while in the Pacific the hurricane rises to full pitch. If events should take such a course we should, of course, bring all our forces to the other side of the world to aid the United States, to aid China, to aid our kith and kin in Australia and New Zealand, in the struggle against the aggressions of Japan."

It is pleasant indeed to hear Mr. Churchill say such a thing. There has been a rather widespread expectation in this country that, if we should be privileged to help England and Russia beat Germany before anybody beats Japan, our present affectionate British and Russian allies would then find urgent reasons for leaving the job of beating Japan to us.

It must be admitted that our experiences in and following World War No. 1 gave some ground for this expectation. We were the patsies to the wide world in and after that conflict. In the present war, we are asking for no post-war benefits for ourselves—meaning we are again inviting the world to play us for international suckers after the shooting is over.

To have Mr. Churchill disclaim any such intention is most gratifying to us, deeply though it may offend various sacrificial-minded Americans who appear to feel that we are sacredly obligated to do as much bleeding and dying in this war as possible rather than as little as possible.

That we can use any available help against Japan, now or later, seems beyond dispute. For illustration, the Japs have now bounced back onto Attu, westernmost Aleutian island, from which our bombers were supposed to have driven them a couple of months ago. A Jap soldier is not licked until he is dead, as Joseph C. Grew has been saying from long observation as Ambassador to Japan. Before the Japanese Empire is licked, we may be thankful for any help we can get anywhere.

THE BUREAUCRAT AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE

Thanksgiving is traditionally an American feast day. An editorial on food would seem to be especially appropriate on this first Thanksgiving since Pearl Harbor, because this

Speaking Of Food bids fair to be the last Thanksgiving for some time on which any of us will be able to eat heartily almost anything we like.

For that, we can blame the war in part, the Administration's resolve to share our food with the world in part, and the Washington bureaucrats in part.

We discuss the bureaucrats chiefly today, because it seems beyond dispute that they have made and are making the situation worse than need be.

When we first went into the war, word went around the country from various Agriculture Department officials and other bureaucrats that no food shortages were in sight

Tipping Off for this country, whatever might happen.

The Hoarders Presently it began to be whispered that well, there might be a shortage of sugar, if Adolf didn't stop being so mean about nipping at Atlantic coastwise shipping with his submarines. The sugar shortage (or the alleged sugar shortage—we've never yet found out which it is) duly arrived, and rationing began. This, after large numbers of people had bought and soaked away all the sugar they could get hold of.

The coffee situation went through the same shenanigans. Coffee shortages were predicted in ample time to permit hoarders to stock up. After a long spell of these predictions, a date was set for rationing to begin, and another wave of hoarder-buying was touched off.

It is impossible for this observer to believe that Leon Henderson, Claude Wickard, et al., would deliberately put out these alarmist forecasts in order to warn wise guys to get busy hoarding food.

Stupidity, Timidity The reason seems to be a combination of stupidity and timidity in bureaucratic circles. Various commissioners, sub-commissioners and under-secretaries don't seem to have sense enough to keep their mouths shut until the time when some necessary rationing measure is clapped into effect. They seem also to be afraid that the American people are timid souls who mustn't be told all the truth all at once, but have to be fed small dribbles of truth by medicine dropper.

Whatever the reasons for this messing around with rationing, the effects are bad. At the present time, the general public is in a fog of apprehension and misinformation. It does not know what foods are going to be rationed, or when. Consequently, any wild rumor gets a serious hearing; and anybody who believes that a dangerous amount of quiet cellar-over-stocking isn't in progress is just too, too trustful of human nature.

The red tape with which the bureaucrats are enwrapping the rationing procedures is another pain in the public neck already, and one which promises to grow to heroic proportions.

Bureaucracy Gone Coo-coo Take, for example, the recent ukase requiring gas ration card holders to write their license numbers on all their coupons. Fuel oil consumers are supposed to write some long number-and-letter combination, too, on each of their extremely small oil coupons.

We suppose these schemes are designed to prevent swapping of ration coupons, and to create the impression that the Government can and will check up on every one of billions of ration coupons.

What they will do, of course, will be to stimulate coupon forging, black marketeering, and all the other dodges that free and independent people always happily think up when bureaucracy goes coo-coo and tries to regulate their private lives down to the last detail.

And those are some of the cheerful prospects the nation faces on this first Thanksgiving Day since Pearl Harbor.

The outlook is for bureaucrats at the breakfast table, bureaucrats for lunch and dinner, bureaucrats in our kitchens, our garages, our boudoirs and our hair.

Congress Can Help Our only hope, so far as we can make out, lies in the new Congress, which takes office Jan. 3 next. If the new Congress will go to bat for the people against the bureaucrats, and force the wartime restrictions down to common sense and workable minimums, and keep them there, it will deserve well of the Republic. If Congress reneges, the Republic itself may choke to death in bureaucratic red tape.

SUCCESS in war depends upon men,
not money.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

Still a Job for the New Congress

Scheduled to be considered today by the House Ways and Means Committee is a toned-down version of the bill to grant the President power to kick over tariff and immigration restrictions during the war. The new bill purports to place tight time limits on these powers.

We can still see no call for any such grant of powers by the present dying Congress. The President already has wide emergency powers for waging the war, and has never been unskilled or bashful about using those powers to the hilt. To grant him explicit powers now to nullify tariff and immigration laws would be to lay a foundation for extending those powers past the Armistice.

That is a proposal on which the incoming Congress should act. The outgoing Congress, whose yes-yes, rubber-stamp submissiveness to the Administration was rebuked by the voters last November 3, should keep hands off.

'The Army Way'—But Why?

We pass up for today the encouraging news from all major fronts, and review for the customers an article in the N. Y. Daily News printed Sunday.

It was entitled "Gripe From a Selectee." It told of the nine or ten hours of misery inflicted seemingly as a matter of course every day on Americans—good and intelligent Americans—by Army men operating the largest induction center in the United States. This center is at Grand Central Palace, Manhattan.

Selectees who had been through the mill told the story. Here are some quotes from it:

"We (one day's crowd of selectees) got to the Palace around 8 (a.m.)... The first Army man to greet us was a private who barked, "No papers!" He meant that it was not permissible to carry newspapers upstairs... It occurred to me that a well placed, silent sign to this effect would have been much better than the surly soldier..."

As for the soldier handling selectees' records—

"I soon discovered that he... held himself to be pretty important. He had the bearing of an unpleasant prison guard. His enunciation was terrible as he called off the names. The men kept pressing toward him, anxious to co-operate and equally anxious to answer when their names were called. But he kept shouting: "Back against the wall! Back against the wall! Do you hear me!" He must have thought we were a collection of stupid sheep." Time and various tests passed, and after a while the men found themselves in a cold room with nothing on.

"In this room we had a long wait. A few asked permission to slip on their shoes when they learned that their feet would not be examined until we reached the next section. It was apparent that we were in a bottleneck. One man explained that he had a bad cold. But a sergeant, heavy with authority, refused. "Keep your shoes off!" he said." Another man reported what seemed to us the payoff episode of this whole story:

"There were no toilet facilities. They had one marked "men" but it had been flooded. I was in agony for hours. And I wasn't the only one. Most of us told the soldiers what was what but they just give you the fish-eye. One guy who had more guts than the rest of us barged right into the officers' biffy. They made it seem as though he had walked into Hitler's private boudoir."

And that is the kind of introduction to the Army that Americans are getting in the nation's biggest induction center, and after more than two years of the draft law.

This is the Army which we are told is crusading for human freedom and decency all over the world. We are also told that the old World War No. 1 army monkey business—M.P.'s of the hardboiled Smith school, arrogant little 90-day shavetails from Plattsburg lording it over better men than themselves, etc.—has been ruled out of our World War No. 2 Army.

Maybe; from what we can gather, these reports by and large are correct. But that there are still dangerous gaps in these reforms is evident; and to answer that this is "the Army way" is not a sufficient answer.

The only sufficient answer is for those in charge of draftee inductions to clean up such conditions as this report discloses, wherever they exist, and see to it that the selectee's first contact with the Army makes him feel that, if accepted, he will be joining a fine crowd of fighting men, not be booted into a concentration camp.

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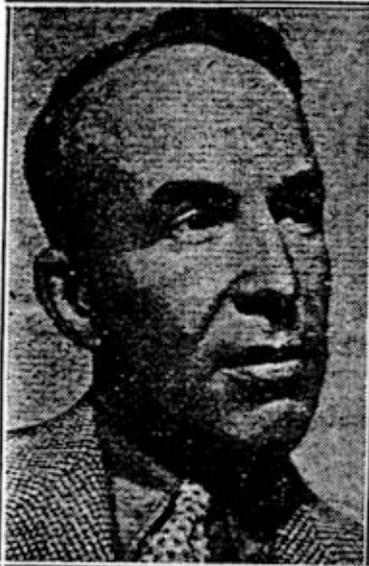
Special Press Clippings Price

CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 25.—The White House censorship policy, as now enforced on news dispatches going out from here to England or China, suggests that a serious flaw has been detected in the bond that links the so-called United Nations.

To put it bluntly, the Roosevelt War Administration has decided that the people of Great Britain, for example, can't be trusted with the factual information reported by British correspondents here that



Archibald MacLeish



Lowell Mellett

Their doctrine governs censorship policy.

there is powerful political opposition to the Roosevelt Administration and deep criticism of the war effort.

For the moment, freedom of expression—one of the proclaimed war objectives—is considered either too dangerous, or too delicate to risk on a foreign voyage. It's now barred by the censorship from travel abroad and ordered to remain within the borders of its own country for the duration.

Under the plea that this war must be won on the "psychological front"—favorite doctrine of New Deal pets Archibald MacLeish and Lowell Mellett—American censors have been ordered to delete everything from stories written here for foreign export which might suggest that all is not all for the best in this best of all possible New Deal worlds.

Under "directives" determined by a censorship policy board (appointed by and responsible to the President) and issued under the authority of censorship director Byron Price, the naval censors of radio and cable are now seriously mauling the dispatches written here by friendly foreign correspondents.

The British and Chinese correspondents are polite and long suffering under an American censorship policy which is more rigid—and sillier—than Britain ever imposed on American correspondents even away back in those fumbling, uncertain first months of the war. Now, with justness, they are making an appeal for more reasonable treatment. And the responsibility does not rest on the shoulders of Byron Price, competent and responsible newspaper man. It rests directly on the White House.

The foreign correspondents were permitted to send through the tale of the New Deal rebuffs in the Nov. 3 elections. But the directives that followed imposed on the Navy censors the responsibility of killing in news copy everything that might "lend itself to enemy propaganda," or spread "disunity among the allied peoples"—which is a smug way of saying that citizens of United Nations beyond the borders of the United States mustn't know through their papers or radio that the Roosevelt war administration is the target for some hot criticism right here at home.

The White House censorship held up the speech of Representative Melvin Maas criticizing the divided command in the Pacific.

Wendell Willkie's speech last Monday was held up by censors so long that it missed the next day's editions in London. Willkie irritated the powers-that-be by criticizing the Administration's dealings with Darlan and the imperialism of Churchill. So far as Willkie is concerned, the treatment continued tonight.

British correspondents were told that they could not start cabling the advance text of Willkie's address until it was actually delivered tonight in Toronto at 9 P. M. (E. W. T.). As this is 2 A. M. in London, few of Wendell's thoughts will appear in the London papers. Hitherto only the radio addresses of the President and Cabinet members have been held up in transmission until the speaker was actually on the air.

Foreign correspondents have discovered that excerpts from editorials and columnists already published here have been ruthlessly slashed from their stories destined for foreign readers.

None of the deleted material, by any stretch of the imagination, involved military secrecy or security. In every case, the material thrown out by the American censors was criticism by American writers of the domestic or foreign policies of the New Deal Administration.

The observations of friendly foreign commentators written here are also being barred from transmission abroad.

Perfect illustration of the New Deal censorship complex is this little gem. A short time ago, the British asked for a new print of the famous New Deal film "The River," turned out under Department of Agriculture auspices back in 1937 to tell the story of drought and flood control.

The President himself praised the film when he saw it in the White House. It was so popular in England that repeated showings through the years had worn out the film.

But, after the British request for a new print had been studied by the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations, back came a surprising decision. The British request was curtly rejected.

Reason: "The film depicts certain aspects of American life which should not be shown abroad at this time."

Suburbia in Wartime

By HAROLD PHILLIPS

These dispatches from Harold Phillips are from Moon Valley, D. C. To get to Moon Valley, drive out Wisconsin av, or across Memorial Bridge, or down toward Alexandria, or out Bladensburg. Any road will take you there. For if you live in the suburbs, you can't miss it. It's where you live.

THE 2 to 5 p. m. Seaboats for Sailors Chapter of the Moon Valley Women's Defense Council was snugly squatted in Ethel Seabury's living room, eyes on the needles, ears bent to intercept the crossfire of small talk. Attendance was 100 per cent, as it almost always was. As Belle Reedy said, "It was sheer self-defense to be counted among those present."

The finest and heaviest yarn went into these heavy stockings and it required patience and finesse to taper calf to ankle and especially to fashion the heel. Mrs. Fred Ormsby was coach by reason of finishing a full course of instruction at the Knitting Well. The chapter already had finished 100 pairs and sent them to the Navy depot. Belle Reedy was the best craftsman, Nellie Treadway slowest and clumsiest. They called Nellie, behind her back, the Handmaiden of the Harmed Forces. "You know," Ethel would offer in explanation to newcomers, "God help the poor sailor who wears," etc. Lucy Green once suggested that Nellie would be the perfect model for a "Thumbs Up" Victory poster. "She's got 10 of 'em!"

TODAY the girls were getting up a slow head of steam on the African situation. Mrs. Seth Fraley said she thought Casablanca was a chess player until she looked at a map. "You could have crowned me with a pawn," she said. Ethel told her she was thinking of Casablanca and she was right. No, Nellie Treadway protested, Casablanca is the name of that famous poem that begins, "The boy stood on the burning deck, whence all but him had fled," and so forth. "I don't think that boy ever could have got out of the class for backward children," Nellie was a school teacher. "He was dumb, and I mean indubitably."

"Maybe his mother was frightened by a horse when he was only a gleam in her eye," Mrs. Ormsby offered. "You know, horses have to be pulled from burning stables and be held or they'll dash back into the flames." Nellie said the boy's antecedents had never been investigated but she gathered they were of little account, else why was a mere boy at sea and where were the authorities and the child-labor laws, and things were coming to a pretty pass, indeed, what with everything a mess of gammon and spinnage.

LUCY continued on the theme of confused geography. "And New Guinea and Dutch Guiana, and Samarkand and Tarakan, Semarang and Samarinda. I give up. I just say 'way down there in the South Pacific.'"

The talk switched to fertilizers thru the usual maneuvering by someone who wanted to talk about fertilizers. Everyone in the Valley had had a victory garden. "Manure, my dears," said Ethel, "tho I guess you all know, is 60 cents a bushel. Last year this time we got three bushels for a dollar. Where do priorities hook up with cows?" This one was answered by all hands. High cost of feed, shortage of farm hands, transportation to your door practically non-existent.

MARIAN SIEBOLD said she thought that, by and large, the cow was man's best friend: "It gives us all our dairy products and even fertilizer to help grow its own forage and our vegetables. Also, a cow has lovely eyes and wonderfully soft ears." Belle Reedy said, "How poetic! But you can't make a verse out of a cow's ear. I say the horse is man's best friend." Lucy Green dissented, asserting that there could be no doubt in an intelligent person's mind that the dog was man's best friend. "Horses!" she snorted. "Did you ever see a poem about a horse?" Belle said, "Yes, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade.'"

Here was tea upcoming. "I think that man's best friend today," said Hostess Ethel, "is the gal who's finished a pair of seaboats." Three of them just had. They got sugar in their tea, the others lemon. "Taint fair," wailed Nellie Treadway; "there was so much distracting talk that I knitted when I should have purled, and vice versa. So, what have I got?" Ethel said, "I only know one thing: you ain't got no sugar. And that reminds me, Maggie (this to Mrs. Ormsby), how are you getting on with seven in your family and no maid? Reason it reminds me, I got a new maid whose name, she said, was Sugar. She quit the first day. Said two buses and a slow street car were too much."

"I'm just managing," said Mrs. Fred, "and I guess I'll have to manage for the duration. But other people are having their troubles. I saw a help wanted ad in the paper last night that was a knockout."

"Oh, the help wanted ads, they're delightful reading," said Mrs. Fraley. "Half of them emphasize 'no experience.' Just 10 years ago there was no such thing as a help wanted ad—there were plenty, tho, of 'situations wanted.' Pardon me, Maggie; what was the ad you read?"

"As I recall, the ad was for three waitresses under 20 for Hogan's Barbecue Diner and Billiard Parlor for the 4 p. m. to 2 a. m. shift. 'Must be refined,' was the condition employment. 'No experience necessary.'"

"When I read ads like that," Ethel bristled, "I cease refined."

TOMORROW: Blacked-out Christmas trees

Nation-Wide Ration Banking

The Office of Price Administration has just announced that the experiment with ration banking which it has been conducting since Oct. 28 in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area, in this state, has proved so successful that it will be expanded to a nation-wide basis the first of the year.

Ration banking is another instance of this country's being able to profit from British war experience. Britain faced the problem which was ultimately to produce ration banking when clothes rationing was introduced in the summer of 1941. This program called for the issuance of some 3,000,000,000 ration coupons a year, with the vast problem which this involved in handling, counting and transferring the coupons as they traveled from the issuing agency (the Board of Trade) to the consumer, and then from the consumer back to the issuer by a circuitous route, which carried them, in turn, to the retailer, the wholesaler and the manufacturer before they were finally retired. Not only was this an arduous task—it was like conducting a business involving millions of dollars annually, with nothing but small change—but at each stage there was the danger of loss, theft or forgery of the coupons.

The British first tried handling the problem through the postoffice system. Business men took their coupons to their local postoffice branch in sealed envelopes and received coupon vouchers in their stead. This did away with the necessity of shipping bundles of coupons from retailer to wholesaler and from wholesaler to manufacturer. But it soon became evident that the burden was too great for the postoffice, which did not have the proper machinery for handling the task. The Board of Trade was actively considering setting up its own clearing organization when some one thought of using the existing banking machinery. Out of this idea grew the system of ration banking, set up in Britain on June 15 of this year, and now about to be duplicated in the United States.

Under ration banking, as it is carried on in Britain the business man opens a "coupon account" at his local bank and deposits the day's receipts just as he does his cash, using for the purpose envelopes provided by the Board of Trade accommodating 100, 500 or 1,000 coupons. The business man identifies himself on the envelope and vouchers for its contents. The bank turns the coupons in to the Board of Trade for retirement, and further transactions in them are handled through coupon checks and vouchers. In other words, the physical handling of coupons is reduced from four or five stages to a single stage. When a retailer wishes to place an order for goods he makes out a "transfer voucher" and has it confirmed at his bank. The bank detaches one counterfoil from the voucher and deducts the amount from the retailer's account. The retailer detaches the other counterfoil as his receipt and sends the voucher along to the wholesaler with his order. The wholesaler deposits the voucher to his own account, and when he orders, in turn, from the manufacturer, he follows the same procedure.

The Albany test of ration banking, which was confined to gasoline and sugar distributors and retailers, elicited the opinion from O. P. A. officials that it was an ideal method of simplifying ration transactions and for relieving local war price and rationing boards of a huge clerical burden. Its importance in this respect is obviously destined to increase as rationing of scarce commodities is progressively expanded in the months ahead.

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THE AFRICA FRONT

In the early hours of Sunday morning, an American expeditionary force, described as powerful and commanded by Lieut. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, began the opening of a new front in northwest Africa.



Lieut. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower

The operation up to now has been meeting with swift successes, and with little French resistance except for some French naval and coast guard units that remain loyal to Marshal Petain and Admiral Darlan. For latest developments, see the news columns.

We do not suppose that this opening of a new African front will please the Russians as much as would a headlong Allied assault somewhere on the coast of Hitler-occupied western Europe. That looks like the only kind of "second front" attempt that would entirely satisfy

Stalin.

Of course, the African front is not a second front; it is the 31st or 32d front in this global war. But whatever Mr. Stalin may think about it, this American invasion of Africa has its advantages for our side.

At least part of the troops Eisenhower is using are apparently those that have been training for months in Northern Ireland and England. In Africa, they will get more varied experience than they could have got if they had simply kept on training. The African Winter, too, is a good deal easier to bear than the British Isles' variety of Winter.

Great results are being predicted in the event the Allies take all of North Africa that is worth having—either strategically or economically. The Allies will then have a chance, it is hoped, to rip the Axis in Europe up the belly, via France, Italy or the Balkans. Hitler will have to withdraw some forces from the Russian front, it is believed, as soon as there is a serious threat to what is called Europe's soft underside, meaning its Mediterranean coasts.

These hopes may or may not be realized. They do, however, look more promising than a frontal Allied attack on Hitler's French coast or Norwegian coast defenses. The Dieppe raid, with its approximately 50% casualties to all forces engaged, was a large-scale experiment showing what such an onslaught could be expected to cost. On the other hand, the Germans have been unable to get reinforcements and supplies across the Mediterranean fast enough to save Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps from the horrible beating the British have been dealing it in the last week.

Whether the longer-range results hoped for from our African push ever materialize or not, it seems certain that Rommel's day of glory in Africa is done. One of our objectives is to move across North Africa and pinch him out between Eisenhower's armies on the west and Montgomery's on the east.

Altogether, these look like big days for the Allied arms.

There is another front, though, to which we wish our strategists would pay some serious attention. That is the—

KISKA FRONT

—remember? Kiska Island, near the western end of the Aleutians, is where the Japs have a menacing foothold on U. S. territory.

The Wolf at The Back Door

Their forces on that island, with its excellent harbor, have been variously estimated at from 3,000 to 20,000 men. It came out in a Navy communication a few days ago that they now have a submarine base at Kiska.

The official attitude has been that we could push the Japs out of Kiska any time we wanted to make the effort. Well, how about making the effort and paying the price? After all, we also have a war with Japan on our hands, and anybody who underrated the Japs as fighters has long since been proved an idiot.

They did not take Kiska to turn it into a Summer resort. They took it because they knew that in our hands it was a good takeoff point on the shortest route from America to Japan, and because they knew that in their hands as a submarine base it would be a constant menace to our shipping in the North Pacific, both commercial and naval.

We may do glorious things in Africa and Europe, which our strategists have chosen to regard as our front yard in this war. But as long as we let the Japs stay on Kiska, not only our back yard but our back door itself will be in danger.

Editorials

An Administration Triumph

ARMCHAIR critics who have been master-minding both the strategy and diplomacy of this war took a worse licking than General Rommel when the Allies began cleaning up North Africa.

The amateur strategists and fire-side diplomats were proved 100 per cent wrong on every count of their lengthy indictment of the administration and its military and diplomatic leaders.

While verbal fighters belligerently condemned the "defensive mentality," a favorite epithet, President Roosevelt, General Marshall and General Eisenhower were laboriously preparing the show in North and West Africa and the British were gathering their forces for the Egyptian offensive.

Drives of that magnitude do not just happen. The African invasion was painstakingly planned and then rehearsed. The secret was well kept, but our military leaders here and in London jumped out of their skins whenever a radio commentator or news writer made a shrewd guess about the African theater of operations. While the amateurs pounding on something that obviously needed to be done, demanded that Africa be "cleaned out," the massive operations necessary to do the job were being prepared.

President Roosevelt and military and naval leaders could not reply to their critics. They could not even ask that discussion or speculation be curbed without disclosing their plans, so they took the rap in silence.

Similarly canny Secretary Hull was forced to remain silent in the face of the most violent charges that he was appeasing the Vichy-Laval regime. Instead of appeasing Laval, Mr. Hull, it is abundantly clear now, was playing him for a sucker.

The recurrent canard about British-American friction and need for a unified high command also evaporated into thin air when American forces descended on French Africa.

The operation, involving heavy British naval and land forces, and dependent for success upon coordination with movements of the British Eighth army in Egypt, was carried out under unified command. The boss was an American general. There could have been no more superb timing or better coordination between the Eighth army in Egypt, with its British ground forces and American air and tank support and the American-British naval, air and land forces which invaded North Africa.

Prime Minister Churchill said President Roosevelt was the author of the offensive, and added, "In all of it I have been his active and ardent lieutenant."

Thus the President gets full credit for a master stroke of military strategy, from the one best qualified by knowledge of events to accord it.

The French African coup also answers resoundingly the yelps that Roosevelt has been moved by political considerations in his prosecution of the war. Had the dazzling action occurred during the week before the Nov. 3 election, instead of the week after, the election results might have been different.

In a lightning thrust that outdid Hitler's best performances, it was demonstrated that all the things for which the critics and calamity howlers were crying had been achieved.

It was a magnificent piece of strategy, brilliantly executed; an amazingly successful move whose importance as a necessary preliminary to opening a second front; as well as an opening of a vital supply line of from 2000 to 2500 miles, can scarcely be over-estimated. It may be said that fortuitous events—the collapse of Rommel's forces in Egypt—made the American invasion easier than was expected; but the Yanks were there at precisely the psychological moment to take advantage of those events.

There is a powerful lesson in all this for all Americans. Everyone has a role to play in this war. It is important, even if it is only saving tin cans. Energy wasted master-minding the war may well be used in doing the thousand and one things the average civilian can do to help the war effort along.

Direction of military operations may well be left to professionals who can not afford to allow themselves to be influenced by public clamor.

That doesn't mean civilians have no right to criticize. Blunders should be condemned with vigor because the public has an unerring instinct in such matters. It knows, without being told, when things are not going well, and a democracy, free to speak out, is a safety valve which dictatorships lack, to their great detriment.

But details of military preparations, can not be divulged in advance. Neither can delicate diplomatic negotiations, especially the sort we carried on with Vichy.

Americans must become accustomed to waiting for our grand strategy to unfold on the battlefields and on the oceans. They must restrain their desire to know what is going on before it happens. This normal and healthy curiosity, developed by polls of public sentiment and straw votes, must be suppressed for the duration.

War, unfortunately, does not lend itself to the Dr. Gallup technique.

What About Southern Democratic Party?

(Editor's Note: There has been considerable recent discussion of the desirability of forming a Southern Democratic Party, to exist independently of the National Democratic Party, and to provide a political home for those Southern Democrats unable to follow the National Democratic Party in some of its policies. Many thoughtful men have long believed that Alabama would profit by being closely balanced between two rival political parties. Many men who are Democrats in State affairs, are sympathetic with the Republican Party nationally.)

(Here is an entirely new suggestion which is something of a compromise, for it would permit a citizen to be a Democrat locally, and to follow the party of his choice nationally. It comes from one of Alabama's most prominent public men, a citizen of lifelong Democratic affiliations, and a scion of generations of adherents to the party of Thomas Jefferson.)

Alabama magazine and The Montgomery Advertiser have had some articles discussing a proposed Southern Democratic Party to be organized in the poll tax and cotton States. There are some advantages in having a one-party State, and the plan contemplates an entire change of all the Alabama Democrats to the new party, so that the one-party system would still be in force, and there would be no bidding for the colored vote by contending parties. The Negro question is one of the main reasons for the Alabama voters remaining in the Democratic Party. Our Democratic Party in the North now seems to have captured the Negro vote in Harlem, Detroit, Chicago, and the Pennsylvania cities, and it may be embarrassing to be an exclusive white party in the South and at the same time bid for the Negro vote in the North.

Full participation in national affairs by a voter should carry the privilege, either personally or through representatives, of choosing a possibly successful candidate and having a voice in framing the platform, which might possibly be the administration's platform after the election. With a local Southern party we could never vote to nominate a winning candidate, and our platform would never be binding on a successful presidential candidate or on a majority in Congress. We would be a minority third party like the Socialist, the Farm-Labor Party or the Progressive Party.

There is little difference in the principles of the two major parties at this time. With the name of the party eliminated it is doubtful whether one person out of ten thousand could read the party aims in the 1940 platforms of the two parties and tell which was the Democratic platform and which was the Republican platform. So it becomes a question of the personal record of the candidate and what the people believe he would do if elected.

It is suggested that we hold our State and county primary elections at a different time from the primaries for the selection of delegates to the national conventions and the nomination of candidates for members of Congress and U. S. senators, and relieve all voters in the county and State primaries from any obligation to support the party nominees for presidential electors.

In the national primaries we should use our best efforts to induce our best citizens to seek election as delegates to both of the national conventions, and let every voter decide on the day of the primary election whether he will vote for Democratic or Republican delegates to the national convention of the party of his choice. Our delegates should urge the adoption by the convention of a platform most favorable to our section, and vote for a candidate best fitted for the kind of administration the nation needs. When the nominations are made the voters could then decide which party has the best candidate and best platform and be free to vote accordingly. No person should be barred from participation in a primary election as a voter or candidate on account of his non support of the party in the previous election. Many people were at one time of exactly the contrary opinion, but circumstances are now different.

Candidates for Congress and U. S. Senate could run in both primaries, or in only one, if they desired, and affiliate with which ever party they might desire after election.

According to this plan our State could get some recognition in both national conventions, and we would not continue to be absolutely safely Democratic and a Republican impossibility. There is no sense in running after a street car after you have caught it, nor is it sensible to run after one it is impossible to catch.

Our farm population has received a few benefits, but no where near the proportion the doubtful States have received. The same is true of other national spendings. These will probably cease until the war debt is paid, and our interest will be in seeing a government at Washington that will not interfere directly or indirectly with purely local affairs, and will return to the Constitution as written, and congressional laws, as distinguished from personal edicts of bureau heads.

Political Talk Trivial

By Raymond Clapper



ANTI-ADMINISTRATION Democrats are at work trying to capture the party. They dream of a coalition of southern reactionary Democrats and western anti-labor Democrats out of which to make a conservative Democratic Party.

Jim Farley is out on a tour of the country to line up national convention delegates and this time not for Roosevelt, as was the case when he went out on the road in 1931 to make a President. Farley is effective. He is bitter toward the Administration, and with

some reason. He also is aided by the decay of the Democratic National Committee and by the unhappiness of Democratic state leaders over the large number of Republican appointments that have been made, particularly in Leon Henderson's rationing organization.

* * *

BUT all of this has an air of unreality because it doesn't mean a thing unless President Roosevelt retires. That becomes less likely every day. There is growing acceptance of the logic that if he remains physically in shape, Mr. Roosevelt will be the best one to finish the war and initiate the peace.

The time to have changed was in 1940. You almost have to consider this as a first term, because what goes on in these four years is so closely linked with what must continue into the next four years. Mr. Roosevelt's intimate knowledge and his prestige abroad make him a far safer custodian of American interests in liquidating the war and setting up the peace than a new man, however fine his intentions.

THE uncertainties of politics in the next two years are as great as the uncertainties of war. Today the war looks to be going well. But if Hitler should put on a blitz down thru Spain it might change the looks of the North African show overnight.

Just now the chief political fact is the irritation over rationing and labor policies of the Administration. Just the stupid thing of giving farmers a complex rationing blank to fill out instead of a simple one becomes a political factor. I heard one middle-western Republican political leader say that people were so irritated that even had the North African success come before election it would have made no difference, and he probably is correct.

Emotional factors have a scale of proportion all their own. A voter who votes with his glands instead of his head will vote out a congressman because he has to fill out forms to get fuel oil, altho the congressman had nothing to do with it and may be exceptionally wise and able.

* * *

IN WARTIME people vote with more explosive emotion than in normal times, and Republican politicians are cultivating those irritations now. The irritations of today are the anti-Administration votes of tomorrow.

What the Republicans will do on foreign affairs is uncertain. They have harped in a small way on Vice President Wallace's quart of milk, but thus far their cracks sound warmed over from the early warning of doom against relief during the depression of the 1930s. They seem to hesitate about opposing co-operation with other nations after the war, and their new national chairman declares for an international police force.

People have such an aversion to war that they want something done to prevent a third one growing up out of this one. It may not be smart for anybody to try to play politics with that feeling.

In fact most political talk seems trivial and unreal now—much talking about very little. Because our welfare for many years to come, our standard of living, the amount of freedom we have, the status of free enterprise, are all to be deeply affected by the outcome of the war and the use that is made of the victory if we win it. The Mid-West Democrats and the grassroots Republicans will be affected just as they are being affected now by the war. No place can be isolated any more, and our political affairs may be shaped more by those events than by anything else.



MARK SULLIVAN

SULLIVAN

In the current outflow of criticism about the conduct of the war, many of the complaints have to do with the giving out of news. On this point, it is the judgment of the writer that the Army and Navy should have almost unlimited discretion about what news to give out and when. I say "unlimited discretion"—not unlimited or arbitrary repression. This discretion, like discretion in any field, is subject to the qualification that it be used with reason, and with a proper motive. Whether a given withholding of military news is reasonable or not cannot be known until afterwards. Just now, certain withholdings during the last eleven months are being subjected to review in the press and in common discussion. A fair judgment would say that some parts of the withholdings were not justified.

No Outsider Knows

Nevertheless, it seems better to emphasize the right of the armed forces to discretion. Certainly it cannot be wise that the Army and Navy should be harassed until they become jittery in judgment, and in that mood give out news which would better have been withheld. Much of the harassing comes from newsmen and newspapermen. These need to be sure of their own motives. They are merchants of news, and have a natural wish for maximum liberty to acquire the wares they dispense.

No outsider can know considerations which may fully justify the Army and Navy in withholding news. The justification is illustrated by Pearl Harbor. In that disaster, our losses were extremely serious—much more serious than the public has ever been permitted to know. Many newspapermen knew the extent of the loss, but refrained from printing it out of deference to the Army and Navy.

Justification for the official restraint can be illustrated by one point. Some of the vessels at Pearl Harbor were sunk in comparatively shallow water. Their masts and funnels remained above water. In this condition, Japanese photographers, taking pictures as they looked down from planes, might be misled into thinking that the ships were still afloat. That the American press should give the enemy more information than they could get themselves is unthinkable.

Some Justification

Scores of circumstances, not known to the public and not readily understood even if known, justify military officials

in withholding information. After any engagement, some of our men may be missing. Whether they are dead or are prisoners in the hands of the enemy cannot be known to our officers. If prisoners, they may refuse to give information to their captors. They may even give their captors misleading information, justifiably and with the best of patriotic motives. What prisoners have or have not told the enemy should be known. That our officers should give out and our press publish information disagreeing with that given the enemy by prisoners might endanger the lives of the prisoners and otherwise do damage to us. The sum of all this sort of thing is that it is practically impossible to put limits on the discretion of the Army and Navy to withhold information.

Discretion Needed

Granting the Army and Navy should have discretion, some refinements arise. Whenever they decide to give out information at all, they should make sure it cannot mislead. After any battle or incident there may be some information that can be given out without detriment—some that must be withheld. Granting that the officials issue anything at all they should make very sure the effect does not give an incorrect impression to our people.

This is illustrated by the flight of Brigadier General James H. Doolittle with 60 planes over Tokyo last April. The official accounts at the time said that all the planes dropped their bombs on Japan successfully and got away successfully; that no plane was shot down. That was true—so far as it went. But we ought not to be obliged to say, "so far as it went." The official information created in the public an impression that not one of the planes suffered any mishap. The public continued in that impression until October, when news from Japan revealed that the crew of one of General Doolittle's planes were prisoners.

Impression Incorrect

What happened to some of our planes after they had left Japan was not published because the information, then or still, might be of value to the enemy. This, however, does not alter the fact that the information given out officially created an incorrect impression. To that extent, there was departure from the truth. For the measure of truth is the impression created in the minds of those to whom information is given.

The unfortunate course taken about the Tokyo flight was probably due to the wish of some person or persons in the Army or in the Administration, to make the most of a gallant feat. At the time, in April, the public was still under the shadow of the depression of spirits that followed the disaster at Pearl Harbor.

It may have been felt that the American public needed the tonic of agreeable news. This would explain, but would not justify, the giving out of information in such a way as to create an incorrect impression. The feat was a gallant one. A simple, strictly limited statement that the feat had taken place would have been enough. Or, since complete information could not be given out, it might have been better to issue none.

Simple news is one thing. News so phrased as to create deliberately a desired effect on public emotion is a different thing. It is propaganda—and with propaganda the Army and Navy should have no truck. Propaganda is a practice of persons in political offices—it should be scorned by persons holding military or naval posts.

Burden on Army, Navy

There is a special burden on the Army and Navy to use their prerogative withholding news for one reason only, to prevent the enemy from getting information. To use the prerogative in order to save themselves from criticism would be utterly unjustifiable. Battles and engagements, sometimes, result unfavorably to our forces—this has happened on saddening occasions in the present war. The worst of our disasters was Pearl Harbor. There can be no charge that, at the time, the motive for withholding information was to escape criticism—the withholding at the time was wholly justified.

But as weeks passed and then months, and after damage done, our ships had been repaired, there must have come a time when the extent of our losses could have been made known to the public without advantage to the enemy. It is now exactly eleven months after Pearl Harbor, and no statement about the extent of the losses has yet been made. The effect of this continued silence on our people cannot be helpful. Complete disclosure might be a stimulant to the national spirit, resulting in stiffened resolutions.

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ERNEST LINDLEY

The effect of the substantial Republican gains on the behavior of Congress remains to be demonstrated. The Administration would profit from an alert and discriminating opposition. Such an opposition would have been beneficial throughout the last nine and a half years. The main trouble with the opposition over that period was that it was not discriminating. If it had been, its presentation probably would have been numerically larger.

But we had first an unyielding opposition to a host of necessary reforms, most of them long overdue. Because the substance of the reforms was so often fought, many of them did not receive the detailed treatment which they deserved. The attention of the energy of the Administration became centered on the fights necessary to get its program through Congress and through the judicial branch.

The President had the same sort of experience with his national defense and foreign policies, right up to Pearl Harbor. A bill which would have permitted the embryo American Army to shrivel up came within one vote of passing the House in the summer of 1941.

Since Pearl Harbor, the President has had to face a rather stiff opposition to some of the actions necessary to mobilize the national economy for war. This opposition, like some of the earlier opposition, cut across the party lines. It began to yield in September and October, and some politicians think that by forcing action before the election, the President cost the Democrats some votes after all.

Alert Opposition Good

There has been plenty of opportunity for an alert, constructive opposition. But not much of it has materialized, and most of what did was on the Democratic side. The Truman and Tolan committees have shown what Congress can do, through its investigative powers, to scrutinize, and make suggestions for the improvement of the work of the executive branch.

There have been enough Republicans in Congress all along to provide an alert and effective opposition. But most of them have not availed themselves of the opportunity. Most of the effective, discriminating opposition has come from the press—the overwhelming majority of which has been behind the war effort.

After years of warning of inflation—when there was no danger of inflation—the Republicans in Congress lapsed into silence and inactivity when inflation really began to threaten. They had the greatest opportunity in a generation to prove their adherence to sound economic principles. By its own tardiness in coming to grips with the inflation threat, the Administration left this vitally important field wide open to the Republicans. But the Republicans in Congress hardly chipped—and did nothing. The Republicans in both Houses of the new Congress can have wholesome effect. They can help to tighten up and expedite the whole war effort. They can keep the Administration on its mettle. But not the kind of Republican leadership we have seen in the Senate and the House up to now. A great part of the Republican influence in Congress, like much of the Democratic influence, has been on the side of fighting a "soft" war. The Administration would have been a lot tougher and more thorough if it had not been held back by Congress. The main exception is probably in the treatment of organized labor.

Draft Will Be Test

The new Congress will be more responsive to the views of businessmen and farmers and the middle classes generally, and less to the views of the leaders of organized labor. There may be danger of a severe reaction against labor which will undo reforms which should be permanent or at least assured for the long run, even if they are suspended or modified during the war. The 40-hour week, for example. Labor probably would be well-advised to come forward with its own proposals for concessions—and perhaps also with legislation which would submit union affairs to inspection and supervision comparable to that organized over industry by the SEC.

Most of the well-known anti-labor extremists in Congress are on the Democratic side. In their handling of labor policy—which the whole manpower problem has pushed to the front—the Republicans can, if they desire, hold the middle position between the anti-labor Democrats from the South, and the pro-labor Democrats from the North. The ability of the Republicans to get together on a reasonable policy will be a test of their statesmanship.

They also still have an opportunity to work out a supple-

mental program of taxation and compulsory saving. The test probably will be whether they try to close the loopholes in the income tax and increase taxation on smaller incomes or on consumption, or whether they vote for the latter and let the first go. The Administration has left the way wide open for the Republicans to foster a tough but even-handed tax program, by stressing the first point almost to the exclusion of heavier taxation on consumption or smaller incomes.

However, the first test of the effect of the election will be the vote on the drafting of 18- and 19-year-olds. This will be a test of the outgoing Congress, but the result probably will reflect in a considerable degree the aggregate of congressional judgment on the meaning of the election.

Hard or Soft War?

Before the election, the Senate adopted the O'Daniel amendment requiring that the teen-agers receive a full year of training before being sent out of the country. The amendment may seem reasonable on its face, but its effects on the mobilization and training of the Army would be almost crippling—so much so that the Army probably would rather pass up the teen-agers, badly as they are needed, than receive them with this string attached. It would prevent men from being sent overseas to complete their training. It would prevent the use of the younger men as aviation mechanics and in other jobs behind the lines for which they can be trained in much less than a year. It would prevent their use to fill out divisions which are already well-trained, and which could absorb a percentage of younger men with no loss of efficiency, and with less danger perhaps for the younger men than if they had to be segregated in new divisions trained from the bottom up.

These are only a few of the ways in which the O'Daniel amendment would frustrate the Army's purpose in asking for the younger men who are prime material for soldiers.

This is a question of military policy intimately related to our success or failure to achieve victory within a reasonable length of time. It can hardly be called a test of whether Congress wants to fight a "hard" or a "soft" war. It is almost a test on whether Congress is determined to fight the war through to the speediest possible conclusion, or whether it is still muscle-bound by political

Where New Deal Failed By Raymond Clapper



IF THE Roosevelt Administration tried to run this war by doing what it thought would make people happy—instead of doing what seemed necessary, no matter how unpleasant—we would go down in a heap.

In a war you can't go on the rule of anything to please the voters.

The same thing must hold for Republicans, now that they are able to exert real power in Congress.

I wouldn't try to say with any conviction exactly what produced the nation-wide Republican trend, which was

strong even where the Republican candidates failed of election.

There is little in common between Rep. Ham Fish and Clare Luce, who won in Connecticut only a few miles away, except that both carry the Republican label. Or between Sen. Joseph Ball in Minnesota and Sen. Wayland Brooks in Illinois, both of whom were re-elected in middle western states, except that they are Republicans. Alike in agricultural Nebraska and industrial New Jersey, in Wyoming and in Pennsylvania, the Republicans gained.

Democrats explain that city workers were dislocated by the war. But Republican farm boys have gone to war by thousands, and to the cities, so these dislocations cancel out.

However thin you slice it, the result is that for a variety of reasons a majority of voters in many states took to the handiest Republican, whatever he might be like. A wide complex of dissatisfactions with the Roosevelt regime caused the voters to hit at the most accessible target, which was the nearest Democratic candidate.

UNDoubtedly one factor was a feeling that New Deal measures are less important during the war, and in some respects interfere with the war—short working hours, for instance. But I hope this doesn't mean that the American people are in a mood to kiss good-by forever the pre-war work of the Roosevelt Administration.

I don't believe that this country is preparing, when the war is over, to turn its back on Social Security, on collective bargaining, on restrictions against stock-market and holding-company abuses, or on the principle that if

men can't get work the Government must provide for them until they can.

The war has made other questions more important for the time being. When conditions permit, the people of this country will again be interested in the kind of social justice that Roosevelt has fought for.

That's wishful thinking. But I hope it is also correct. I won't believe, until I have more evidence, that the defeat of Sen. George Norris means a popular repudiation of all that he has stood for, either in Nebraska or thruout the country.

MOST of the complaint must have arisen out of things that have happened in the last two years, since the 1940 election. That points to matters connected with the war, including failure to readjust New Deal measures to war needs—such as removing many featherbed labor restrictions that interfere with war production instead of facilitating it. The war requires measures in conflict with peacetime New Deal objectives, and the Roosevelt Administration was slow to change pace as necessity dictated.

It will be difficult to know how much of the protest vote originated in irritations over wartime restrictions. Some undoubtedly. People see the hand of the Government closing around them. They see life as it used to be taken from them. Nostalgia for the happier days of the past is natural. Perhaps some grasped vaguely at Republicans, hoping to fend off the growing harshness of wartime restrictions, as men sometimes go back to prayer when everything they love is being snatched from them.

BUT this is war and war is hard. Republicans won't help toward victory if they act like a fond mother who won't let the dentist hurt little Junior when he has a tooth that ought to come out. The far-sighted Republicans see that.

But we have had a lot of near-sighted Republicans around Congress who couldn't see it. The new Republican strength will be used for helpful ends or for harmful ones, depending on whether Republican leaders like Dewey, Willkie and Hoover can prevail when they say the war must be fought harder and more efficiently. That means more unpleasant restrictions, not trying to baby the country.

By Westbrook Pegler

Fair Enough

NEW YORK, Nov. 6—If these dis-

If a man is capable of atrocious assault with intent to ... town where the police work-

"There's one time in year shushed!"



DAILY NEWS

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LOOKS LIKE NO FOURTH TERM FOR THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF

President Roosevelt won election to a third term in November, 1940; but we think the tide began turning against him in that year.

When the Tide Began to Turn It will be remembered that various polls toward the end of the Roosevelt-Willkie 1940 fight indicated that the Democrats, if they won at all, would win by an uncomfortably narrow margin. This, because much of American public sentiment was isolationist. The President, who at first had planned to make no big campaign speeches, got busy toward the end of October, 1940, and made five major campaign speeches.

One of these was the Boston speech on Oct. 30, following Joseph P. Kennedy's radio address of Oct. 29, in which Kennedy assured the American people that the President was not planning war. Mr. Roosevelt on Oct. 30 at Boston made his famous promise:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again: 'Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.'"

This promise, plus the help of Kennedy and James A. Farley, may have been what slowed down the tide then running against Roosevelt. Anyway, he was elected; but by a plurality of 4,900,000 as against his 1936 plurality of 10,800,000.

During 1941, popular suspicion grew that Mr. Roosevelt wanted us in the European war.

There was the Lend-Lease Act which the Administration got through Congress; the ever more warlike speeches and press conference statements of the President; our Navy's unofficial help to Britain in the Atlantic. Roosevelt and Churchill conferred at sea in August of 1941, and on Aug. 14 issued the so-called Atlantic Charter, which was a virtual alliance, and set forth the terms on which the United States and Britain together would consent to peace. On Sept. 11 came the President's "shooting orders" to the Navy—meaning orders to fire on sight on German or Italian fighting ships found in waters deemed essential to the defense of the United States.

On Dec. 7, 1941, the Japs attacked us at Pearl Harbor, and we were pitched into the war.

At the Congressional and gubernatorial elections of day before yesterday, there was of course no issue of war vs. peace. We cannot now make peace on terms that any American could accept. We must fight this war to some sort of finish satisfactory to us.

New Deal Rebuked. Nevertheless, the Republicans in those elections scored impressive gains, all over the country except in the South, where Republicans practically don't count. Even so, Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma, New Dealer and spearhead of the dries, lost to a man whom the press dispatches describe as a "Willkie Democrat drafted by the Republicans."

Latest returns show the Republicans to have elected Governors, Senators or both in 18 important states whose electoral votes total 285, which is 19 more than necessary to elect a President.

We think these Republican gains occurred because a lot of people feel that the New Deal has not managed our war effort to date as wisely as could have been done, and feel that some of the New Dealers' didoes on the home front have been dangerous and ill-timed.

In a democratic country, these tides ceaselessly rise and recede. One party, led by some forceful personality, fights up to a crest of popularity. Then it gets drunk with power, and when the voters get around to it they slap it down.

Prospects For 1944 Which is to say that at this time the Republicans appear to have an excellent chance to elect a Republican President and Congress in 1944.

We now believe that the 1942 elections mean that there is going to be no fourth term for the Commander in Chief.

There should be none—assuming we want to go on being a democratic nation. If Mr. Roosevelt can put himself across as President for a fourth term in 1944, he will become in effect an American Caesar.

Democracy, for which we say we are fighting, will be dead.

Art Exhibition



pen to the public today

**Peggy Bacon's
Pens to Go on
Lay Today**

**Needles' Exhibit
25 Years of Her
and Satire Art**

tion called "Pens and imposed of humorous and orks by Peggy Bacon, New at the Associated Amer- showing of pastels, draw- and lithographs covers e years of the artists e 1911.

acon, who first became her satirical etchings and ngs and whose humorous among her more recent i, has given twenty exhib- her work. The present ing of about 100 exhibits, comprehensive, accord- ing gallery. "Pens and fess Bacon said, explains a whole, its biting innu- the pens and etching er craft.

tion covers early post- ings, represented by sub- "The Sloan Night Class," "Meeting" and "Cafe de la And shown are later ings and drawings, pas- caricature portraits of rters and several draw- ings, books.

owed "The prous draw- ring, a lone- from the and "White

**Man-Power Suggestion Advises
More Work on Arms for Allies**

Mark Sullivan Says Material Can Be Sent to China and Russia as Easily as to Future U. S. Armies, Urges Concentration on Production

By Mark Sullivan

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3.—This is about a subject just now engaging the attention of every citizen—an issue on which decision is just ahead. It is about man power—how many men we should take for the Army, how many others we should keep producing war material, and by what method we should assign the war workers to the various jobs.

This about man power. But it is going to begin with a quotation from Mr. Wendell Willkie's speech last week. It is the most important message Mr. Willkie brought home from his visits to Russia and China, and it has profound importance for our guidance in a decision about to be made. Mr. Willkie said:

"The flow of war materials out of this country to some of the nations I visited is tragically small. . . . If I were to tell you how few bombers China has received from us you simply would not believe me. If I were to tell you how far Russia feels we are from fulfilling our commitments, you would agree with me that we have little reason to boast."

Nations Seek Material

Now what have we here? We have Russia and China complaining bitterly—and their complaint is actually more bitter than Mr. Willkie expressed—that they are not getting enough war material from us.

Push the analysis a little farther. What we have here is fifteen million or so Russian soldiers eager to fight—and begging us for the material to fight with, reproaching us for not giving them enough. And here are uncounted millions of Chinese soldiers, actual or potential, eager to fight, begging us for material with which to fight, reproaching us because we do not give them enough.

While this goes on, what do we do? We decide to have an immense army of our own, a minimum of seven and one-half million, with some three million more in the navy and marines, a total of over ten million. (This is minimum—some responsible persons talk about fifteen million.) After we get this immense army, we must supply it with material. And when we get into the stride of supplying material for so large an army, we are likely to encounter an unforeseen condition. We are likely to find we are using so much of our man power for this purpose that we won't have much man power left—certainly not enough to make all the material the Chinese and Russians beg for.

What is said here so far points in a plain direction, suggests a policy. This policy, let it be said at once, has qualifications. While these quali-

fications have weight, some do not have as much weight as is commonly attached to them.

It is said, accurately, that one reason for our not giving China and Russia more war material is the difficulty of transportation, shipping. But the shipping difficulty will be almost as great in supplying our own soldiers in battle as in supplying Chinese and Russian soldiers. The battles are going to be overseas anyhow. It is not much more difficult to ship a tank to the Persian Gulf for Russia than to send it to the Red Sea for our own soldiers in North Africa.

As respects planes, the case is clear. It is easier to send a plane to Russian soil in Siberia than to send one to our own forces in North Africa, or to the proposed second front in Europe. Mr. Willkie, when he came home the other day, flew from Russian Siberia to Alaska, a short flight, reasonably safe from enemy interference. Over that same route we could—and in the judgment of competent persons, ought to—send thousands of planes for the Russians. If Russian pilots would come to Alaska to receive the planes, they should be immune from Japanese interference, for Japan is at war with Russia.

An American plane can be put to either of two uses. It can be manned by an American crew in North Africa or Europe—or it can be manned by a Russian crew on the Russian front. In both cases the purpose is to destroy Germans. We can let Russian crews do the destroying—and keep the American crews at home as an addition to our man power for making still more planes.

Direction Is Suggested

All that is intended by the present article is to suggest a direction, a policy—a policy of maximum material for China and Russia. This policy is subject to many qualifications besides the ones already mentioned—qualifications of strategy and of necessity imposed on us by the number of points at which we must fight.

These are matters for our professional military leaders to decide, and no sensible layman will question their decisions. Yet professional leaders in any field may be overzealous for professional ideals. The natural ideal of any American military leader is an American Army of ideal size, ideally equipped. Overemphasis upon that ideal may neglect the enormous value of equipping Russians and Chinese to do fighting which they are eager to do—and which, if it is not done by them, must be done by us.

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**Bartenders Give Pledge to Mayor
To Enforce Rules, Prevent Excess**

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'I'd Rather Be Right'—

Most Important Thing Willkie Said Was 'Now' Promises to Act Tomorrow Are Refusals

By SAMUEL GRAFTON.

Almost everybody agrees with Wendell Willkie. If you read the better newspapers you will find they are solidly for him. Newspapers which have been for freeing India agree with Willkie. Newspapers which have been against freeing India agree with Willkie. Newspapers which have talked second front think Willkie made a fine speech, and newspapers which have deprecated second-front talk also think he was rather wonderful.

And behind this apparent agreement there is almost no agreement at all.

The most important thing Mr. Willkie said was "now!" It is the now-ishness of his speech which gives it its quality. If you take the "now!" out of it it is not a good speech; it becomes the usual bundle of bumble about how we must sometime take the offensive and, of course, distribute freedom.

Many who have praised the speech have, slyly or innocently, consciously or unconsciously, taken the "now!" out.

They have praised Mr. Willkie's fundamental ideas, and have dropped out of their discussion the point that he wants them put into effect right away. But Mr. Willkie's speech was not only a speech about India and the second front and the end of colonialism and aid to allies. It was a speech about the calendar. It was a speech about time.

"Tomorrow" is a Refusal.

If we have learned anything in this war, we have learned that the promise to act tomorrow is a refusal to act today. The slogan: "Cake next week" is a sentence of hunger for this week, perfumed with a whiff of vanilla. It is the profoundest kind of refusal, because it seeks to stop the argument without permitting action. It is the word "no!" plus a certificate of good intentions. We have been freeing India next century for two centuries; we have been promising to make the world glad after a war for two wars.

We are all against colonies a hundred years from now.

But the man who is merely against colonialism tomorrow is actually for colonialism today. The man who is for a second front next year is against a second front this year. There is no way out of it. The man who desires freedom for India in 1945, no matter how ardently, how passionately, will be equally guilty with the worst imperialist on earth if a sudden Japanese attack on India succeeds because of Indian impatience with us and apathy toward us. The road to Tokio cannot be paved with good intentions.

The history of the last 10 years can be told in the words "not now." Stop Hitler in the Rhineland? Not now. In Czechoslovakia? Not now. Help China? Not now. Embargo Japan? Not now. You can summarize Mr. Willkie's speech in the words: "Well, when?"

Agreement Calls for Action.

And if you read the history of the past 10 years closely you will see that a long series of democratic agreements in principle have actually been a long series of refusals in fact. We did not stop Hitler and we did not help China and we did not halt Japan, although most of us agreed profoundly on the importance of doing something about all these things some time.

Mr. Willkie's speech is the crux of a process of self-questioning that has been going on for 10 years and has finally reached its peak. Hard words about good taste, unity and the decency of silence among partners in mistakes cannot rebuke it, and the soft words of yesterday cannot agree with it. The glory of Mr. Willkie's speech is precisely that you cannot agree with it sitting down.

If you agree with Mr. Willkie's speech you must be up and doing, preparing an Indian compromise, running aid to our allies, mounting an offensive. If you do not do these things, then you say no to Mr. Willkie, and you say it loud and clear, though you fall on his neck and kiss him, though you love him to pieces.

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I'd Rather Be Right

By Samuel Grafton

The first and simplest war aim is to promise the people of the fascist countries that we shall rid them of their fascist leaders. Why do we overlook this clearest war aim of them all?

A quart of milk a day is good, but no fascism is better. We ask the people of Europe to rise, but in the absence of a pledge to remove the top fascists forever, revolution becomes doubly unsafe. The pledge to put top fascists on trial for murder and arson is not enough. Suppose there is a hung jury, and they are acquitted? What happens then, on some dark night, in some little town of Germany, to some little democratic revolutionary?

There Are Many Towns

Will we check each town carefully, and if we do, for how many years will we do it?

The Atlantic Charter is a pledge to install the four freedoms. But it suffers from an old fault of political promissory notes; it promises too much, too vaguely. The smaller, narrower promise to destroy fascist organizations, and then let the people install four freedoms, or five, or six, if they like, would carry more conviction.

The great danger is not that we will deliver a pint of milk a day instead of a quart, but that we will leave Darlans all over Europe instead of democrats.

The specific pledge to destroy two specific organizations, the National Socialist Party of Germany and the Fascist Party of Italy, and to remove from power even their more respectable adherents, from, say, Dr. Schacht in Germany, to Italy's miserable, unheroic king, would be worth more than a year of conversation about general principles.

The Book of Impossible

We need a Book of Impossible Men, and we need to announce to the people of Europe that we are conducting our war as a police operation against those named men; that they are wanted, dead or alive; that their numbers are up; that there is no way in which they can rehabilitate themselves; that the way for Europe to shorten the war is to dispose of these named men itself, before we come.

We need to make it clear to the people of Europe that they are being used as a living wall of flesh to protect these men; that without these several thousands of men there would be no war; that their enemy is within.

This war is full of baffling simplicities, but the simplest of them all has not yet been authoritatively stated; that the war against fascism is a war against fascism.

We shall not separate the people of Europe from their leaders, in fact, unless we first do it in our own minds, and we shall not do it in our own minds unless we issue a general, irrevocable order of shoot-on-sight-against-all-consequential-fascists, an order good through war and peace, and executable by anybody.

What More Can They Do to Us?

What on earth do these animals have to do to us, beyond stabbing us in the back, messing up the lives of our kids, and costing us one hundred billion dollars a year, before we come out of the fog sufficiently to say that every consequential member of this apparatus is through, finished, done for, and sunk off the stage of history?

If this administration wants to tie the hands of any future administration against making a bad peace, it need only issue a general proscription against all important fascists. The price this administration must pay for tying the hands of future administrations is to tie its own hands against further adventures in darlism.

It is no safer for this administration to reserve the privilege of making a mistake, than for any other administration to have that power.

The right of choosing among fascists and sub-fascists is too dangerous a right for anybody to have. It muddies our war. These privileges are too expensive. Sometimes it seems to me that the poorest patriot in Europe has, by throwing away seductive alternatives, made himself the strongest and freest man in the world.

Army Too Big To Be Supplied, Truman Hints

Says Policy Is Futile If Civil Economy Is Destroyed

By the Associated Press.

BOSTON, Dec. 12.—Chairman Truman of the Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program said today it is "futile to raise so large an Army that its attempted supply and maintenance will destroy the essential civilian economy."

"Our ever-increasing demands for additional military equipment have reached the point where they exceed the quantities which can be made available to the armed forces consistent with our lease-lend commitments to our Allies and with the preservation of an essential civilian economy," Senator Truman asserted in a speech before the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations.

"For example, the total amount of steel for which the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission have issued priorities for a recent month exceeded the entire amount of steel to be produced that month. The committee insisted that this amazing situation be corrected by evolving a system whereby each essential user of steel would be allocated the tonnage it could expect to receive. Such a system has recently been put into effect."

"It will do little good to raise a huge army unless, consistently with supplying our Allies with the weapons they need, we can transport and supply our own Army overseas. It is even more futile to raise so large an army that its attempted supply and maintenance will destroy the essential civilian economy."

"The Army and Navy can use only the finished products. Each of their officers is intent on procuring the material under his direction. The raw materials are everybody's business."

"Their insatiable craving for obtaining finished articles has had a tendency to lead them to build unnecessary new plants to assemble finished goods with an aggregate capacity far in excess of the raw materials and semi-finished goods available."

Cot Says French Erred In Building Huge Army

By the Associated Press.

Pierre Cot, former French aviation minister, told a congressional committee today that France erred in building "a huge army rather than a small, highly mechanized one," and Senator Johnson, Democrat, of Colorado remarked:

"The United States is making the same mistake now."

Not only did France make a mistake by preparing for "an archaic type of war," the witness said, but the republic suffered from general industrial weakness, having a labor force only about a third as large as Germany's.

"We mobilized too many men in our army and not enough in the factories," he told a joint session of Senate and House Military Subcommittees.

Blaming the French general staff for the fact 5,800 French warplanes saw no action, Mr. Cot observed:

"They were trying to fight the same kind of a war as in 1918."

Senator Johnson said the United States seemed to have repeated many of the same mistakes as France, "and we've had more time to correct them."

Main Is 'Yet

Toil, Air Su

Declaring the offensive in North Africa is not to come, Secretary of War Stimson said today, "the main and the most important remains to be done before the offensive can be completed to a point of prematurity."

When that air is attained, he declared, he would be glad to go ahead:

1. To expel or destroy the Germans in Tunisia.

2. To attack Tripoli and the Germans under Erwin Rommel by sea.

3. To co-operate with the British in making the North African front in the Mediterranean reaching to the Egyptian coast. Mr. Stimson, in a conference with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, believes that "everything is being done to speed up the shouting."

Workers Walk Out 3d Time in 4 Days at Bohn Aluminum

Strike Blamed In WLB Appeal For New Wage

By the Associated Press.

DETROIT, Dec. 12.—Workers at the Bohn Aluminum plant here walked out a fourth time today in protest for War Labor Board approval of a new wage contract which was agreed to last week.

Lack of such approval by Simon D. DeLoach, treasurer of the company, led to the walkout, which was the third in four days at the plant here.

Fred Williams, president of the United Automobile Workers Local 208, attempted to persuade the workers to return to work.

"If we can find a way to settle with Mr. Williams, the disciplinary action will be dropped," he said.

Mr. Williams, who is in Cleveland with the War Labor Board, said he had been arranged to speed WLB approval of the new wage agreement reached between the company and the union here.

Two Strikes D Boeing Produc

By the Associated Press.

SEATTLE, Dec. 12.—Production of Boeing aircraft was stopped today by two strikes. The Boeing production strike, termed "the strike," was the first.

The workers walked out for two hours in one minute in another strike.

The stops came after the War Labor Board refused to allow a wage increase for West Coast aircraft workers. There is no dispute between Boeing and the company's union over wages.

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... cruelly, as a matter of
government policy."

Administration. No. 1
will now be good until Dec. 23;
No. 2 until Jan. 26. The extension
is expected to prevent end-of-
period and beginning-of-rushes
for fuel deliveries.

Beveridge Explains His Security Plan

Public relations file

The overall aim of Britain's Beveridge plan—the abolition of want—could not be accomplished without simultaneous attacks on the "ignorance and squalor" which result from "bad housing and bad town planning and idleness," Sir William Beveridge said last night.

Sir William was heard over Radio Station WNEW in an interview with J. B. McGeachy, Canadian broadcaster in London.

"The plan doesn't discourage thrift at all, Sir William said when McGeachy cited criticism from "old fashioned or right wing people." "To begin with, there is a proposed contribution of about \$1.80 a week. That is a substantial payment? It is enough to make a worker feel that he is paying a real premium for benefits to come when he needs them."

Different Than in Russia

Sir William denied that the plan was anything like the Soviet plan of social security, as critics had charged.

"There are three main differences between my plan and the Russian," he said. "First, the workers make contributions under my plan. They make none in Russia. Second, the benefits under my plan are the same for everyone. In Russia, they depend on earnings. My plan is more

democratic and equalitarian than the Russian plan.

"And third there is no unemployment insurance in Russia—which means that a man who falls out of work there has to take the next job offered. My plan allows a man benefits in the interim period while he looks for the job that he is fitted for.

Not a Matter of Isms

"My plan has nothing to do with the issue of socialism vs. capitalism. It aims at providing the kind of security, the insurance against want which the people require under any economic system, socialistic or capitalistic."

Sir William said an American plan—there is one on the President's desk now, drawn up by a special committee of the National Resources Planning Board—"would probably have to provide the benefits in proportion to earnings rather than a flat subsistence benefit such as my scheme suggests."

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Elliott Roosevelt Wins D. F. C. For Heroism on Photo Flights

**Doolittle Presents Flying
Cross to Colonel in Africa;
U.S. Honors Cunningham**

ALLIED HEADQUARTERS IN
NORTH AFRICA, Dec. 27. (AP)—
Major General James H. Doolittle,
American Air Force commander on
the Tunisian front, pinned the
Distinguished Flying Cross today
on Lieutenant Colonel Elliott
Roosevelt, son of the President
and commander of a photographic
unit of the 12th Air Force. He
was cited for personal participa-
tion in many photographic flights
"made voluntarily with complete
disregard for his personal safety."

The citation mentioned Colonel
Roosevelt's "heroism and extraor-
dinary achievement while partici-
pating in aerial flights," and
added: "As a member of parties
making aerial surveys of impor-
tant ferry routes Lieutenant
Colonel Roosevelt participated in
long and dangerous flights over
Arctic, sub-Arctic and tropical re-
gions, many of them being over
water and uninhabited areas."

"On one expedition," the cita-
tion said, "Lieutenant Colonel
Roosevelt was the only member
who made every operational flight.
As a result of his experience and
energy he has been of great assist-
ance in the establishment of ferry
routes."

"As commanding officer of the
photographic group assigned to
the American forces in North
Africa, Lieutenant Colonel Roose-
velt personally participated in
many flights deep into hostile and
heavily-defended areas, acting as
observer, navigator, photographer
and radio operator.

"He made these flights with
complete disregard for his per-
sonal safety.

"The efficiency of his photo-



Associated Press
Lieut. Col. Elliott Roosevelt

graphic group, as proven by the
valuable information it has ob-
tained, is due in a large degree to
the ability, leadership and inspira-
tion of Lieutenant Colonel Roose-
velt. His courage and skill reflect
credit both on himself and on the
military service."

Award of the Distinguished
Service Medal by President Roose-
velt to Admiral Sir Andrew Browne
Cunningham, British commander
of the Allied naval forces in the
North African campaign, was dis-
closed today. Lieutenant General
Dwight D. Eisenhower presented
the medal to Admiral Cunningham
at a dinner party at the latter's
home Christmas Night.

The medal was awarded for "ex-
ceptionally meritorious service in
a position of great responsibility,"
the citation said.

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In addition to that, the United States, as the arsenal of democracy, is shipping guns, tanks, planes, food, clothing, medicine and innumerable other items to its Allies and hoped-for Allies in great quantities.

The figure 7,500,000 is misleading, too. This is the planned size of our Army alone, by the end of next year. Our entire war program, embracing the Navy and Marine Corps as well as the Army, calls for 10,000,000 men.

To keep our fighting forces supplied and themselves living well enough to be able to go on working, we have an estimated working-age population (18 to 64) of about 47,000,000 men and women. That would give us about four and one-fourth workers per armed man in a total armed force of 10,000,000. It is believed that a ratio of eight workers to one armed man is needed in this war of widely scattered fronts and strong points.

If Britain, Russia and China were to be knocked out of the war and our multitude of AEF's were to be slaughtered or driven back to our own coasts, we would need a big Army in this country, and a well-trained and equipped one, to beat off invasion from both East and West.

That was apparently the possibility on which the plans for a large Army were based to begin with. Up to the time, say, of Singapore's fall (February 15, 1942), it seemed more than possible that we might be left sometime to fight on alone.

Now, a great change has come over the face of the war. The threat of invasion of the continental United States looks remote.

A long, hard war on numerous foreign fronts, however, looks inevitable.

Can we hope to get it over with as soon as possible by building up a huge Army to sit around in this country, when only a fraction of it can be shipped overseas?

Or couldn't we get it over with sooner by tapering off on the Army and concentrating on supplies for the millions of Russian, British and Chinese soldiers now in the main areas of war, and for such American soldiers as we can ship to those areas?

As in the former war, we could keep supplying in our home depot about one soldier for every soldier abroad. The rest could be restored to civil life, where they would be more useful clothing, feeding and arming the men in uniform—to say nothing of the civil population, which also has to be fed and clothed, if not armed.

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Assumed message

SUCCESS in war depends upon men,
not money.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

How Large an Army?

President Roosevelt at his regular Tuesday press conference this week showed annoyance about the growing number of Americans who think that the plan to raise an Army of 7,500,000 men by the end of 1943 is an unnecessarily big plan.

What touched off the Presidential anger was the recent testimony of Pierre Cot before the Senate Truman Committee investigating the national defense program. Mr. Cot, who was French minister of aviation before France was knocked out of the war, said he thought France was defeated because it had too big an army and too few factory workers to keep that army properly supplied.

Mr. Roosevelt feels that this is too beautifully simple an explanation of why France was beaten, and that arguments about France do not apply to the United States anyway. The President has every confidence that our giant country can raise, train, equip, ship and keep supplied an Army of 7,500,000, without disrupting its domestic economy or skimping on other phases of its war effort. He further feels that statements to the contrary will not be popular in this country in the middle of a very serious war.

Certainly it was working that way in World War No. 1 when the Armistice stopped the fight. We had raised an Army of about 4,200,000, and had shipped slightly more than 2,000,000 of these men to France and England, and our domestic economy had not been badly hurt. We could probably have put five, six, seven or more million men on the Western Front in time.

In this war, however, the entire setup is different. Instead of concentrating our effort on one point, we have armed forces scattered at 65 points all over the world. By this year's end we shall have 1,000,000 soldiers in foreign fields. It is estimated that to keep these soldiers supplied and traveling we are now using 8,000,000 tons of shipping.

Underdose Of War

Many a story has been told in recent weeks of the bewilderment, if not downright resentment, of the boys on the fighting fronts over the bickering and griping about rationing that goes on here at home. That such pettiness on our part does exist no sensible person will deny. Nor will he deny the essential righteousness of the boys' resentment. For, after all, no further confirmation is required of the fact that the hardships they are enduring and the sacrifices they are making are so enormous as to make comparison with the aggregate of domestic wartime inconveniences literally impossible. There is, therefore, no legitimate excuse for pettiness and no convincing explanation of it to forward to our front fighters.

However, we ought to recognize that some of the bickering and griping stems from persons who are ostensibly still more or less insulated from the war, and who have yet to acquire a sense of personal identification with it. This does not apply, of course, to millions of Americans. But there are other millions without loved ones in uniform to whom the war is by no means as immediate. This, it seems to us, is not at all an indictment of their loyalty, but of their good sense. Merely because the frightful physical consequences of war have not yet been visited upon us, there is for many a remoteness about the conflict abroad that obtained right through the last war. This is something that countless press dispatches and radio broadcasts from abroad, and the spectacle of preparedness at home, have failed to dispel. Nor has it been dispelled by rationing orders taken in stride but accompanied by voluble expressions of personal annoyance.

The truth is that much of the grumbling about shortages of food, gasoline and fuel oil is due not to an overdose but to an underdose of war. Moreover, we doubt if the increased rationing that lies ahead will change this attitude. The crying need is for a real measure of the excitement and stimulus that are provided by such trials as the British people have undergone, minus the trials themselves. The one cannot be divorced, of course, from the other. Thus, there is all the more reason why we should not only recognize what amounts to a psychological disadvantage on the home front but should also increase our efforts, as best we can, to make up for it.

From the Tree Tops

By M. B.

Now that Mrs. Roosevelt is back in America, censorship bans can be lifted and the true story of her recent swing around the world told.

Newspapers, as in the case of the President's secret tour of the country, again withheld the news at the request of the administration and said nothing of Mrs. Roosevelt's trip, until the ban was lifted when she arrived in England.

It was believed that Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Thompson, her secretary, arrived in London from America to visit the king and queen of England. This was misinformation. Her arrival in London was her last stop on her trip around the world studying women's problems and gathering information for the President.

Rumors, rife over the country, that she was seen picking coconuts in the Solomons, doing Australia in a jeep, sipping tea with the governor-general of India and dining at the Kremlin can now be verified.

After leaving the United States in an army bomber, Mrs. Roosevelt stopped in Honolulu just long enough to have dinner with a friend who used to live across the street from her in New York, and mail "My Day." She then hustled to Australia. There she visited all the women's organizations and met some English school friends who are now operating large sheep ranches and did the rest of Australia over the week-end in a jeep.

Mrs. Roosevelt left American army officers in Australia thoroughly discouraged over the performance of the jeep when they inspected it after her week-end trip.

The jeep has stood up to every test known to the army, but it couldn't stand up to Mrs. Roosevelt and was left in a discouraged heap when she hurried to visit Captain Jimmy Roosevelt of the marines in the Solomons.

The jeep, however, showed its maneuverability when the sergeant drove it up a coconut tree to let Mrs. Roosevelt see how the tree regimented its coconuts. Miss Thompson, however, didn't have the same faith in the jeep that Mrs. Roosevelt did and sat at the foot of the tree until Mrs. Roosevelt returned.

In the Solomons she met Chief Two-Finger Poi Poi, who implored her to ask the President to put him on lend-lease. It seems that the chief had won the recent election by promising two sarongs to every Dorothy Lamour on the island and found, to his embarrassment once he was elected, that he couldn't deliver.

Now that the American army is in the Solomons, the girls, obviously, want an extra sarong in which to dress up Saturday nights.

The day after she arrived, Jimmy took his mother on a commando raid to one of the Solomons' most beautiful islands, where they had a picnic lunch on the beach. After lunch, while Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Thompson caught up with the mail, Jimmy and his commandos rounded up a band of Japs hiding back in the island and they all returned to the base for supper.

Miss Thompson seemed a little fagged after the excitement of the day but Mrs. Roosevelt, upon freshening up, was as fit as ever and, taking Miss Thompson to a high point where she could see the sunset, dictated "My Day."

The Solomons was the only place on the trip where Mrs. Roosevelt didn't meet a relative, outside of Jimmy, or an old friend.

In China, when an American flyer announced that he had seen Mrs. Roosevelt, he was put in a mental ward for observation but released as soon as Chiang Kai-shek verified the report that Mrs. Roosevelt had been in China. In India the governor-general allowed

Mrs. Roosevelt. She refused their conversation that Gandhi and his followers, sheet.

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Rein on New Deal Social Aims Expected From Next Congress

Mark Sullivan Declares Reform Drive of 1930's
Still Is Impeding War Program and Consuming
Much of Nation's Sacrifice for Victory

By Mark Sullivan

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26.—Our people must endure much discomfort, make much sacrifice—for we are at war. But we should be allowed to feel that the sacrifice is for that purpose only, and we cannot feel that way because the Administration has a second purpose.

To explain the second purpose and the way it interferes with the first, I reprint here some statements originally printed in this column more than a year ago. The statements were quotations from men who had special knowledge of what was going on in Washington.

The first statement was made by a distinguished engineer and educator, Dr. William E. Wickenden, president of the Case School of Applied Science, at Cleveland. Dr. Wickenden had come to Washington to help in defense work in the Office of Production Management. After serving some time in Washington Dr. Wickenden resigned and went back to his institution. There, in May, 1941, he delivered an address to his alumni, telling what he had found in Washington. In what Dr. Wickenden said there was nothing new—it was what any well-informed person in Washington knew. What gave value to Dr. Wickenden's statement was that he spoke from experience on the inside. Dr. Wickenden said:

"Our leaders are in a tough spot, with an unfinished social revolution on their hands . . . with most of the key posts filled by men unfriendly to industry and committed to the principle that labor can do no wrong. . . . We are still trying to grow a defense head on a New Deal body and tail. Co-ordination is lacking, and the tail seems at times to be wagging the dog."

Condition Still Remains

That condition characterized our defense effort in 1941, characterized our war effort in 1942, and still characterizes it.

Not only does the Administration cling to its domestic purpose of social reform; as the war approached, the domestic purpose was expanded to an international one. This post-war program was described by a journalist close to the Administration, Ernest K. Lindley, in August, 1941, as an "International New Deal." In the same month a journalist with exceptional penetration into Washington trends and purposes, Arthur Krock, of "The New York Times," wrote of "the New Deal fiscal and social-economic radicals . . . would-be architects of a post-war collective state."

How many Americans would agree that we are fighting the war for the purpose of bringing about an "International New Deal"? The fact is a larger number of Americans do not like the New Deal here at home. The number who feel this way must be nearly half of all our people, at least. Some such proportion is suggested by the outcome of the election last November. Out of 435 members elected to the House, 208 were Republicans—who, presumably, do not like the New Deal. And of the 223 Democrats elected a large proportion likewise disapprove of the New Deal.

Certain post-war aims we must have. One, with which practically all Americans will agree, is that there shall be created, one way or another, a mechanism for the preservation of international peace. About that there will be little dispute—certainly none on principle. But when we begin to discuss war aims, beyond that simple one, we get into an area of thorny differences of view. However, war aims are not the theme of the present article.

Some features of the New Deal as set up during the 1930's work to the

disadvantage of our war effort. The 1930's was a time when jobs were scarce. The present is a time when workers are scarce. Practices adopted for the former condition are inappropriate to the latter, sometimes an actual embarrassment.

One institution created to absorb unemployment was the Civilian Conservation Corps. This was brought to an end last spring by Congress, against the President's wish. Another was the Work Projects Administration, set up to give jobs at public expense to persons unable to find employment in private industry. This Mr. Roosevelt terminated recently, by executive order, in unavoidable recognition of its inappropriateness at the present time. But many of the New Deal agencies, set up for various purposes, continue—though they do not aid our war effort and in some cases impede it.

40-Hour Week Hit

When jobs were scarce, a forty-hour week was decreed—in order to spread the available jobs among the largest number of persons. To enforce the forty-hour week it was decreed that any employer who kept workers on their jobs more than forty hours a week must pay for the additional hours a higher wage rate, time and a half. The country's industry went on a forty-hour basis—except in a few lines, especially farming, to which the forty-hour law did not apply.

Then came our defense effort, with immense contracts for war supplies given to industry. Employers began to keep their workers on the job longer than forty hours a week, paying the higher rate for the extra time. The result was that workers staying on the job for fifty or more hours received a total wage materially higher than normal. The tendency toward higher weekly wages was increased by strikes, in which unions demanded and received higher hourly rates. It became not unusual for a worker in industry to earn \$50, \$80, even \$100 and more a week.

Instantly this was felt on the farms, where workers commonly get less than \$30 a week, in some parts of the country much less—and work for as many as eighty hours. Farm workers, in many cases, farm operators, went into industry. This became the cause of the higher cost of food, a present concern to everybody. It reduced the quantity of food produced, hence is one of the causes of rationing, of which we shall have more. This condition is a main cause of reduced purchasing power of money, a menace of inflation. The disparity between incomes on farms and wages in industry where the forty-hour week is law is a root of the condition which made it necessary to set up a War Man-Power Commission.

Change Forecast in Congress

After the effects of the forty-hour law became apparent there were movements in Congress toward amending it. These movements the Administration resisted. Broadly, the New Dealers resist practically all proposals to change the policies they set up during the 1930's. They cling to the New Deal, regardless of the changed conditions created by the war.

With the Congress that comes into being next month, we shall see change. This Congress will be much less willing to halt proposals at the request of the President.

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Roosevelt at Crossroads: Must Reassert Leadership or Bow to Party 'Staff Rule'

through many years was made up of what Mr. Howe was wont to term "Franklin, Eleanor, and I," and it drew its character from all three. Its head and front was the present Chief Executive, handsome, idealistic, politically astute, but left to his own devices, too quick on the political trigger and inclined too much to experimentation and sharp maneuverings to gain his ends.

Next came Mrs. Roosevelt, even more idealistic and impetuous than her husband, energetic, strong-willed and filled with zeal for fundamental reforms of the social and political structure.

Howe Supplied Technique

Last but not least was Louis Howe, older than either, devoted to them almost to the point of worship but hard-headed, cynical and practical-minded. His function was to point out the difficulties and to apply the brakes. The ideas were Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt's, directly or indirectly, but the technique in most instances was Howe's.

Howe's function was to analyze each suggested proposal. Every morning he visited President Roosevelt in his bedroom, usually with an armful of papers touching the problems of the day ahead. There was nothing he liked so much as to find a flaw in a proposal of one or other of the so-called "brain trusters," or to warn the President against some machination of his political advisers. The two men talked things out with the result that Mr. Roosevelt went to his office each morning with the problems ahead of him thoroughly digested.

A mere wisp of a man at his best, the strain of the White House proved too great for Howe. More than a year ago he was stricken with a complication of ailments. Scarcely ill for a time, he improved during the summer and by fall was back on the job. He helped to frame the President's recommendations to Congress but in February he collapsed. For a time his life was despaired of, but he has improved slightly. He still is in bed and half of his time is passed under an oxygen tent. He has had no part in the political developments of the last five months.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Influence Felt

There is an impression in Washington that Mrs. Roosevelt largely has taken the place of Howe as a dominant figure. She has been much more in the political picture than in the earlier months of the Administration, and with her the group of social

(Continued on page two)

Political Fortunes Endangered, Democrats Insist President Abandon 'One Man' Control

Leaders Link Woes To Howe's Absence

Believe First Lady Has Taken Adviser's Place, Fear New Bold Stroke

By Theodore C. Walling

WASHINGTON, July 6.—In the "criminations" and reprisals following President Roosevelt's crushing defeat this week at the hands of his own party in Congress, a strong change has come over the Democratic majority, and with it growing insistence that since the immediate political fortunes of most of the Democrats are bound up with the President's, the remarkable one-man leadership of the last twenty-eight months should give way to collective Democratic leadership.

The result has been to bring Mr. Roosevelt to an all-important political crossroads. With his own party showing progressively less confidence in his leadership, he must either strike again and strike hard, to re-establish his personal control, or he must submit to a general staff control for the remainder of his term.

In the light of the succession of three major reversals in the last several weeks—on the N. R. A., on the five-day tax-the-riches drive and now on the "death sentence" in the utility holding company bill—Democratic leaders in Congress are privately much concerned. They fear that Mr. Roosevelt, now as after the tax defeat, may at this very moment be planning another surprise offensive. They feel that like an iron-willed military commander, he needlessly split the Democratic majority wide open in the House this week, and may do so again unless there is someone with sufficient influence to dissuade him.

Wish Howe Would Return

In this situation, perhaps for the first time, Democratic managers who have watched the President's recent activities with acute misgivings privately admit they wish Louis McHenry Howe, his intimate first secretary, was back on the job.

Mr. Howe was not so popular with these politicians in times past. He was disrespectful of their advice, to say the least, and frequently upset their aspirations with respect to patronage and other matters. But since Mr. Howe stepped out of the picture the Administration has been developing more serious troubles, and there is a tendency to ascribe these to the removal of his steady influence. The Roosevelt political family

Roosevelt at Crossroads After Political Upsets

(Continued from page one)

reformers, whom she always has favored, Harry L. Hopkins, Reller, Administrator, Rexford G. Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and others.

Mrs. Roosevelt sat at the President's right hand a few weeks ago during the nearly two-hour press conference in which he delivered his bitter attack on the N. R. A. decision of the Supreme Court and called on the country to forsake the "horse and buggy" era by empowering the Federal government to deal with social and economic problems. There seems to be little doubt that this move, surprising to all of the Democratic field generals and disapproved by most of them, was planned in the Roosevelt family circle.

The origin of the tax fiasco of last week is not so well established. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, first broached the idea of an inheritance tax when he told Congress that taxes should be imposed if it was decided to pay the soldiers' bonus and that the best form was an inheritance tax at income tax rates.

Roosevelt Blamed for Tax Fiasco

The impression is abroad that the inspiration of the tax proposal was political and was hatched principally in the mind of the President himself. The facts are that the suggestion of a constitutional amendment to increase

Federal power at the expense of the states had received an exceedingly bad press; the regular Republicans on the Right and the Huey Long element on the Left had seized upon it to attack the Administration. Long had staged his filibuster against the N. R. A. and was preparing to carry his fight against it and in favor of "redistribution of wealth" to the country; big business was displaying increased antagonism to the Administration.

The tax proposal appears to have been designed to shift the issue and that it was conceived hastily there is no doubt.

Treasury Experts Not Ready

President Roosevelt told Congress last January that no new taxes would be asked for the fiscal year 1936. He asked merely for re-enactment of the nuisance levies which would expire July 1, and a bill for this purpose had been passed by the House and was ready to be reported from the Senate Committee on Finance when the President's tax bombshell landed in the Capitol.

Taking the President at his word, the finance committee of Congress had made no study of the tax issue. More than that, it has now been disclosed to the Senate committee the Treasury had made no complete study and was without facts and figures to back up the President's proposals in a comprehensive way.

Had the Treasury been prepared with a positive, fixed plan of action, it

could have been put through Congress before the country could be aroused.

The protest in his own party is that the President, far from being prepared, put the whole Democratic majority in jeopardy by a maneuver to regain and consolidate his Left-wing support. They think it was tantamount to giving up a bird in the hand for two in the bush. Having met a setback on the issue, and thereby virtually committed a surly Congress to a prolonged hot summer session, they feel he compounded the error by counter-attacking on the utility holding company issue. They feel it was the worst possible time to put Congress to a disagreeable test.

Since the difference between the President's plan and the House plan was considered more apparent than real, a great many Democrats feel the President might well have spared them another fight which was to put more than a majority of them on record in opposition to him.

Sought Psychological Advantage

It is contended by the President's critics that whether he was striking for a psychological advantage where there seemed to him a bare chance, or was merely backing up his loyal partisans on that issue, his move showed "planlessness" in his legislative program. Further to support this contention, it is pointed out that it was never the President's original purpose to hold Congress in session this summer, and that the President

himself, in line with that understanding, had planned a prolonged summer vacation trip, now cancelled.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's predilections always has been a fear of radical opposition. He has seemed to welcome opposition from the Conservatives and he has made little effort at any time to win over that side. But a mere bark from Huey Long, Senator Robert M. La Follette or Senator Elmer Thomas frequently has been sufficient to move him to action, as in these instances. Whatever may have been the President's original intention, the threat of the radicals to force consideration of his tax proposals as amendments to the then pending nuisance tax bill forced him to drive for precipitate action and, like the tail wagging the dog, is responsible now for keeping the whole Democratic majority in Washington until a complete new tax measure can find its tortuous way through Congress.

All this is related to the President's consistent endeavor to consolidate a political alliance between the Western Progressives and the Roosevelt Democrats. But it has been at the cost of a sensational revolt in the Right and Center Wings of his own party which has already denied him a psychological victory in his continuous drive on the "power interests" and has swept away his advantage in the banking legislation. By all the signs of the past, the President in retreat, as now, raises the possibility of imminent and daring counter-attack.

July 7-35

Williams Quits, 2 More to Go As 75% Cut in Size Is Planned

Critics Are Satisfied With
Changes White House Con-
cedes; Service Codes Out

By Theodore C. Wallen

WASHINGTON, March 5.—The White House announced tonight that S. Clay Williams, would retire as head of the seven-man National Industrial Recovery Board in about two weeks because of the pressure of his private business. Arthur D. Whiteside and Sidney Hillman also were expected to resign from the board, which in September succeeded General Hugh S. Johnson in day-to-day administration of the N. R. A.

A second recasting of the N. R. A. on sharply reduced lines had been foreshadowed earlier in the day. Upon confidential assurances from the White House and with the consent of Senate critics of the N. R. A., the Senate Finance Committee modified the scope of its projected investigation of the system.

As a result of the shift, Senate critics of the N. R. A. were joining Administration supporters tonight in predictions that a new N. R. A. act, contemplating 75 per cent fewer codes, would be passed in ample time to replace the present act, which expires on June 16.

Members of the Finance Committee on both sides of the N. R. A. question said they were assured on White House authority that the Administration was willing to permit exten-

sive modifications in the N. R. A. and would present its objectives on Thursday through the appearance before the committee of Donald R. Richberg, the President's chief coordinator.

Senate critics of the N. R. A. came away from the meeting convinced that the consensus of the committee was clearly for eliminating all service

(Continued on page seven)

March 6-1935

view of the congressional determination to rewrite the act.

Senate Critics Mollified

Members of the Finance Committee said that the White House views, as stated to the committee by its chairman, Senator Pat Harrison, as Administration supporter, would render it superfluous to call the hundreds of witnesses whom Senators Nye and McCarran were prepared to name. These Senate critics, while clearly much mollified, and apparently prepared to go along in the preparation of a new act on the broad outlines mentioned by Senator Harrison, remained to be completely satisfied on the score of the monopolistic strains they are protesting in the N. R. A. However, even as to that issue, they are prepared not to press for an unqualified writing of the Sherman act into the N. R. A. On the other hand, they do not want the present arrangements to stand, whereby industries, under N. R. A. supervision, may win suspension of the anti-trust laws by going under codes. They prefer to put this responsibility on the Federal Trade Commission, but understand the jealousy between that organization and the N. R. A. and may even be willing to compromise on that issue. So long as the great majority of small businessmen are exempted from the N. R. A. by the complete dropping of the service codes.

Hotel Code Due To Be Scrapped

The service codes, while already drastically modified by the N. R. A., remain in force in skeleton form. Yet an almost complete condition of unenforceability has developed. The change in official viewpoint is shown, however, by the fact that whereas the N. R. A. officials some weeks ago were determined to make hotel men back down on their open flouting of the N. R. A. code, the Senate Finance Committee is quite willing to let that code go over the dam with the rest of the service codes.

What is meant by the plan to keep the N. R. A. out of intrastate affairs was not entirely clear to all members of the committee and the Senate N. R. A. critics who were invited to sit as its guests in the formulation of the lines of investigation. This drawing of the line on a strictly interstate commerce basis follows the Federal District Court decisions at Wilmington, Del., and Louisville, Ky., holding the steel and coal mining codes unconstitutional in that they undertook to regulate intrastate commerce, which is beyond the regulatory power of Congress.

Critics Met Fully Rejoiced

There is nothing tonight to show that the finance committee majority is prepared to recommend withdrawal of the N. R. A. from the fields of the steel and coal codes. Many members prefer to await a further elaboration of the judicial viewpoint. Mean time they will hear witnesses on the points that remain controverted. After hearing Mr. Richberg, they will also hear General Hugh S. Johnson, former N.

R. A. administrator, who has charged the gradual disintegration of the organization he built up and stated the reasons therefor.

Another question that remains to be settled arises from labor's insistence on "implementing" Section 7-A, guaranteeing to labor the right of collective bargaining by representatives of its own choosing. Little light was thrown on this question in today's meeting. The essential thing was the Administration shifting its ground and preparing to meet its N. R. A. critics fully halfway, as Senator Harrison was understood.

Instead of turning the hearings into a field day for N. R. A. critics, the committee has decided that sufficient critical material is now available for practical purposes. The hearings, therefore, will largely be limited to actual framing of new legislation to replace the present somewhat discredited act.

Indication that President Roosevelt has no intention of going to help for the N. R. A., but instead will commission elimination of monopolistic features such as price fixing, has now served to resolve a potential conflict with the progressive group, which until this morning threatened to tie up new N. R. A. legislation for a long time to come.

Hearings Will Start Tomorrow

The committee decided to start hearings on Thursday and submit to the committee the Administration's own proposals for N. R. A. modification, with due regard to which the committee will draft its own legislation.

A subcommittee will be named to control procedure and call witnesses, but the hearing itself will be conducted by the full committee, Senator Harrison announced. He added that the Darrow report and any other complaints that may be available will be used. This will obviate the necessity of hearing a list of more than 1,000 critical witnesses which Senator Nye had prepared.

Senator Nye expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with the outcome. He had previously insisted on a full hearing of all complaints.

A further development of the day touching the N. R. A. was a decision of the pro-labor House Labor Committee to report favorably the Connery bill giving labor equal representation with industry on all governmental administrative boards and agencies. The bill would apply particularly to code authorities. Labor leaders testifying before the committee during hearings on the measure said the lack of such provision accounted largely for the failure of the N. R. A. to help labor.

Blizzard Curbs Mosquitoes

PORT ARTHUR, Tex., March 5 (UP)—The recent blizzard, which killed almost 20,000 cattle along the Gulf Coast, with a loss of approximately \$20,000, proved just as disastrous to the mosquito crop. Health officials said the pests will not be as worrisome as they were last summer.

codes from the N. R. A. on the ground of unenforceability. It is on no other ground. This was explained with a broader understanding generally accepted in the meeting, that no attempt would be made, under the N. R. A. hereafter, to regulate intrastate enterprises. It was further, the clear sense of the meeting members, that price fixing and price fixing was to be prohibited. There was substantial sentiment, however, for authorizing action to enforce "floor prices"; that is, to prevent the cut-throat tactics of selling below cost.

Service Codes To Be Junked
It was estimated by committee members that the junking of the service codes, such as those regulating bakers, cleaners, hotels and battery chargers, would cut down the number of codes by 75 to 80 per cent and remove the cause of most of the complaints of oppression pressed by Senator George P. Nye, Republican of North Dakota, and Senator Patrick McCarran, Democrat of Nevada.

Coupled with the disposition to do away with the chief price-fixing implements of the N. R. A., the Senate critics of the system expressed themselves as quite willing to modify the scope of the authorized investigation and move on to the writing of the new act. They were withholding final acquiescence, however, until they could hear from Mr. Richberg on Thursday, specifically what the Administration was willing to throw overboard. There was still the possibility of sharp disagreement over tightening the application of the anti-trust laws to the remainder of the N. R. A. codes.

Williams to Return to Tobacco Firm
The retirement of Mr. Williams, though shown by the correspondence to be in line with stipulations when the President drafted him in September "for a most important public service," was a further source of comfort to those critics of the N. R. A. who sympathize chiefly with organized labor.

Mr. Williams is expected to return to the presidency of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The correspondence made public at the White House was at pains to emphasize that he was not resigning because of the attack on Mr. Williams by organized labor. This attack reached its height last month when the President approved the cigarette code. While the N. R. A. board chairman took no part in drafting or approving the code in view of his peculiar interest, the incident served to focus labor's opposition on him.

It is believed that Mr. Williams' resignation, in addition to the pressure of private business, the possibility that the N. R. A. would necessarily be a state of flux for the remainder of the life of the present act, especially in



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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, S

RY NO ADDRESSES OR BY ROOSEVELT ST IN MIDDLE WEST

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President Scorns Advice of His Strategists at the Last Minute.

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CUT BARS SPEECH BEFORE LEGION

PEOP

Seen Political Sages Looked on Talk at St. Louis as Key-Setting for Coming Campaign.

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By PHELPS ADAMS.

Special Dispatch to The Sun.

HYDE PARK, Sept. 18.—Rejecting the advice of his chief political strategists, President Roosevelt has determined not to stop on his way to the Coast to deliver a campaign speech in the Middle West, he declared today at his regular press conference.

Confronted on every side by new problems, most of which recently have arisen out of difficulties in the prosecution of his works relief program, the President has been unable to clear his desk of the affairs which demand his attention before he can leave on his transcontinental jaunt, and as a result, his departure from Washington will be delayed until late next week, although he will leave Hyde Park for Washington on Sunday night, as originally planned.

This will automatically prevent him from addressing the closing session of the annual convention of the American Legion in St. Louis on September 26. Many of his advisers had regarded that convention as an ideal setting for a major political speech, and the indications were that the President himself abandoned the opportunity with reluctance.

Turns Down Farley.

With the St. Louis speech definitely out, however, the President asserted today that he would not stop elsewhere to speak on his journey between Washington and Boulder City, Nev., where he will participate in the formal dedication of Boulder Dam.

In arriving at this decision, it was apparent that the President had rejected the advice given him by James A. Farley, his political mentor, on the occasion of a former visit here some days ago.

Mr. Farley is known to have clung to the view that the Chief Executive should stop at some point in the Middle West to deliver at least one rousing speech. This advice was given the President, however, before the assassination of Senator Huey P. Long changed the entire political picture in the Middle West.

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ROOSEVELT PASSES UP TALK IN WEST

Continued from Page 1.

and strengthened the position of Mr. Roosevelt there materially.

As the situation is now shaping up it appears that it will be to the President's political advantage to direct his attention to the business of winning back the political ground that he has lost in the East; and a speech carefully attuned to the ears of the Middle West could hardly be expected to receive a hearty welcome in the industrial centers that he sought to placate in his famous "breathing spell" letter.

Makes Announcement Himself.

Thus after combing the entire situation with Mr. Farley and Charles Michelson, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee who were overnight guests at the President's home here last night, the President announced for the first time his intention of passing up the mid-western speech.

The final schedule for his trip, he said, would not be completed until tomorrow or Friday, but when completed, he declared, it will call for speeches at Boulder Dam, at a luncheon he will attend in Los Angeles and at San Diego.

Asked what other speeches he would make, the President said there would be none.

This remark, however, was not deemed to preclude the possibility of his delivering a number of informal and extemporaneous talks when and as the occasion may arise. The President does not, it appears, regard such talks as speeches, but experience has taught the correspondents who customarily follow him that these talks may prove the occasion for some of his most important and significant utterances.

Because of his delay in leaving Washington, the President said today, his trip across the continent will necessarily be hurried, as he is anxious to enjoy as long a rest as possible at sea. He plans to board the cruiser Houston at San Diego and go to Pearl Island for some deep sea fishing. In this neighborhood, he said, he would visit an island where no white man has ever before set foot. In all, he expects to spend some twenty days at sea, including his return voyage through the Panama Canal.

Turning from thoughts of a vacation to the national problems confronting him, the President declined flatly to confirm or deny the statement made by Gen. Hugh S. Johnson in New York city yesterday that the Federal Government was ready to agree to a compromise in the fight it has waged against labor organizations to maintain the "subsistence wage" instead of the "prevailing wage" on WPA projects.

The subject was not discussed generally at the work relief conference held at the White House yesterday, he said, although he suggested that Mayor LaGuardia might have talked it over privately with Harry L. Hopkins, works progress administrator.

No announcement on the subject would be forthcoming from Hyde Park in any event, he declared, but would come from Mr. Hopkins in Washington.

Coal Commission Next.

He also expressed the hope that he would be able to name the five members of the new Guffey Coal Commission today, tomorrow or Friday. He has selected three, he revealed, but has not completed the arrangements for filling the other two posts.

Today is being devoted, the President said, to a cleaning up process, as he planned to receive callers who had been seeking appointments with him during the congressional rush

for adjourning Washington. In the weeks since Roosevelt's last two weeks in Flynn, Denver, Bronx; Farley, and Jamison county leader. Other appointments for the day include the Benevolent of Pittsburgh associate; paper publisher of the Mc Association; Eccles of Board.

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Special Articles

FEAR EXPRESSED 1936 ELECTION WILL BE LAST

file
New Deal, Led by Prof. Tugwell,
Strives for New Social Order,
Says Noted Observer.

BY MARK SULLIVAN.

AMERICA, in the political sense, ambles along as if this were an ordinary presidential election.

We have started a little earlier than common and we move toward the campaign with a slightly heightened interest. Nevertheless, we all think of it as if it were just one more presidential election. Yet it is quite possible, if the New Deal goes on to the only destination it can have, that this may be the last presidential election America will have, for as inevitably as a sprig grows into a tree the New Deal, if it is not arrested, means a new order of society, and a new order of society means a new form of government adapted to the new society.

Prof. Tugwell knows. He says: "I regard the coming months as among the most critical ones of our history."

But we discuss whether Roosevelt can carry the East or the Republicans carry the Midwest. We talk about aspirants for the Republican nomination, and soon we shall all be talking about whether Landon will carry the primaries in Indiana or Knox get the delegates from Wisconsin; whether ex-Gov. Smith will support Mr. Roosevelt or Hiram Johnson support the Republican candidate.

Blind as Russian Farmers.

And in all that we are just about as blind as those kulak farmers in Russia who, in 1918, were intent upon their crops and their cattle, calm in the assumption that what had been would continue to be—not knowing that all around them were forces and men who, within a year, would destroy the order of society that 999 Russians out of 1,000 assumed would go on as before.

At Los Angeles last month Prof. Rexford G. Tugwell, Undersecretary of Agriculture, made a speech. I quote from the Associated Press account:

"Tugwell asserted the nation was witnessing the 'death struggle of industrial autocracy and the birth of democratic discipline.' He said there was no reason to expect the disestablishment of 'our plutocracy' will be pleasant. 'These historical changes never are pleasant,' he said. . . . 'Our best strategy is to surge forward with the workers and the farmers of this nation, committed to general achievements, but trusting the genius of our leader for the disposition of our forces and the timing of our attacks.'"

the Fabian strategy. When the country shows alarm over potato control, Secretary Wallace says he won't enforce it.

But without the enactment of any new statute, without any further grant of power from Congress, A. A. A. can go on to a fulfillment in which, in the final phase, there would not be any Congress—the legislative branch of government would wither up and disappear as it has in Italy, Germany and Russia. With N. R. A. gone, A. A. A. is substantially the whole of the New Deal; it is the animating motive-power of the New Deal, and the framework of the new form of society which the New Deal in its final form is designed to be. A. A. A. is much more than control over agriculture. It is control over every industry and business.

New Deal Is New Society.

It is tragic that America fails to see that the New Deal is to America what the early phase of Nazi was to Germany and the early phase of Fascism to Italy. The New Deal is intended to be a new order of society. It will not be a duplicate of Fascism, nor a duplicate of Sovietism. In all three countries where the new order has been imposed, it has been modified to fit differing conditions. Sovietism, Nazism and Fascism all differ from each other. The New Deal in its ultimate form would differ from all three. But the New Deal, if it goes on to fulfillment, will include the fundamental characteristics which the new order of society has contained wherever it has appeared.

Among characteristics of the new order, common to it in all three countries where it has entrenched itself, are: Enormous concentration of power in one man; centralization of power in the National Capital, with the powers of local government greatly reduced or wholly suppressed; practically complete suspension of the legislative branch of Government; subordination of courts to the central power; dominion of Government over areas of society which in America we do not think of as functions of Government—"The state," says Mussolini, "must be the supreme arbiter of society"; extinction of the rights of individuals and minorities—the individual has no rights which the state need respect. In its final form the New Deal will include in America, as the new order includes in the three European countries, suppression of freedom of the press and of freedom of opinion through any medium. Suppression of free expression of opinion is inevitable in the new conception of society, for free expression of opinion gives voice to minorities, turns minorities into majorities and that cannot be tolerated by the new conception of society, the "authoritarian state."

Powerful in Astuteness.

The man from whom these words came, Prof. Tugwell, is a powerful person. Not powerful in his personality, not in personal force and momentum. If anybody would make a real fight against him he would go back to the academic calm and safety from which he came. But Prof. Tugwell is powerful in astuteness, shrewdness; powerful in his understanding of how to bring about revolution—he has studied it in Russia and written about it in his books; he is powerful in his intellectual processes, including adroitness; he is powerful in his thoroughgoing hate for the present organization of society in America; and he is powerful in the position he holds.

Officially Prof. Tugwell is Undersecretary of Agriculture. But the man above him, Secretary Wallace, is a queer compound of eccentric and ephemeral enthusiasms, of mystic and philosopher, his head in the clouds, his feet in a mire of statistics. About the relation of the Secretary to the Undersecretary, we have the word of Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, former head of N. R. A., who knows well, from the inside, the human relations of the New Dealers: "Mr. Wallace surrendered all mental conclusions to Rex Tugwell."

Have Different Philosophies.

Gen. Johnson says that another of the New Dealers, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, "is the most influential single individual in the United States." But, with due respect for Gen. Johnson's familiarity with the inner family intimacies of the New Deal, I think he is wrong in giving primacy to Prof. Frankfurter over Prof. Tugwell. The two professors have different philosophies about society—there is not space here to explain the distinction. As between the two, it is Prof. Tugwell's philosophy that is making progress in America, rapid progress. The reason Prof. Tugwell's philosophy is winning is that Mr. Tugwell knows where he wants to go and knows how to get there; in his purpose he is helped by his personal relation to President Roosevelt and by his official position. Prof. Tugwell is the real animating genius of the New Deal. And as Undersecretary of Agriculture, with the prerogative of "mental conclusions" surrendered to him by his superior, Prof. Tugwell has his hand on the lever by which the new order of society can be brought about.

Hardly a handful of people in America, I think, understand what A. A. A. is. When anybody opposes A. A. A. I have a feeling that the Midwestern farmers are resentful; they say, I imagine, "He's unwilling to let the farmers have a little aid." But farm relief is only a small fraction of the whole of what A. A. A. is.

All that the Midwestern farmers, as a rule, see of A. A. A. is the wheat and corn-hog limitation contracts. In those contracts, if they stood alone, there is no threat to the American form of society and government. Those contracts are voluntary. The farmer can take them or leave them. He can take the Government money and reduce his crop, or he can refuse the Government money and raise as much as he pleases.

Mechanism for New Order.

The mildness A. A. A. practices in the Midwest has a bearing on politics. The Midwest is vitally important in next year's election. To get a second term for President Roosevelt, to permit the New Deal to go on, to enable A. A. A. to develop to its destined end, the votes of the Midwest farmers are needed in next year's election. These voters are shown only the mild part of A. A. A.

Actually A. A. A. is a mechanism through which there can be set up in America a whole new order of society. The powers are already there. Not many of the powers are exercised yet, doubtless out of caution. Those who direct A. A. A. understand the technique of bringing about revolution without violence, and they practice

Wants "Workers' World."

The determination that the state shall be the only source of power or authority goes farther than any American knows, except those who understand what the new order means. There is a clue to an unexpected example of it in one of Prof. Tugwell's books, "The Industrial Discipline."

Practically everybody thinks that the New Deal labor legislation aims to increase the power of labor unions and their leaders. Actually, the fundamental conception of the new order is suspicious of labor unions. The new order aims to make labor—and everybody else—look to government as its only source of power. The new order cannot tolerate any body of men gathered together for co-operative action—all must look to the state, and to nothing else. In Germany Nazi dissolved the labor unions.

The attitude of Prof. Tugwell toward labor unions and their leaders can be found in his "Industrial Discipline." The passage reveals, unconsciously possibly, the uncompromising detestation of Prof. Tugwell has for the present American organization of society, his biting opposition to the very existence of "the business man and the incentive of profit-making," his aim for a "workers' world" (that phrase is a slogan of Sovietism in Russia), his complete disapproval of the present organization of labor in America:

"Submission cannot make a workers' world. . . . Trade unionism has been, traditionally, with us a submissive doctrine, one which accepts the domination of the business man and the incentive of profit-making. It has asked nothing but larger bribes for greater degradation. . . . The going-on must take place; creating a workers' world will not involve a return to any system which ever before existed."

Threat of French Civil War

PARIS.—Parallel with the drift of the country to the Fascist movement intensifying its week there are two groups

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THE SUPREME COURT ISSUE

According to custom, the President dines the justices of the Supreme court at the White House once a year. On Tuesday night seven of the nine justices were guests of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at this formal function.

According to the constitution, the President shall keep congress informed about the state of the union and recommend "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." On Friday the President gave congress the information that the Supreme court declines "without even an explanation to hear 87 per cent of the cases presented to it by private litigants."

Are the lawyers who take cases to the highest court 87 per cent wrong? Or is there something wrong with the court? Mr. Roosevelt thinks there is. He believes it has too many elderly justices,—six of the nine are over 70. With logic, analysis and facts, the President states his case. He does it as a duty imposed on him by his oath of office.

Are Lawyers 87% Wrong?

The President gave congress the information that the lower federal courts are clogged with litigation, that justice is not speedy. There is confusion in normal process of government because laws passed by congress and signed by the President are practically nullified in some sections of the country by injunctions issued by federal judges. Sometimes such injunctions are given in litigation between private parties, with no advance notice to the government.

The President recommends a reorganization of the federal courts. He would have no injunction issued on the grounds that a law is unconstitutional until the attorney general of the United States can appear in court and argue the government's side. In the event an injunction is issued, he wants an immediate appeal from the lowest court to the Supreme court, where the matter would go to the top of the calendar.

The most important Roosevelt recommendation is the one to change what the President calls "a static judiciary" into a dynamic judiciary. He would invigorate the courts by the infusion of new blood. If judges who are 70 or over don't retire and accept pensions, he would appoint younger judges to work with them. Under his plan membership on the Supreme court would be increased from 9 to 15 judges. If the six sitting justices who are 70 were to resign, the court membership would remain at nine.

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Already the President's critics have opened fire on his plan. They say he has "attacked" the Supreme court. They say that because the court has ruled several of his New Deal measures to be unconstitutional, the President is piqued and wants to pack the court with liberal judges who will uphold any law that congress adopts at his "command."

The President thinks that the Supreme court should be more liberal, that it should regard the constitution as a wide-awake document adapted to modern social and industrial conditions rather than as a heritage from our grandfathers, susceptible only of narrow interpretation

Constriction vs. Amendment

based on things as they were in the days before the electric light. He made that plain to congress in a message just a few weeks ago. He thinks the constitution can be kept up to date by interpretation in the light of popular sentiment, rather than by formal amendment.

The President thinks younger justices will keep the court as progressive as the people.

The President is making his appeal to "the conscience of the sovereign." The sovereign power in this country is in the people. The sentiment of the people on these two points is going to have a lot to do with the outcome:

1. For years all political parties, most industrial leaders and nearly every national commercial, labor and agricultural association called the farm problem a national one. In the original AAA decision, the Supreme court ruled agriculture to be a state, not a national problem. Did the 1936 election prove the people overruled the Supreme court on that point? And did the people re-elect Mr. Roosevelt to do their will, rather than the will of the elderly Supreme court?

2. As a general rule, does a public servant who has passed his 70th year possess the full energy and efficiency requisite for the highest type of service? The elderly justices themselves are the only ones who may decide when they shall retire. Do the people want to leave it that way, or do people want to determine when their justices shall give up work?

It's a battle that had to come. We'll discuss it fully in this column.

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REMEMBER the end.—Chilon.

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VIGOR AFTER 70

Briefly stated, the President's position on the Supreme court raises the question whether some justices of advanced age retain their full mental and physical vigor. The President remarked in his message to congress that "those not so fortunate are often unable to perceive their own infirmities."

It was Theodore Roosevelt who said: "I wish to bring the courts in closer relation with actual life, with the life and thought of the people." That, too, is President Roosevelt's wish. The experience of mankind from the beginning of history is that the very aged are not in close touch with actual life. Kind nature works that way. Yet the hullabaloo created by the President's suggestion is such that the unwary might be misled into believing that Franklin Roosevelt was the first man in history to give any thought to the matter.



Justice McReynolds

The facts are that only two of the nine justices on the Supreme court are under 65 years of age. One is 66, one is 70, two are 74, one is 75, one is 77 and one is 80. Back in 1869, there was much discussion in congress about the ages of federal judges. A proposal was made that if a judge refused to retire at the age of 70, an additional judge should be named to work in his court. The house of representatives actually passed a bill to that effect, but the senate killed it. President Roosevelt renews the proposal first made 68 years ago. He would include the Supreme court.

James C. McReynolds, who was attorney general of the United States in 1913, made a similar proposal as to district and circuit court judges, but nothing came of it. Mr. McReynolds, in his recommendation to congress, said that some old judges "remained upon the bench long beyond the time when they were capable of adequately discharging their duties and, in consequence, the administration of justice has suffered."

Mr. McReynolds is now 75 years old. He is one of the nine justices of the Supreme court.

William Howard Taft, who was president from 1909 to 1913, believed that judges should retire at 70. At Yale university in 1913, Mr. Taft said:

"In a majority of cases when men come to 70, they have lost vigor, their minds are not as active, their senses not as acute, their willingness to undertake great labor is not so great as in younger men, and as we ought to have in judges who are to perform the enormous task which falls to the lot of Supreme court justices."



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"In the public interest, therefore, it is better that we lose the services of the exceptions who are good judges after they are 70 and avoid the presence on the bench of men who are not able to keep up with their work, or to perform it satisfactorily."

W. H. Taft

Notice, that Mr. Taft said that a majority of judges at 70 lack the physical vigor and the mental activity to serve as judges. Six justices of the Supreme court are above the 70 mark. If Mr. Taft was correct in his general appraisal, a majority of the six—or four of them—should step aside for younger men. If we take Mr. Taft's opinion as a criterion, we must conclude that only five of the nine justices are able to keep up with their work and perform it satisfactorily.

Sen. Borah and Sen. Hiram Johnson are among those opposing the President. Both are over 70. In their younger, more vigorous days, both demanded court reform in order that decisions on the constitutionality of laws might be in closer harmony with social justice.

In 1923 Sen. Borah sponsored a bill requiring that seven justices out of the nine should concur in deciding an act of congress unconstitutional. Sen. Borah was 58 years old then. In 1935—at 70—he changed his mind and announced that his 1923 bill was a mistake. He still thought that 5 to 4 decisions were "extremely unfortunate," but he didn't know what to do about them.

In 1912, when Sen. Johnson was 46 years old, he campaigned for the vice presidency at the side of Theodore Roosevelt. They—Teddy and Hiram—praised Lincoln because "he insisted that when the court, as in the Dred Scott case, MISREPRESENTED THE PEOPLE," it became the duty of all patriots "to take issue with the court."

We gather that Franklin Roosevelt believes that our Supreme court today doesn't represent public opinion—that it misrepresents the people.

Sen. Borah was 4 years old and Sen. Johnson 3 when the country was discussing the 70-year age limit for federal judges with almost as much heat as the President's latest proposal has created. We see, therefore, that it's an old subject. It calls for intelligence and reason. Emotion and partisanship have no place in the debate.

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SUNDAY TIME

"But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." Romans, 5:8.

Suggested by Rev. Jacob Peterson, pastor, Edgewater Swedish Baptist church.

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WHEN NATURE TAKES ITS COURSE

Newspaper readers and radio listeners from coast to coast are being bombarded with heated, even hysterical, discussion of President Roosevelt's plan to put virility into the Supreme court by reducing the influence of six old justices.

The TIMES has approached the issue with an open mind. It doesn't blame the court for being what it is. It blames political laissez-faire for permitting our highest judicial tribunal to drift into a state of senescence. The

We Let Nature Take Its Course

arguments against the correction of the fault are based chiefly on the doctrine of economic laissez-faire. We let nature take its course and nature has implanted in two-thirds of the court those enfeeblements of mind, heart and body that distinguish 70 and 80 from 40 and 50.

President Roosevelt has had to ask many questions about the wisdom of letting nature take its course in other fields of government. It was inevitable that he get to the court.

The TIMES supports the main objective of the President—bringing the court within the American concept of a democracy responsive to public will. Fifteen justices may be an unwieldy number as a permanent court but for an interim of reformation we may have to try the experiment.

The President is charged with a desire to "pack" the court with justices friendly to his ideas for social reform. The President knows that, with millions of men and women still unemployed, the emergency isn't over. His opponents maintain that he can't go any further without constitutional amendment.

The President believes that his measures are constitutional; that the old men on the Supreme court are out of step with the times. To the charge of packing the Supreme court, one reply is that he wants to unpack it,—unpack what Chief Justice Hughes has described as "fossilization."

The New York World Telegram, still in a neutral position, is disturbed because the President may be trying to cure one wrong with another wrong. It admits that we have now an over-balance of power on the side of the judiciary.

It fears that the Roosevelt proposal will put an excess of power with the executive who could name enough additional justices to mold the Supreme tribunal to his desire. The President "would cure imbalance with imbalance by simple process of gaining authority to name enough additional judges."

We don't quite agree that the President's plan presupposes an over-balance of power in the executive. That over-balance now exists whenever

Taft Says 70; Hughes Prefers 75

enough members of the Supreme court drop out within any one term. The late President Taft said that the Supreme court justices should resign at the age of 70. The present Chief Justice, Hughes, has said that 75 is a more modern age for retiring.

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It happens that six of the present justices are over 70, that three are over 75. The six elderly judges might relinquish their normal tenures within one administration. During any administration six judges might die—a contingency that at the present time is certainly not unthinkable. The overbalance of power that would exist in the executive when six judges pass the age of 70 is certainly no different from the over-balance of power that exists when six resign or die.

An argument forcibly hurled against the President is that he is trying to get around the constitution. But this fails by the checks and balances in our federal government. His proposal is constitutional.

Our Checks and Balances

Congress may check the President by impeaching him or over-riding his veto. The President may check congress by his veto. The Supreme court may check congress and the President by declaring a law unconstitutional. This check by the court is not expressly stated in the constitution. It was assumed by the court.

What is the check of the President and congress on the Supreme court?

Under the constitution the check is plain. The President has the power to appoint Supreme court judges and the senate to confirm. The constitution gives an explicit power to congress to regulate the appellate powers of the Supreme court and establish all inferior courts. The constitution doesn't fix the number of justices—that's up to congress.

Further, the constitution definitely says that "all legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a congress."

President Roosevelt isn't the first of our presidents to believe that the Supreme court has assumed legislative functions, that it has killed laws because of their policy rather than their constitutionality.

If the President and congress are convinced that the Supreme court has invaded the legislative field, their oaths of office compel them to use the constitutional check against the court.

It's a big subject. As we promised our readers the other day, we'll continue to discuss it in future editorials.

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THE WISEST thing is Time, for it brings everything to light.
—Thales.

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DOES 70 UNDERSTAND 42?

We strive hard to avoid the use of long words in this column. Short words are always better. But sometimes only long words tell the story. Fortunately some long words tell all the story. So we're going to use such words as usurpation and fossilization without apology for their length.

The senate committee on judiciary has set March 9 for the first public hearing on President Roosevelt's bill to trans-



Justice George Sutherland of the Supreme court, born in England 75 years ago next March, who helps interpret the Constitution.

fuse younger blood into the Supreme court. After the hearings we'll have heavy debate on the senate floor. Let's hope that hearings and debate will debunk a lot of the discussion already in the record. We think the President could go on the radio and quickly shatter most of the arguments made thus far against his plans.

Before the senate votes we must have a frank talk from some one high in the administration about the age of the Supreme court justices. In his message to congress the President said the age question was a delicate one. It is. But it arose when the Constitution was framed and it has been discussed ever since. The fact is that it must be discussed now as never before. The fact is that advanced age of the justices is not the whole issue.

The President's position is that the Supreme court has usurped legislative powers. The Constitution gives those powers solely to congress. The Supreme court has substituted its opinion of government policy for the President's opinion and the opinion of congress. Such usurpation may be unconstitutional, but we can't expect the court to say so.

In his message the President made it clear that he thinks the justices have drifted into the usurpation of legislative functions because they have grown too-old for the best kind of public service. By staying in the court the "nine old men" have indicated their belief that they aren't too old to know what the Constitution means, but do they know everything there is to know about the Constitution?

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The Constitution was written by 55 men. Their average age was 42 years. Of the 55 delegates only 10 were more than 60 years old. So 18 per cent of the Constitutional convention delegates were 60 or more. A small proportion. But today the Supreme court is composed 100 per cent of men above 60, 66.2-3 per cent are more than 70. Does the man who is 60 or 70 understand what's in the mind of the man of 42? Why not have a few 42's in the Supreme court? The 42's put the Constitution together, the 60's and 70's are interpreting it.

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It seems to us that the President is reasonable in his stand that the age of the court should be brought down nearer the age of those whose document created the court.

The framers of the Constitution are revered as perfect patriots. It's not unpatriotic to suggest that all patriotism today, all veneration of the Constitution, all ambition to preserve rule by the people under its terms are not denied to younger men. We still have patriots of 42.

This brings us to the word fossilization. It was used by the present chief justice, Charles Evans Hughes, in some college lectures before he became chief justice. He agreed that the mentalities of old men succumb to fossilization, that their powers are impaired. Taft, just after his term as President, said all justices might quit at 70. Hughes thought 75 a more reasonable age.



Alexander Hamilton, who was 30 years old when he helped write the Constitution.

Alexander Hamilton, an author of the Constitution, thought it improbable that any considerable proportion of the bench would be in the "situation of lacking intellectual vigor at the same time." Hamilton looked with approval to an age limit of 60 for judges. What he thought improbable has occurred. Not only in a considerable proportion, but the entire membership of the Supreme court is in the "situation" of old age at the same time.

President Roosevelt is confronted with a fact which the theorizing Hamilton thought impossible of existence. The fact is here. The President is justified in doing something about it. And it is noteworthy that not one of his opponents has said that his method of neutralizing Supreme court fossilization is unconstitutional. It is constitutional. It was made constitutional by Hamilton and Washington and others whose average age was 42.

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20,500-Foot Andes Peak Reveals Its Secrets to Exploring Airmen

Jan 21
**Andre Roosevelt Describes Majestic, Awe-Inspiring Chimborazo,
in Ecuador, After First Plane Flight Over It—Expedition
Resulted From Meeting Caused by Burnt Stew.**
Andre Roosevelt

The first airplane flight over the 20,510-foot mountain Chimborazo, highest peak of the Andes in Ecuador, is described here by the leader of the expedition. He is a son of the late Cornelius Roosevelt and a relative of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

By ANDRE ROOSEVELT

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GUAYAQUIL, Ecuador, Jan. 16.—

This is the story of how a burnt stew was responsible for the first airplane flight over Chimborazo, the third highest mountain peak in the Americas.

Ruth, my wife, our two dogs, a three-legged deer, four rabbits and I live in Quito, the capital of this enchanting country. We arrived in Ecuador last April, and, after making a motion picture with Cyril von Baumann in the lowland jungles, settled down in Quito, where we have lived for the last three months.

Just three weeks ago I returned home rather later than usual and instantly became conscious of the odor of burning food. In the kitchen the stew was giving off blue smoke in clouds. The cook was discovered picking flowers in the garden.

Now, we like stew, love it, but when it is burned it is not so good. The cook was told to eat the stew, and we went to the Hermitage, the best restaurant in Quito. Shortly after our arrival, in walked James Grey, technical adviser of aviation to the Ecuadorian Government; Jerry Mulligan, his assistant, and

Wells of the Curtiss-Wright Company.

They had just flown up from Guayaquil in the latest type of planes made by that company. We fell on each other's necks; the planes were discussed, and, among other things, I learned that they had a ceiling of 25,000 feet.

Instantly I had a bright thought. Why not make a photographic flight, or series of flights, over Chimborazo and the more interesting volcanoes of Ecuador? Grey and Mulligan were instantly sold on the idea. It had never been done before; we would be the first to do something, really interesting and valuable from every point of view, and finally, if the government could be induced to let us use their planes, I had the photographic equipment required for the job.

The next morning I called on the President of Ecuador, Federico Paez, one of the finest men I have had the pleasure of meeting. President Paez is an engineer who long ago dropped "manana" from his own vocabulary and now is rapidly eliminating it from that of his aides. In less than an hour, I had completed arrangements that would have required weeks or months in almost any other Latin-American country.

Preparations for Flight

I told him our plan and inside of ten minutes he had telephoned to the Minister of War, Colonel Alberto Enriquez, and within another half hour I had received written permission to make the number of flights required for a complete survey of the highest peaks and mountains of Ecuador. Three days later we were in Guayaquil, where we began our preparations for the first flight around and over Chimborazo, the highest and most majestic mountain of the Northern Andes. Its altitude is 20,510 feet.

Walter Blatschke, my assistant, an exceedingly ingenious and resourceful man, adapted the tripod head to the machine-gun mount, which is a feature of the after cockpit of the plane. This was a rather difficult problem, since we wanted to be able to "shoot" in all directions and still keep the camera within the cowling.

At the high speed of 200 miles an hour and the intense cold that we knew we would find at 22,000 feet, the anchorage had to be very substantial and the "Bell and Howell" itself kept as much as possible out of the terrific blast of icy air. That done, we attacked the problem of the oxygen tanks required.

We stowed them in a handy place where the valve could be reached easily, ran a rubber tube to a glass bottle half filled with water and glycerin (anti-freezing solution) and from there to the forward and after cockpit. The bottle was suspended by rubber bands and all connections taped up with great care. We made one trial flight to test out everything. The preparations were now completed.

On Monday, Dec. 28, at 7 A. M., we climbed aboard our two planes, Mulligan and Lieutenant Bayardo Tobar, one of the best young fliers of the Ecuadorian Army, in No. 53, and Grey and I in No. 55, both Curtiss-Wright training planes, 19-R model, with 450 horsepower.

Record of the Flight

Grey's job was a rather ticklish one, since the weight of my equipment and myself were over 300 pounds more than a normal load. But, between Grey's admirable flying sense and ability and the excellence of the plane, all went even better than we had dared to hope. Here is the record of the flight:

7:10 A. M.—Perfect take-off.

7:15—Climbing fast, entering clouds. Jerry Mulligan goes off on his own.

7:30—8,000 feet high, still in clouds, very thick; plane going splendidly and no vibration.

7:35—9,000 feet; clouds clearing; course northeast.

7:40—Just burst out of clouds at 10,000 feet; Chimborazo dead ahead; looks clear as a crystal; we are lucky; sunshine glorious. Jerry has vanished. Where is he?

7:50—Getting all set for work. Grey calls for oxygen; turn it on; take a little myself; it helps a lot; was feeling a little dopey; am worried about Mulligan.

8:00—20,000 feet and still climbing. Oxygen functions perfectly. Now circling mountain in counter-clockwise manner. Take first shots of mountain; grand sight. Light meter reads over 1,000—terrific; cut down iris to between F-11 and F-18 and use A-25 red filter. Seems impossible; check up again with light meter—well over 1,000. Continue to shoot. There is Mulligan, 1,500 feet below us; coming fast.

Sangai, now erupting. There is no mistaking the characteristic plume. We will photograph it on our very next flight. We are over the top now and dropping fast.

8:20—Dropping down in a hurry. We are hitting 185 miles an hour.

8:30—Grey is looking for a hole in the clouds. He finds it and we plunge through at a great rate. I am kept busy clearing my ears, one of which seems to lag behind all the time. Shut off the oxygen. We have only three atmospheres left in tank.

8:53—There is the flying field, and we are down to a perfect landing.

8:55—Jerry follows suit in grand style.

Wife Arrives Worried

8:55½—We all have a drink—to Ecuador, to Chimborazo, to ourselves. My wife arrives—late, of course. She wants to know when we are going to start! We tell her of our success. She announces that she is going straight back to the hotel and to bed as she has worried so much over the flight that she has hardly slept a wink during the last two nights. She drops me off at the local photographer so that I can make a few tests of the film.

Now I am nervous—very much so. How is it? The gods be praised—the exposures and quality of the film are perfect. And that's that.

We will continue filming the other important mountains of Ecuador, including Cotopaxi, which is ten times more beautiful than Chimborazo. May we be as fortunate in our future flights as in our first!

So ends the story of how a flower-loving cook became the cause of a most fascinating expedition.

Other Plane in Picture

8:05—Jerry shows up 300 feet below us. Signal him to get closer to the mountain. He does and I get him in several beautiful shots. Am comfortable, but reaching for switch outside in air stream is difficult as I cannot feel switch through heavy glove. Take it off. Hand gets cold. Keep on shooting.

8:00—22,000 feet. We are the first to see the top of Chimborazo. Looks like ice, but absence of blowing snow indicates very little wind; however, plenty in plane. Temperature 7.8 degrees below zero Fahrenheit; speed, 125 miles per hour.

Jerry Mulligan starts flying across top, 800 feet below us. He seems to be skimming the ice. I catch him, the first man to fly over Chimborazo. Tobar, his observer, must be delighted. I shoot what is left in the magazine. Yell to Grey that I am through. He yells back, "Here we go." We start to fly over mountain. Try to put on glove, hand seemingly frozen; can't feel anything, completely dead; get it under my sweaters.

This is my first opportunity to look around a little as have been too busy with the camera. We hit our "high" of the day; 22,110 feet and slide over the top. I see no lava but streaks that look like granite, though I am not sure.

No Crater in View

If this is true, then Chimborazo is not a volcano. Must check up with others about that when I get down. No trace of crater on either of twin peaks, but might be filled with ice and snow. I see no trace of any volcanic activity, no fumaroles, just snow.

It looks terribly dead and cold, but awe-inspiring. My hand is still insensible. I take a good look around. Only two peaks emerge from the ocean of clouds, Cotopaxi, the highest active volcano in the world, and the tip of Tunguragua, another active volcano.

Forty or fifty miles away to the southeast a plume of dense smoke arises on the horizon. It must be

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune



Saturday, November 30, 1935

Owned and published daily by New York Tribune Inc.

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The Opening Gun

The rumors spread abroad from Washington that the President was to make his Atlanta speech an important utterance in defense of A. A. A. timed carefully to exert a maximum effect upon the forthcoming decisions of the Supreme Court, proved to be very wide of the mark. The reader will search the speech in vain for anything either new or important. The A. A. A. is mentioned briefly in one paragraph—astutely stressing the cotton payments so as to bring a maximum of applause from a Georgian audience. Of larger aspects of A. A. A., such as its constitutionality, its effects in cutting exports and increasing imports, there was not a word.

But if the speech was disappointing in content, it was strikingly successful in form. It is not too much to say that it was Mr. Roosevelt at his campaign best. There was the same felicity of phrase, the telling intimacy with his listeners, the buoyant good nature, the bland ignoring of failures and the stressing of successes that have brought Mr. Roosevelt his extraordinary political success. Nor do we see how the President's most ardent opponents can begrudge him this campaign effort. The attack upon his Administration has included, along with much solid and damaging ammunition, a plenty of plain hot-air politics. He obviously had the right to reply in kind, if he desired.

The speech should be a wholesome warning to any overoptimistic Republicans who were counting upon a decline in the President's political effectiveness. Such skill can obviously be met only by a staunch candidate and a courageous platform. On the other hand, the speech, by its complete failure to come to grips with the real causes of the collapse of the New Deal and its overwhelming unpopularity, can give reasonable encouragement to those Americans who are praying for its definite end next November. The deadly and destructive tax burden, the affronts to the Constitution and the undermining of the whole American system of local home rule and individual initiative, the Administration muddles of relief and resettlement—such obvious and damaging issues were simply ignored.

Nor can the most effective campaigning wipe out what is perhaps the most fatal of all the anti-Roosevelt facts. The President announced that the peak of appropriations had been passed and sought to give reassurances that henceforth the deficit would decrease. But, considering the fate of past promises, can any one feel the hap-

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THIS CLIPPING FROM
NEW YORK, N. Y.
HERALD-TRIBUNE

DEC 27 1936

Mr. Green's Program

It Is Defended as Moderate and in the Interest of
Social Justice

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In an editorial you chide Mr. William Green, (to put it very mildly) for his announced legislative program, and especially for his expressed intention of seeking an amendment to the Constitution to give additional powers to Congress, in the event the Supreme Court should overturn the social security act and the national labor relations act. My reliance on your sense of fair play emboldens me to reply to this editorial, which you entitle "The Passion to Amend."

Mr. Green's official and personal interests lead him to seek the protection of the workers through the enactment of social and labor legislation. For two years now he has watched the Supreme Court, in case after case, nullify such legislation, Federal and state, and he has heard Mr. Justice Roberts say, in declaring void an old-age pension law for railway workers, "these matters (economic and social welfare) obviously lie beyond the orbit of Congressional power." Now, finally, with the two most important Federal labor laws soon to be passed on by the Supreme Court, Mr. Green, who has been patiently withstanding the pressure on him to seek a constitutional amendment, speaks, and says that in the contingency, which, of course, is remote) of the court's voiding the social security act, and the national labor relations act, he would favor an amendment giving additional powers to Congress, and this calm, qualified statement, is "a passion to amend."

But in the event the Supreme Court should hold that we cannot have old-age pension laws and unemployment insurance legislation of a kind, which almost every country of Europe has found it wise to have for thirty years or more, and which even the Conservative party of Great Britain has supported, what then would the New York Herald Tribune advocate that we do? Are we not to have a national government empowered to enact social laws, which nearly the whole civilized world has found to be necessary?

Have you Great Britain in mind

when you say that "Parliamentary history proves that an unrestrained legislative body can be just as tyrannical, an elective despotism, as a mob-washed dictator? If so, is it because Mr. Baldwin so recently proved a dictator? Incidentally, is there any other independent country in the world where the acts of the parliament can be set aside by a court?"

One more point, and that had to do merely with your mathematics. How, may I ask, do you arrive at "one-thirtieth of the population" as the only beneficiaries of Mr. Green's legislative program? Why not one-third of the population?

CHARLTON OGBURN,

Washington, D. C., Dec. 26, 1936.

New Bill Suggested For Social Program

Labor Counsel Doubts Wisdom of Curbing Power of Supreme Court; Plan Outlined

Charlton Ogburn, counsel of the American Federation of Labor, differs with those advocates of federal legislation on labor and social matters who would seek a constitutional amendment. In response to a request by the Scripps-Howard newspapers for his views, Mr. Ogburn suggests the O'Mahoney federal licensing bill, which he helped draft, as one of several methods which he thinks would be more opportune.

By CHARLTON OGBURN

Finding a constitutional basis for federal social and labor legislation has closely engaged my thought for some time, especially subsequent to the Railway Retirement decision of the Supreme Court and the dictum of Mr. Justice Roberts that "these matters (questions of social security and welfare) obviously lie outside the orbit of congressional power" and since the Schechter decision and its dicta that the commerce clause gave Congress no power over mining, manufacturing or agriculture.

The fundamental question is: does the power lie in the Constitution for Congress to enact social and labor legislation of a kind which has been taken as a matter of course in Great Britain for 25 to 40 years?

Believes Power Exists

In my opinion, such power does lie in the Constitution. My view, I am sure, is upheld by the views of Messrs. Justices Brandeis, Stone, Cardozo, and by those of ex-Justices Holmes, Clark and others. The minority opinions of these justices in a number of cases, if carefully analyzed and correlated, give us a theory of federal power which is ample to sustain the social and labor legislation I consider essential for the protection of the workers. Unfortunately, a majority of the present court apparently do not share this theory of federal powers when applied to labor legislation, although they apparently do share, to some extent, this theory of federal powers when applied to regulating stock and grain exchanges, combinations in restraint of trade, etc.

An adequately worded amendment to the Constitution, if proposed by two-thirds of Congress and ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, should of course make certain that Congress possesses this power. The purport of such an amendment, if offered, would be so wilfully and grossly misconstrued by the opposition that the delay in its enactment by three-fourths of the legislatures necessitates seeking new methods for the exercise of the power we believe already exists in Congress.

Constitution Cited

The Constitution, in Article III, Section 2, gives Congress the power unquestionably to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court has recognized this power in a decision entitled "Ex Parte McCardle," decided in April 1869. The Congress likewise can pass a law forbidding the district and circuit courts from declaring an act of Con-

gress unconstitutional. In my opinion, however, we cannot look to this power of Congress to limit the jurisdiction of the Federal courts as a practical and entirely satisfactory solution to this problem.

Nevertheless, the decisions of the Supreme Court in voiding New Deal social and labor legislation brings this country face to face immediately with the vital and practical question of how to have a National Government capable of providing the economic and social welfare of the people. Unless the Constitution is reinterpreted by the Supreme Court in accordance with the minority opinion in the first Child Labor case, written by Mr. Justice Holmes, or unless the Constitution is amended, then have we a National Government so far as vital social legislation is concerned?

Federal Licensing Bill

Congress, undoubtedly, in my opinion, has the right, granted it by the Constitution in the power to regulate commerce among the states and with foreign countries, to require a federal license of those persons and corporations engaged in interstate commerce or to require the federal incorporation of such corporations. This power of Congress is relied upon for the enactment of the federal licensing bill, introduced on Aug. 5, 1935, by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney. In press interviews at the time he did me the honor of naming me as a co-author of the bill. (The bill, in fact, is a collaboration).

This bill comprises 78 printed pages. Title I makes it unlawful for any corporation to engage in interstate commerce without first obtaining a federal license from an enlarged Federal Trade Commission. This license requires, among other things, that the licensee comply with requirements of the National Labor Relations Act, not employ persons under 16, not engage in dishonest, fraudulent or unfair trade practices, etc. Title II provides for certain corporate reforms. Title III contains a model federal incorporation law.

Federal Law Needed

Today two or more individuals without financial means can easily obtain a corporate charter from a state, the corporate laws of which are extremely lax, and can then do business in other states in a manner forbidden to corporations created by those states. The corporations which control our industry are manifestly beyond the control of the states. A federal incorporation law can cope with this state of affairs.

The principle involved in the Cooper-Hawes Prison-Made Goods Act, which has been upheld by the Supreme Court, can be surely applied to goods made by child labor and to goods made under sweatshop conditions.

The suggestion made to the Scripps-Howard papers that Congress can define "interstate commerce" is not feasible and misquotes what the Supreme Court said about the definition of "intoxicating liquors." The Supreme Court does not often follow its own definitions of "interstate commerce."

In my opinion, the federal power in the Constitution is sufficiently broad for our needed social legislation. Acts of Congress drawn so they are clearly based on this power will surely come to be upheld.

BURNHAM URGES NEW DEAL FIGHT AS G.O.P. PLATFORM

"The Republican party has to enter the campaign of 1936 as the defender of the constitution—the most perfect product of the noblest political genius of the ages," Rep. George Burnham declared yesterday in a stirring plea to members of the San Diego Republican league for "unity" and "audacious courage" in the forthcoming drive to return a Republican to the White House. Speaking before league members at a luncheon session in the U. S. Grant hotel, Burnham described the 1936 campaign as one that "will challenge the heart and brain of every thoughtful American."

He challenged the Republican party to enter upon a campaign that "must be based upon aggressive and relentless opposition to the whole Rooseveltian New Deal, both as to its specific measures and its trends and aims."

Burnham flayed the New Deal as directing the people of the nation to a point where "American living standards will be seriously impaired by the tremendous burden of taxation" unless New Deal policies are repudiated.

"The Republican party must not fail. It would be a disaster to the nation, and a blot upon the escutcheon of American citizenship, should it go down to defeat," the speaker said. "The party can win if it is united—but it cannot be united upon the basis of any program that is less than audaciously courageous."

'Don't Dodge Issue'

Burnham appealed to his listeners to not to straddle or dodge a single vital issue.

"The clearer the lines of battle are drawn, the stronger will be the appeal of the party. Either the New Deal is fundamentally right and sound or it is fundamentally wrong and unsound.

"If the first of these alternatives is true, the Republican party has nothing substantial upon which to base its appeal to the people. In that case, the policies themselves ought to be continued and no good reason exists for replacing Mr. Roosevelt by a Republican. On the other hand, if the second alternative is true, the sooner the Roosevelt policies are repudiated and abandoned the better it will be for the nation. It is this conviction that constitutes the only possible basis for a Republican campaign that honest minds can respect and support.

"The enactment of the Roosevelt administration must be fearlessly drawn, not toned down to avoid hurting the tender sensibilities of the timid and spineless, nor clothed in fancy phrases to satisfy self-seeking and pussy-footing politicians."

Burnham pleaded for the Republican party to rally in defense of the constitution.

"Before we abandon the most perfect form of practical democracy the world has ever known," he said, "some consideration should be given to the fact that for a century and a half the American constitution, and the red blood of American freemen, has made us a great and prosperous nation. However, we must be careful not to make of the constitution a fetish, a relic of a mighty past, binding the life of the nation for all time, or the result will be a strengthening of every radical element now attacking and imperiling that great document. The Republican party could commit no greater mistake than that of identifying itself with stand-pat opposition to changes of any kind. But, the changes must be carefully considered, planned, and devised for the protection and assurance of the rights of the people.

Combat Despotic Concept

"We must preserve our priceless traditions of freedom and justice. We must vigorously combat any despotic concept that the people belong to the government, as is the case of Soviet Russia. We should keep ever fresh in our minds that here in America the government belongs to the people."

In concluding, Burnham rapped government ownership as a step toward the "enslavement of our people."

"It would mean the elimination of equal opportunities. We would be ordered around by government officials like a lot of slaves. Government ownership as a remedy for the present situation would extend control of rotten politics from government to business."

The congressman urged that the Republican party assume the aggressive, and with all the "zeal and ardor of a great crusade proclaim that it will oppose to the limit any and every change in the constitution that does not have for its purpose the strengthening of the rights of the states against the central government or the rights and liberties of individuals against any government."

Burnham was introduced by Clifford Fitzgerald, president of the local Republican league. Albert Johnson, former congressman from Washington and former chairman of the committee on immigration in the house of representatives, was a guest at the luncheon. Johnson praised Burnham for his "progressive work in Washington" and complimented San Diego in having a representative "big enough to obtain a place on the powerful naval affairs committee."

It Seems to Me

Nov. 28, 1959
W.L.

by Heywood Broun

A NEWS dispatch from Paris says that the authorities have decided that midnight masses may not be celebrated in any of the churches of the city during the Christmas season. It is explained that it would be impossible to keep the light from filtering out thru the great stained glass windows of a cathedral.



Mr. Broun

A candle by a shrine sheds a beam which is too broad for the warring world in which we live. If the figure of the Christ child were illuminated it might serve as a beacon for the way of wise flying men from out of the East. And their gifts would not be gold and frankincense and myrrh.

Once again the hand of Herod is raised for the slaughter of the innocents. But those things which were are with us now. I have seen men and women moved by devotion into such a mood that they felt themselves not only followers but contemporaries in the life of Jesus. To them his death was a present tragedy and Easter mornings marked a literal triumph. And to those who are like-minded there lies reassurance in the revelation of the past. Herod was a ruler who for a little time had might and power vested in himself. His word was absolute and his will was cruel. As captain over thousands he commanded his messengers to find and kill the newborn king. An army was set in motion against an infant in a manger.

BUT tho the hand of Herod fell heavily upon Bethlehem and all the coasts thereof, Joseph, the young child and his mother escaped into Egypt. "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be consoled, because they are not." The blood of the young was spilled upon the ground even as it is being shed

today. And it may well have seemed some two thousand years ago that there was no force which could stay the ravages of the monarch and his minions.

Around the child there stood on guard only Joseph and Mary, three wise men and shepherds from the field who had followed the course set for them by a bright star. Death came to Herod, and the bright star was a portent of the perfect light which was to save the world from darkness. The light of the world was not extinguished then, and it lives today and will again transfix the eyes of men with its brilliance.

In the dark streets of Paris on Christmas Eve, even as in the little town of Bethlehem, a star will animate the gloom. The call comes once more to kings and shepherds to journey to the manger and worship at the shrine of the Prince of Peace. Quite truly the civil authorities of Paris have said that it is impossible to blackout the light which shines from the altar.

AND if I were in France I would go at midnight to the little island on the Seine and stand before Notre Dame De Paris. At first the towers of that Great Gothic structure might seem to be lost in the blackness of the night. And it has been ruled that no congregation shall raise its voice to welcome the tidings of great joy. But then I think all the windows will take on magnificence, and that the air will resound with the message which has been given to the sons of men and will be offered again to the fellowship of all mankind. "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men." And that choral cry will rise above the hum of Herod's grim messengers. It will be much louder than the crash of guns and the roar of cannon. No hymn of hate can prevail if we will only heed the eternal cadence of the Christmas carol.

These Charming People

By Martha Blair

The thousands of people who tune in on "Information, Please" probably never give a thought to the agonies the guest stars go through.



Martha Blair

I didn't until I saw the performance in New York the other night. "F. P. A." and John Kieran, who are the regulars, take it all very easily. Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, as we approached the studio in Radio City, swore she was calm enough, and looked lovely in Navy blue with star sapphires in charming old-fashioned settings. But Arthur Krock said he had been unable even to eat, and in such

mood we reached our destination.

Among those lined up to give the boys and girl a hand was Mrs. Hendrick Eustis, who had left a dinner party to lend her support to her friends. Mrs. Eustis wore a bright orange gown with huge amber beads around her throat. She will be down in Washington this coming week end, stopping with Joseph W. Alsop, jr. (Alexander Woolcott will also be on hand), and on Monday Grace is going to gather some of her Washington friends for luncheon.

Mrs. "F. P. A." who recently enchanted Washington with her blond beauty and endearing manner, arrived at the studio with a large straw hat and a dress the color of South Carolina moss. Raoul Fleischmann, publisher of the New Yorker, was there and he also is coming down to Washington, to be with Mr. Krock this week end. Lawrence Baker appeared with young Lawrence and Mr. and Mrs. John Gaston arrived with Dr. and Mrs. Edward Cowles. His young daughter is the brilliant Virginia Cowles, who used to live in Washington with Mrs. Jerauld Wright and has now become a staff correspondent in Europe of the Times of London.

I THOUGHT—but just thought—that once during the program when a question was asked—

the answer to which was "The Big Apple" (which none of the quartet knew)—Mrs. Eustis seemed to be anxiously working her jaws as though chewing an apple, her large luminous eyes fixed fiercely on Mrs. Longworth. It went off well and was great fun.

Afterward we all adjourned to "21" for dinner, where we were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Courtlandt Barnes, jr. Mrs. Barnes was wearing her suspender dinner-dress of black and white striped taffeta and a white chiffon blouse covered with ruffles around the neck, wrists, and spilling down the front. Dr. Cowles, who recently married the director of nurses at his famous clinic, still calls his wife by her maiden name, "Miss Posey." Mrs. John Gaston looked ravishing in a black dress and huge white hat and we fell into a deep conversation on the charms of the young Harold Talbott twins. It was the kind of evening that only New York can offer.

Earlier in the day I dropped in on Mrs. Ernest Angell for a cocktail. Mrs. Angell has a delightful house in the Nineties, full of books, fine paintings and comfortable chairs and sofas. She looked pretty and very well in a black gown with her hair brushed upward in curls. The Angells have two little kinkajous living in a pen in their back yard. The Angells are the culprits who brought the Undersecretary of the Treasury and Mrs. John Hanes the animated new member of their household, who becomes very active immediately after sunset, which is the habit of a kinkajou. Also the creatures love whisky, and Mrs. Richard Wigglesworth told us that one day, when she was having an old fashioned with the Angells, one of their kinkajous climbed up her arm and began drinking her cocktail. They are beguiling beasts, in spite of their habits, and when Mrs. Angell leans out of the window and calls them by name they wake from their day-time sleep and come rushing out of their little house into the yard.

It's nice to see Mrs. Angell so happy, but it is not nice having her in Washington no longer.

Wallen
file

Hera

President Irked At Being Quoted Against McNutt

Sudden Friction With the Press Traced to Indiana Dispute on State N. R. A.

Finds 'Misinterpretation'

Roosevelt Grows Uneasy at Congress' Tardiness

By Theodore C. Wallen

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23.—The past week has brought added indications that President Roosevelt's political honeymoon is over. He is having a harder time with Congress than he expected. His defeat in the prevailing-wage dispute at the hands of Senator Huey Long was only a surface manifestation of it. That the President has been growing increasingly uneasy as Congress approaches the end of its second month with no major legislation to its credit has been apparent to the press for weeks.

Mr. Roosevelt's press conference is no longer the surefire, jovial lift that it used to be in a Washington correspondent's day. The newspaper men still like Mr. Roosevelt personally and prefer his conferences to all others. But with a less-compliant Congress setting up a counter-attraction they are conscious of a change coming over the White House conferences. Mr. Roosevelt continues to call correspondents by their first names, but with increasing frequency for the purpose of calling one or another to account for a dispatch that has displeased him. It has been the outstanding thing about the last two press conferences.

"The Indianapolis Episode"

The immediate cause of these Presidential lectures to the press was what he has denominated "the Indianapolis episode." Many correspondents be-

ference more than two weeks ago. For months James P. Hornaday, highly respected Washington correspondent of "The Indianapolis News" for a third of a century, has been satisfied to stand in the outer rim of the human crescent which confronts the President twice a week to get his views on current developments or, if there is no news, to have a few laughs with him.

Question: Which Caused Dispute? Recently white-haired "Jim" Hornaday had a question from his home office to ask the President. He managed to get in the front row, where only the President's desk stood between him and Mr. Roosevelt.

"Mr. President," he said, "are you asking for state N. R. A. legislation at this time?"

"No," replied the President. "No," he repeated thoughtfully by a gentle nod of his head in the momentary silence that followed.

Another reporter's question swung the conference to other subjects. But that afternoon President Roosevelt was brought back to the Hornaday question by a telephone call from Paul V. McNutt, vigorous war-veteran Democratic Governor of Indiana.

Right in the middle of his effort to push a state N. R. A. law through the strongly Democratic Indiana Legislature, Governor McNutt picked up an afternoon newspaper and read that the President, at this time, was not asking for state N. R. A. legislation. Before the afternoon was out, Marvin H. McIntyre, an assistant presidential secretary, volunteered the following "verbal statement" to the press:

"It was authoritatively stated this afternoon at the White House that published reports with reference to state support of legislation respecting N. R. A. erroneously interpreted the President's reply to the inquiry. Quoted exactly the stenographic report says:

"Question: "Mr. President, are

(Continued on page two)

PSF

NEW YORK COMMENTARY

You Go to See Noel Coward in a Legend ... And Come Away in Unsober Reality

He's (Really) Going to Washington to See the Lincoln Memorial

By SELWYN JAMES

You meet Noel Coward and expect him to fit the legend. You know positively that he wrote Cavalcade sitting up in bed rocking with cynical laughter. You've always heard that he has spent no less than 25 of his 40 crowded years flitting casually from party to party with a cocktail in each hand, cutting the air with his brittle witticisms, screaming "How divine!" at unsuspecting dowagers like a character in one of his sleek drawing room comedies.

Naturally, you're rather disappointed when you find a reasonably sane, youngish man who is today feeling humble and not a little proud of England. But after a while you discover with an encouraging sense of relief that his banter is still packed with belly laughs, that his large ears still waggle—if a little subtly—when he's suitably amused. His bronzed face, which is nice in a jolly British sort of way, still screws itself into wrinkles when he smiles until it begins to look like an unstewed prune.

You ask him a lot of leading questions about the war, which is a bit embarrassing because there you are sitting in his apartment, drinking his whisky. But you find out something nobody ever suspected before. Noel Coward, that master of whimsy, is a diplomat as well as a successful playwright.

What does he think about Neville Chamberlain, Lord Halifax and all the tired old men of Munich? Mr. Coward comes back as quick as you please: "Oh, but I never do!" and then thrusts another Scotch and soda into your hands.

What is he doing in the United States? "I'm here to find a home" he says enthusiastically, "for 58 British children, sons and daughters of destitute actors and actresses."

You say you've heard he is going to



Noel Coward

Washington tomorrow. What for, to find a home? Mr. Coward casts a furtive glance over his shoulder as if about to impart some scurrilous secret, and whispers: "No. To see the Lincoln Memorial. Another Scotch?"

Whom does he favor for President of the United States?

"As a visiting Englishman I'm afraid I can't tell you" and then he adds quickly, "except that I'm overwhelmingly in favor of President Roosevelt!"

Has he anything to say about the horrid names Hitler called him a few months ago?

"Yes," says Mr. Coward, "I consider it my greatest success since Cavalcade."

BRITAIN GRABS COTTON TRADE U. S. ABANDONED

Chicago Tribune file (2)
**Empire Now Raising
Bumper Crops.**

(Chicago Tribune Press Service.)
LONDON, May 15.—British trade analysts scanned the latest empire cotton production figures today, reflected on the cause for their upward swing, and grinned.

"The Roosevelt administration's cotton program," they agreed, "is certainly a wonderful thing—for the empire."

Production in the "new fields" of the British empire—which means all of King George's cotton growing domains except India—ran up a new all time high for the 1934-35 season. That record, in turn, almost certainly will be shattered when all returns are in for the 1934-35 season. And India—one of the oldest cotton growing countries in the world—although settling no new marks, has stepped up its production by 27 per cent, according to recent preliminary reports.

U. S. Curtails Production.
 In the United States meanwhile, thanks to the strait-jacket effects of the Agricultural Adjustment administration, the Bankhead cotton control act, and Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, cotton production for 1934-35 was slashed approximately 40 per cent under that for 1931-32. It is hoped by Secretary Wallace that a further curtailment will result for 1934-35. Empire cotton growers are in farvest record.

The marked impetus imparted to empire cotton growing by the American program has, of course, a simple explanation. The cut in production causes a rise in the price of American cotton. It follows that the export demand deserts the high priced American cotton for the cheaper "outside" cotton. It follows, too, that cotton growers outside America redouble their efforts to supply the quickened demand for their product.

This process of cause and effect has progressed to the point where the United States, instead of producing 62.3 per cent of the world cotton crop as it did in 1931-32, now grows only 43 per cent of the world crop. The figures are 18,517,000 bales in 1931-32 and an estimated 9,666,000 bales for 1934-35.

Grow Cotton Is Slogan.

All over the British empire—in Brazil, China, Egypt, Mexico, Peru, and many other places, too, for that matter—the AAA program, supplemented enthusiastically by the various colonial governments and the Empire Cotton Growers' corporation, has been raising more cotton. Thousands of acres of soil that never had known a cotton seed before are now bearing plants. It is, one might almost say, a sort of economic revolution.

The following comparative table shows how far this "revolution" had advanced by 1934-35 when the empire's new cotton, in which cotton first was grown as late as 1902—established their first "new" total production record. The figures are for bales of 500 pounds.

	1910-11.	1934-35.
Africa.....	15,185	187,623
India.....	12,924	272,808
Tanganyika.....	12,740	31,612
Somra.....	404	6,000
Nyasaland.....	3,671	10,790
North Rhodesia.....	400
South Rhodesia.....	529
South Africa.....	2,409
Nigeria.....	2,338	144
Gold Coast.....	45	27,987
Australia.....	91	21,200
Fiji.....	5	39
Iraq.....	433
Ceylon.....	642	98
Malta.....	474	32
Cyprus.....	2,785	913
West Indies.....	2,318	3,618
Total.....	32,192	544,029

And, according to preliminary estimates, the 1934-35 season will far exceed the previous crop totals given in the table.

British Control Output.

In earlier years it was customary to include Egyptian cotton among the empire crops. Strictly speaking it might be argued that even the Sudan is not completely under British domination, but, as the most important areas are directly under the control of British interests, that distinction has been ignored in the preparation of the table.

On the other hand, Tanganyika in 1910 was German East Africa, but since the war has been British dominated. Iraq is not a part of the empire, but British interests also control the output there.

Preliminary estimates on the 1934-35 season indicate that Nigeria will increase her production from 37,567 bales to 50,000. Iraq is expected to

[Continued on page 14, column 2.]

June 7, 1937

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

One-Sided Liberals.

QUITE A FEW of our heavy-duty philosophers have been saying lately that the steel trouble is not a mere dispute but a war, and in that case the Army and Navy should be notified at once, because war is



supposed to be their business and not an affair for the cops, the Elks and the parent-teachers' association.

War should be a national affair, not a private enterprise, and it is against the safety of the country to permit an independent war to proceed within its borders, scuffling up the countryside and interfering with the innocent activities of the citizens.

However, the term war in this case seems to be merely a convenient figure

of speech selected to justify charges of accidental damages and violations, incidental to a fight which has gone out of control. It is rather oddly the pettiness of all those labor leaders and public-spirited liberals who are all for law and order and who can bleed for the civil rights of the Puerto Ricans, but in the event of excessive conduct committed under orders by a union says, "Too bad, it's war."

My father, I've often believed that violation of law or demands of civil liberties is as bad on one side as on another, and there is no choice between coercion by Henry Ford and coercion by someone from Union Square. And while it is easy to agree that labor has taken a terrible beating from the Harlan strikers and other spectacular animals of the Nazi stripe, it is impossible to indorse rough stuff against nominally free American workmen, even though it be done ostensibly for their own good.

AGREED that no employer has a right to punish a man for joining a union, it follows that nobody else has a right to tell him that, by God, he must, and that if he doesn't join and pay tribute out of his earnings, he won't be allowed to work at all. If the employer has no right—and the law says he has no right—to snoop and spy on the man's private affairs and harass him and his wife, and maybe pat him on the head with a sawed-off pool cue, then neither has anyone else that right, and he deserves the same protection from both sources of danger. Unfortunately, however, it is coming to be said by parties who claim to sorrow for the toiler that if the employer resorts to abuse it is an outrage, as it may be unanimous consent, but that if a man is blacklisted, starved and pushed around in the name of progress and labor organization his civil liberties are unimportant against the desires of so many. The desires of the many may be more accurately described in some cases as the personal ambitions of a few, but in any event the sole individual workman's civil liberty has not yet been written out of the Constitution and is not to be legislated out of existence by anyone's claim that a state of lawlessness constitutes war.

I MAY BE a little ahead of my time in proposing that the Government when it gets through protecting the individual from the abuse and exactions, espionage and coercive pressure of the boss, then should turn its attention to similar safeguards against the unions. That time must come, however, because otherwise the labor organizations will become a free-lance dictatorship operated within the Government and under its protection, but without the responsibility of government. The enormous treasury which labor organizations will amass will become a great political force whose effect might wipe out the liberty of those from whom it was exacted through a private taxing authority.

But my topic is the utter cynicism of men who protest their respect for human rights and for the law as it affects their opponents in thought and action, but waive all this when consistency would be inconvenient. This is of the Soviets and Hitler and the Duce, whose morals and honesty are indistinguishable and whose methods and temperament are so much alike that they would save lives and trouble by getting together. But we have been viewing the affairs of the crazy countries so long and reading so much of their brutal thought, that a slight infection has set in in our own country. And it is worst in of all people, an element who profess to be liberal or progressive and, anyway, human, but count a toiler as no toiler but some very low sort of vermin and beyond protection of the laws merely because he will get down as they think best for him.

John L. Lewis buys
Immunity, from
F. D. R.
A disgrace to the US
NOW TAKING HIS POUND OF

**DEMOCRAT REPORT
REVEALS \$612,455
IN CONTRIBUTIONS**

**F. D. R. BOUND TO LEWIS
BY PURCHASE
Party Still Owes U. M. W.
\$50,000—Liberty League
Has \$396 Balance.**

WASHINGTON, June 12.—(U. P.)
—The Democratic National Commit-
tee reported to the clerk of the
house today that it received con-
tributions of \$612,455 between March
1 and May 31.

The report showed the commit-
tee had on hand \$48,782 on May 1,
and still owed the United Mine
Workers of America and Walter
Jones, Pittsburgh capitalist, \$50,000
each.

Filing of the report coincided with
Republican charges that the com-
mittee violated or evaded the cor-
rupt practice act. House Minority
Leader Bertrand H. Snell, New York,
Republican, said he would seek a
congressional investigation of sales
of Democratic campaign year books
for the past fiscal year. He charged
they sold for as high as \$250 each
when autographed by President
Roosevelt.

The Great GAME of POLITICS

By
FRANK R.
KENT

Among the "Intellectual intimates" of the President, as his new group of inspirational advisers like to be called, there is considerable suppressed excitement, due to the fact that they realize, if no one else does, that the 1937 legislative program which they have evolved and which has now been presented to Congress, is the boldest, most far-reaching, and revolutionary ever advanced in this country. Compared with the earlier New Deal program, was like milk toast to red meat.

At this moment, the new brain trust is slightly intoxicated by the scope of its creation and does not fully grasp the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has lost the political power to put through the kind of legislation that marked his first term, much less the kind he wants now. The country is not in the throes of a depression. Congress is no longer scared, the emergency has ceased to exist and the fallacies of the New Deal religion are more clearly apparent. The "Intellectual intimates" do not realize these practical facts. They are thrilled by the magnitude of their conception and greatly pleased with their artfulness in presenting it piecemeal instead of as an entirety, thus avoiding shock to the simple-minded.

However, once they are assembled, it is clear all these measures are linked and that they constitute the most amazing and ambitious plan for complete governmental subjugation and economic regulation yet proposed in a free country. It seems there must be something fundamentally wrong with men who seriously think, without complete dictatorial power, they can be even measurably successful in achieving the gaudy purpose in mind. Their sense of proportion has been lost. Something has run away with their wits. At least so it seems to the normal mind when the proposals are grouped together and the picture viewed as a whole.

It is worth while to look at it clearly—if only to understand the things that revolve in the daring minds of our present-day rulers. Here it is:

First, there is the Supreme Court plan, which means not only executive control of the highest court, but of the federal judiciary all the way down the line.

Second, there is the reorganization plan, by which the independence of all semijudicial boards is abolished, the civil service politicized, the purse strings taken away from Congress and all government power concentrated in the President.

Third, there is the proposal for a series of TVAs to cover every section of the country, which ultimately means complete nationalization of the electric industry and the

driving of all private companies out of business.

Fourth, there is the new agricultural bill, which centers control of food production in the Federal Government, regulates and supervises all farming.

Fifth, there is the new NRA, spoken of as a test of the two new Brain Trusters—the Messrs. Corcoran and Cohen—whose smooth work it is. In their slick way they have concocted a bill with more teeth than the old NRA and covering as much territory. Actually, it takes away from the states all power to regulate industry within their borders, creates a board of five members which, in turn, would create myriads of local boards with authority to regulate hours, wages and production.

Sixth, there is the proposal, in the National Resources Commission report, to divide the United States into seven regional provinces for planning purposes, with a capital in each.

There it is. That's the picture. It may appear overdrawn, but it isn't. Nor is it painted in any partisan or unfriendly spirit. It is presented because it happens to be real. This is the program the President seriously backs and would like to have Congress enact. These are the connected schemes hatched by the new brain trust for the remaking of America and for which they mean. In addition to vastly enhancing the size, cost and scope of the federal machinery, it would increase enormously the personal power of the President and effect a revolutionary change in American economic and social life.

The idea of the "Intellectual intimates" is that all this can be financed out of the immense revenue flowing in from the Social Securities tax and that an inflamed popular sentiment can be amassed behind it by staging a show before a packed Senate Committee, in which a lot of rich men will be sensationally pilloried as tax dodgers. As reflection reveals the effrontery of these legislative concoctions and the enormity of the idea behind them, the conclusion is irresistible that the men who conceived them and the men who believe they can put them through are afflicted with strange and dangerous delusions. Congress this time will not accept any such program nor follow any such leadership. Clearly Mr. Roosevelt has overreached himself this session; plainly his "Intellectual intimates" have overplayed their hand. It is recognized that despite his great advantages, the President can get only a small part of what he now wants—which is a great piece of luck for the American people.

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W. Post
June 9/37

Fair Enough

By
Westbrook Pegler

Loophole Experts

THE best income tax and loop-
hole experts in the country
are the accountants employed
in the United States Bureau of In-
ternal Revenue to comb the returns
for mistakes and evasions. They
are kiver-to-kiver men who know
the law and the regulations for-
ward, backward and sidewise, and
they can sort out the deliberately
snarled relations of a dozen or a
hundred phony corporations as un-
erringly as an old woman by a
fireside unwinds a castoff sweater.

These agents know all the Gov-
ernment's tricks, snares and loop-
holes, too, the existence of which
Mr. Roosevelt somehow forgot to
mention the other day, and any big
taxpayer, corporate or individual,
who wants the best advice on
evading taxes and avoiding the
traps set by the Treasury Depart-
ment can save money by hiring an
agent out of the Bureau of Internal
Revenue to come and point out how.

These agents get small pay from
the Government, but they pick up
all the trade and business secrets
of business firms by delving into
their affairs, and there is nothing
to prevent their resigning to sell
their information to private em-
ployers.

Andrew Mellon, when he was the
best Secretary of the Treasury since
Alexander Hamilton, ordered a sur-
vey showing the most effective in-
come tax escapes as revealed by
the intimate experience of the Gov-
ernment's experts. He received a
report listing nine methods and, ac-
cording to testimony given later,
used some of those methods him-
self.

The Government, however, also
uses technicalities to trick, harass
and, as far as honesty and decency
are concerned, to rob the taxpayers.
I cite the case of a widow of a man
who died a year ago, who has been
compelled to preserve and recently
to drag out for inspection by a party
of ghouls from the Treasury
Department the few old suits,
socks, worn underwear, and
and the rusty, curly-shafted golf
clubs of her late husband that they
might be appraised as part of his
estate. He was not a dressy man
and his clothes, when new, didn't
stand him much, but a second-
hand dealer wouldn't pay his own
brother \$50 for the whole wardrobe
in its present condition.

The widow would have given
them away, except that this would
have been regarded as an attempt
to evade appraisal and might have
resulted in a punitive, arbitrary ap-
praisal in the absence of the clothes.
A tax on the wardrobe would not
yield more than a few dollars, but
the Government has a cunning idea.
This wardrobe, at an arbitrary
Government appraisal, might raise
the total amount of the estate into a
higher bracket, and by that trick
the wife and the child of a dead
citizen who worked hard and saved
for their protection may be robbed
of an amount greater than the value
of his garments.

Speaking of ethics, morality and
loopholes, as Mr. Roosevelt was the
other day, I submit that the grave-
robbing policy of the Government
in this instance smells somewhat
more foul than that of the rich
evader who forms a phony company
to save a few dollars from the
clutches of the deserving Democrats.

Mr. Roosevelt speaks feelingly of
the unemployed poor as the victims
of this withholding, and in the ab-
stract he is correct. But my own
feeling on this subject is influenced
by the first appointment that Jim
Farley made when he became Post-
master General. Mr. Farley's first
appointment was that of his own
personal coat-holder and court jes-
ter to keep his personal souvenir
scrapbook.

To be sure, it was generous of Mr.
Farley to make a job for his per-
sonal entertainer, but it is my
thought that his personal generosity
should not be carried on at public
expense, and I suggest that 10,000
such acts of kindness, scattered
through the national Administration,
also present a scandalous, merciless
and immoral robbery of the unem-
ployed poor.

Mr. Roosevelt has done nothing to
dispel the natural suspicion of the
income-tax payer that the money
comes earmarked for keepers of the
scrapbooks in a thousand and one
guises and that the unemployed
poor get second chop at the dough.

Norman Hapgood's Page

On this page Mr. Hapgood presents bi-weekly his views of public events, public men and social and political tendencies of the times. Quite often Mr. Hapgood's opinions



may differ widely from those of the editor of Leslie's, so by mutual consent he and the editor of Leslie's "disclaim all responsibility" for each other's expression of opinion.

Safety and Production

DURING the war is the most feasible time to make changes needed after the war. America is in a most favored position for prosperity, happiness, and leadership, on one condition only. That condition is that she can develop an economic and industrial system that shall increase production and decrease disturbance. The stability of business and society today is threatened by the proletariat. The only remedy is to abolish the proletariat. The proletariat is the mass with no stake in the community. Having no stake, it cares little about us; as it has neither experience nor stake, changes made by it in the structure of society would be rough and ignorant. It is for educated, experienced, and liberal minds to take charge of the problem of change themselves, and so conduct the change as to put the proletariat out of existence.

One step toward abolishing the proletariat could readily be taken. Continuity of employment easily could be brought about. You do not find large numbers of salaried men anxious to upset existing civilization. That is because they are employed by the year. Write to the National Civil Liberties Bureau, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, for "The Truth about the I. W. W.," price 5 cents, and learn something about the results of irregular employment. Labor should feel as secure in the regularity of its employment as the majority of salaried men do. This change, extremely easy to make, would do more than give to the laboring man a stake in the community. It would also tremendously increase production. Fix your mind on that. If a man works 300 days in a year now, how much more would he produce if he worked 300 days? It would be more than a 50 per cent. gain, because the man's whole morale would be improved. Nothing deteriorates a man more than insecurity and sporadic idleness. Moreover, if it is recognized that a man must work, the mind of the community will be busy inventing ways in which he can work productively.

Another Step

A SECOND great step toward industrial peace is also easy to take just now. Nothing makes a man more properly conservative than insurance for himself and family. The present war insurance of sailors and soldiers is the greatest advance in insurance in the history of the world. More than two and one-quarter million Americans have been insured, for an average of over \$8,000, and this over nineteen billion dollars of insurance has been voluntary, contributive, not compulsory and not free. In 1916 all the old-line or legal-reserve companies, all the fraternal, all the industrial and all the assessment companies, combined wrote less than \$5,230,000,000. The expense of doing business for the War Risk Insurance Bureau will fall below 5 per cent. the first year, and still lower thereafter. Moreover, only one-third of this expense, or less than 2 per cent., is chargeable to insurance, the rest going to allowance, allotment, and other departments. For a private company 15 per cent. is considered economical. How much will this Government step alone, if it is made permanent, do to keep the masses interested in stability? The Government could easily extend this system at once from soldiers and sailors to the whole realm of Government employees. Why not get in the railroad employees immediately? That will give you two million more. Why not get in the men in the controlled shops, of which the number must increase? Let everybody become a creditor of the Government. Then you have an end of your subversive mobs. If the Government leads, the states, cities, big concerns, small concerns, will follow. A few minds as creative and bold as McAdoo's (who, poor chap, has his hands full) could pull the thing off now while the war is on.

Getting to the Bottom

FOR abolishing the proletariat there is a step even greater than the two discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Those two need to be supplemented by two others, in fact. If we take all four we shall be on a fair way toward assuring the hollowness of the world.

The lesser of these steps is to give to the laborer a share in management—lessor, at least, in its promises for the present, though extremely important. I have already written about that subject, some weeks ago, and it is by necessity a matter of gradual evolution, with severe problems, whereas regularity of employment and insurance can and should be brought about at once. The greatest step of all in reshaping industry is cooperation. The American often feels like quoting Tennyson:

"I the heir of all the ages
In the foremost files of time."

He thinks he is about the up-to-date thing there is. In this superb aspect of progress does "God's Own Country" stand first? It does not. Compared with England or Russia it is a joke. Compared with little Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland it is a joke also. In England one-quarter of the population are co-operatives. Also, more than one-quarter of the population of Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland. In 1915 in England their stores did a business of nearly \$700,000,000; in 1916 of \$900,000,000. With what they have earned in their factories they have bought wheat lands, coal mines, soap factories, cattle, fruit orchards, coffee and tea plantations. They insure their members at extremely low rates, about half the industrial insurance of Great Britain now being cooperative. Only a few months ago they combined with the British Labor Party, which is now stronger than either of the old parties. With such democracy no Bolshevism is possible in England. There is no room for it.

Little Denmark, in the fiscal year of 1916-17, in her agricultural cooperation (including the manufacturing incidental to agriculture) had a total turnover of \$310,000,000, as against \$200,000,000 the last year before the war. Not in all the progress material. In Belgium the cooperatives have built their own libraries and schools. They give plays and the most popular dramatist is Maeterlinck. They send groups of their country children to the cities to be stimulated and city children to the country to be refreshed. The surprising progress from 1915 to 1916 was in spite of the war. As soon as the war is over, the cooperatives of England are ready to run their own ships to Russia loading them at both ends with cooperative products. However, in one respect the war has helped the movement, though not nearly as much as it has held it back. The Austrian government before the war was against cooperation as too democratic. In 1917 the Ministry of War, seeking national efficiency, invited the munition workers in and around Vienna to organize cooperatively. The German government had also opposed the movement, but when the war broke out was compelled by reason of self-preservation to stop its opposition. The last news that reaches me about cooperation in Europe is that the Union of Consumers' societies is hoping to raise in this country capital for a cooperative paper mill on the Murman Peninsula. The Union already has twenty producing establishments, including three flour mills, one shoe factory, one sugar mill, one candy factory, two soap works, one fruit-dessicating establishment, and fisheries in the Caspian. Our Consul at Moscow sent word that the Union has the same protection and encouragement under the present régime that it had under the Tsar.

Backward as we are, we in this United States have a thousand cooperative distributing societies. There is to be a national convention in Springfield, Illinois, next September. It will bear watching. *The Cooperative Consumer*, 50 cents a year, 2 West 13th Street, New York, will keep you up with the story. The story answers the high cost of living.

A Gain Through War

THE war has forced us to do many things we were too flaccid to do in peace. No step is more important, if it is made permanent, than the development of a United States Employment Service. The President has established such a service, through his extraordinary war powers. If our people let go of this agency after the war, their conduct will be a lapse into listless barbarism.

Armenia and Others

A FORTNIGHT ago my whole page was filled with a discussion of a single question, which I did not wish to interrupt. Perhaps, therefore, I should now say a few words on Colonel Roosevelt's letter in *LESLIE'S* for June 8th. As the chances are that the Colonel will run again in 1920, and keep up a relentless attack on the President, in season and out, and regardless of the war situation, the subject is important. A correspondent of *LESLIE'S* asked the Colonel about an editorial of mine comparing the Colonel's abandonment, when president, of the Armenians, with the fury of his assault on President Wilson for not saving Armenia and Belgium. On that subject Colonel Roosevelt answers nothing. I also pointed out the discrepancy between what the Colonel said in September, 1914, and what he says now. The Colonel replies in brief, that he was an innocent and well-meaning patriot misled by the President's advice and lies. These lies led him:

1. To point out elaborately that any country in Germany's position would have invaded Belgium.
2. That T. R.'s own ancestors were Germans and were ravaged by the French worse than Belgium was ravaged by Germany.
3. That the German people and the German Staff deserved the encomiums T. R. proceeded to heap upon them.
4. That we should be strictly neutral.
5. That it might well be argued that when Russia mobilized Germany had only one course open to her.
6. That the American government would have been criminally negligent had it not, under T. R., grabbed a piece of land from Colombia when it wanted it.

About all I can say to this is that I hope the next time Colonel Roosevelt's innocence is misled he will not go quite so far. But what about Armenia? And with Belgium in mind, is Colonel Roosevelt in 1920 going to make a plank out of Panama?

Third Terms

Perhaps in view of the preceding editorial, and the prospect of T. R.'s running again, I ought to explain that I for one have no objection to third terms. In spite of the way history is taught, Washington, always quoted against more than two terms, had no objection to them. He approved of as long service as the people desired. To him it was ridiculous to turn a man out when he had learned his job. The fact that he was tired from a lifetime of strain is what caused his own refusal to run again. Here is a quotation from a letter to his beloved Lafayette: "Guarded so effectually as the proposed constitution is, in respect to the prevention of bribery and undue influence in the choice of President, I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you, as to the necessity or expediency of rotation in that appointment." However, historical superstitions die hard.

Punctuality

EARLY in the war a German officer said to a Frenchman: "We shall defeat you, because you are incapable of punctuality." Punctuality in the military sense requires both the spirit of considering the exact second and the high organization to apply the principle, to complex conditions. The French have the spirit of punctuality. In social life it is part of etiquette. To be five minutes late to an appointment is a discourtesy. The war has shown that they also have military organization to a degree that is surprising, as in their business world they are less highly organized than the Germans or even the British. In this struggle the "imponderables," as Bismarck put it, have been the most powerful ally of the French and British, as against the matchless German organization. If the speech about punctuality had been made to the Russians its point would have been undeniable. Not only is Russia unorganized, but the Slav mind is vague about time and about detailed responsibilities. In Russian *20yebaz* means immediately and *20/ra* means tomorrow. A Frenchman, returning from Russia, was asked if he had picked up any of the language. "A few words here and there from the context," he replied. "For instance I know that *20yebaz* means tomorrow and *20/ra* means never."

Published by the COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS AT TIME INC.

Ten Cents a Copy



Free Speech In Confidence

NAZI officials in Germany recently came down severely on certain actors who had had the impudence to be irreverent about them in public. Mr. Luce, in his memorandum about *HIGH TIME*, differed from the Nazis in one respect. He said he did find *HIGH TIME* amusing. However, he added that he would not tolerate public criticism of *Time Inc.* by his employees.

Mr. Luce did not use the word "criticism." He called it "gossip." When you want to suppress free speech, it sounds much better to call it "gossip" than criticism. But let us see what Mr. Luce considers gossip:

Are the facts about insecurity of *Time Inc.* workers (which nobody has denied) gossip? Is *Time Inc.*'s attitude toward the WPA and the rights of citizens gossip? It is serious both to WPA workers and most citizens. Are *Time*'s misrepresentations and bias in reporting news merely matters of gossip? We do not take so cynical a view. Whether the *Time* publications tell the truth is of some consequence to the American people.

Mr. Luce indicated that even if these are important matters, they should be a family secret. He coined a phrase to describe that peculiar theory: "free speech in confidence." Mr. Luce is in favor of freedom of speech for his employees up to a certain point. That is the point where his control of his employees ends. In other words, anyone may talk and kick to his heart's content so long as he does it only within the organization, where Mr. Luce need not necessarily pay attention. Mr. Luce doesn't want the public to know. Like the Congressmen who used to vote dry and drink wet, he would like to play both sides of the street.

American businessmen and politicians no doubt would find it convenient to carry on "in confidence" and be answerable only to themselves. But such a situation would not be democracy. Luckily the United States is still a democracy and not even *Time Inc.* can escape public examination.

Mr. Luce thinks that in speaking out the Communist Party members at *Time Inc.* are disloyal. Does he expect employees to be silent about exploitation, insecurity and dishonest journalism? *HIGH TIME* is published primarily for the enlightenment of *Time Inc.* employees. It believes it serves their best interest to tell the truth about *Time Inc.* It wants to make their jobs more secure. Since the first issue of *HIGH TIME* came out with its exposé of insecurity, Mr. Ingersoll has issued a memorandum to his staff assuring it that from now on the turnover will not be more than 5%. *HIGH TIME* strives to improve working conditions in *Time Inc.* by exposing big and petty injustices wherever it discovers them. It draws the curtain aside to show up dirty work in the editorial rooms so that editors will be less ready to muck up the honest work of their employees. It points out how stories have been distorted. It also tries to interpret happenings outside *Time* that affect everyone who works for *Time*.

Mr. Luce accused *HIGH TIME* of compromising *Time*'s "reputation for nonpartisanship." Does he mean the reputation created by Laird Goldsborough? Or by John S. Martin, whose book, *General Manpower* (see review in this issue), bears

Time's name on its jacket, so far without any audible objection from Mr. Luce? Or by *Life*'s yeoman work for the Republican Party in the last election? *Time*'s reputation is in no jeopardy from the Communist Party. The management of *Time Inc.*, alone, by what it publishes in its publications, is responsible for *Time Inc.*'s reputation. Mr. Luce asked what people would think if a publication were issued by a "Time Inc. G.O.P." Well, many people are under the impression that a *Time Inc. G.O.P.* already publishes several publications, namely *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*.

Mr. Luce's reaction to *HIGH TIME* was a typical boss's reaction. He said in his memorandum that many people in his organization had told him they wanted to "do something" about *HIGH TIME*. That sounds like incitement to stoolpigeoning or vigilanteism. Mr. Luce said he himself does not intend to start a Red hunt. All he plans to do, he said, is to fire anyone whom he discovers contributing to *HIGH TIME*.

Mr. Luce's employees cannot match Mr. Luce in intimidation. They can only rely on that right to a hearing which in a democracy is theirs as well as Mr. Luce's.

Crude Rubber

It is a tremendous responsibility (says Mr. Ingersoll when someone at his Thursday afternoon staff cocktail parties asks him why *Time* hasn't carried some story or other) to be publisher of a magazine and have to decide about such things when you know that a \$100,000 advertising contract may be canceled the next day. We agree; it is a tremendous responsibility. And every time we can think of, Mr. Ingersoll has decided that he has a greater responsibility to *Time*'s stockholders than to its readers. Specifically:

Time has been on the run from the rubber companies ever since April 8, 1935, when it was foolhardy enough to print an account of the Labor Board's charges against Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone. It was plainly stated that the companies had refused to abolish company unions, which annoyed the rubber companies' executives and adver-

tising agents. For two years *Time* hardly mentioned labor in Akron. Then it described Firestone's conduct in signing a contract with United Rubber Workers as a model example of congenial labor relations. Obviously there had been other significant advances in URW organization before this, but *Time*'s readers weren't told about them. Last May Goodyear workers went on strike after extensive layoffs. What happened was so newsworthy that *Life* had two pictures of Akron cops using tear gas on strikers; *Time* ran a long story reporting the unquestioned fact that after the police were done with them 47 strikers went to the hospital. Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. West had the Akron chamber of commerce and the rubber companies on their necks so fast they thought the sky had fallen. Now whenever there is an Akron labor story Mr. Gottfried on *Time* and Mr. Billings on *Life* say anxiously, "Be sure to give the companies' side of the story, too." There was an amusing instance a few months ago: *Times* Business department had a paragraph about a new rubber synthetic, korosal, "developed by Goodrich chemists." Actually the chemists of the other rubber companies had also worked on it, as Mr. West soon discovered; and to make up, *Life* ran a Goetz to a Party story about the Akron Rubber Ball—a month late.

Last month Ruth McKenney, whose *My Sister Ellen* was greeted with enthusiasm last summer by *Time*'s book section published a book about Akron called *Industrial Valley*. Any book about Akron is a book about rubber, and the most important thing that has happened in rubber plants in the last few years is that the rubber workers formed a union. Because *Industrial Valley* was not even remotely subsidized by the rubber companies' advertising money, as *Time* and *Life* are, it was unable to avoid commenting on the rubber companies' labor policies. *Time* did not review it. The worst thing about this story is that *Industrial Valley* is a remarkably fine book, far better, for example, than *The Platinum Tower*, by Jerome Bahr, or *Hannibal Hooker*, by William Harlan Hale, which were reviewed that week. We can only urge all our readers to read it.

Life Looks at Roosevelt And Finds Him Shrewd, Bold and Lusty

AS far back as 1932 it became apparent that Henry Luce had political ambitions. But then and during the next four years, *Time* had relatively little influence, *Fortune* even less; and Mr. Luce's personal ventures into public life were somewhat unfortunate. Recall his famous "aristocratic principle" speech with its crack at "dead men's faiths"—the dead man's faith (in which Mr. Luce had no faith) being Thomas Jefferson's faith in democracy. It may have been the walloping he took on that speech that decided Henry Luce to be king maker if he couldn't be king.

Life gave him the chance. As *Life* rolled up 1,000,000, then 2,000,000 circulation, Luce realized that here was a powerful medium of mass propaganda at last in his hands. He announced to his staff that not only *Life*, but hereafter all *Time Inc.* must take a stronger line. What that stronger line would be soon became obvious.

Hubert Kay became National News Editor as *Life* moved on to become "America's most potent editorial force." He was a shrewd choice. A Prince-

ton man who had taught elocution, he was once considered quite a Hoover-hater by the boys on *Time*. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was first elected President, he looked upon him as the answer to America's prayer. But when Mr. Kay rose from second-stringer on *Time* to first-stringer on *Life*, when he emerged as foremost political trumpet for all the Luce presses, his thinking underwent a change. He developed into one of those amphibians known as a "liberal Republican." Roosevelt became Kay enemy No. 1. The New Deal became Kay target No. 1. Everything went: personal attacks, jokes, sneers, slurs, downright distortions of fact. Week after week the broadside continued till during the last election *Life* sounded like a Republican Party organ. No wonder G.O.P. national headquarters sent Henry Luce a personal letter of thanks for services rendered.

Through Big Business's depression in 1937 and the campaign in 1938 it was evident, even to the greenest office boy, that *Life*'s political line was directed by Mr. Luce himself. In fact, during the

PSF
Newspaper clipping

HIGH TIME

Published monthly
by the Communist Party members at Time Inc.
Address all correspondence to Room 500,
50 East 13th Street, New York City.

last weeks of the campaign, Luce took over the day-by-day editing to see that the line was not only strong but straight. Yet Hubert Kay denies that he takes orders from anybody. If true, he is Exhibit A of what happens to vaguely liberal *Time Inc.* writers who are shrewd, ambitious, politically naive and sociologically ignorant. (He is politically so ignorant, for instance, that he was horrified to learn that President Roosevelt is commander-in-chief of the Navy and as such can order the fleet around—a New Deal plot to get us into war, no doubt.)

Today Hubert Kay no longer attempts to answer researchers who object to the phoney premises, the tricky deductions, the sweepingly false impressions in his political "news." He smiles and calls them "editorial opinions." He smiles too at the letters that rain down on *Life* every time he unleashes another eruption of reaction. Well schooled after 7 years in the traditional technique of *Time Inc.*, he knows how to be accurate in details and crooked as a pig's tail in conclusions.

Life's fundamental political concepts are these:

1. That the basic need of the people for relief, social security and housing is New Deal squandering.
2. That the people's need for defense against aggressor nations is New Deal war-mongering.
3. That the President, in seeking to satisfy the people's needs, is a self-willed politician bent on consolidating his machine and perpetuating his power.
4. That all labor legislation, such as the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Act and the Wages and Hours Act—those long-needed elementary guarantees of civil rights to America's wage earners—are "one-sided" and "unfair to business."
5. That Big Business, whose sabotage of national welfare has created an economic crisis and contracted the subsistence levels of millions (while its own margin of profits remains unscathed), is maligned and harassed to the point where it has to go "begging" and "huddled" at the White House door.
6. That New Dealers are "stooges" and "coat-tail hangers," whereas anti-New Dealers are statesmen of independent mind.

There is a seventh tenet, more subtle and more dangerous. In every election since 1932 the American people have voiced clearly and decisively their desire for relief, housing, security and protection of their civil rights. Even in 1938, when they elected Republicans, they were still by *Life's* own admission voting for exactly these things, for "most Republicans applaud New Deal objectives" (*Life*, Oct. 17, p. 17). Yet week after week *Life* implies that the people do not actually want these things. Only the "stubborn," "self-willed" President wants them. Only he is trying to foist them on a reluctant population.

In this amazing reversal of truth lies *Life's* contribution to reactionary journalism. Other reactionary journals, like the *Herald-Tribune* and the *Sun*, attack openly as class organs of Big Business. But that is an old game and the public no longer plays tag. So *Life*, as much an organ of Big Business as any, now attacks in the name of "the people." The three objectives it hopes thus to gain are: 1) to suggest that the people are allied to the economic and political program of Big Business; 2) in this way to divorce Roosevelt from popular support and so from his program; 3) if he resists, to build up in the public mind the picture of a reckless and crafty White House hypocrite who is ambitious to be a dictator.

In short, when Roosevelt seeks to give the people what, by every Gallup poll, by every election they insist they want, he becomes in *Life's* pages an enemy of the people and a menace to democracy.

Let us look at the record.

All through 1938, when Big Business was stalling the Administration's recovery program, *Life* hammered away at what it called "the Roosevelt Recession." On Jan. 24, 1938, to "prove that President Roosevelt's depression has not plunged him in frozen-faced gloom," it ran candid shots of a smiling Executive under the sneering headline: "Happy Drinkers In Mr. Roosevelt's Recession." In contrast, it exhibited the plight of five Big Businessmen, including "National Steel's Weir and General Motor's Sloan," "huddled at the White House door" to "beg the President to make up his mind." "Does he intend," lamented *Life*, "to abate his reforming zeal and work for a united front of Government and Business?" On April 4 we hear, in "The Sad Case of Robert Simpson: An American Tragedy," of a youth who "managed to keep his head above water until the Roosevelt Depression came along." On page 9 Mr. Simpson is "lacking the outdoor clothes for a WPA job." On page 13 Mr. Simpson is outdoors and fully clothed. And a few weeks later Mr. Simpson, it develops, is no American tragedy at all but the ne'er-do-well of a comfortable family.

When the House of Representatives, led by the arch-reactionary New York Congressman John O'Connor (defeated in November), torpedoed the President's sensible Reorganization Bill, *Life* crowed (April 18): "House of Representatives By Democratic Vote Repudiates the President." The words "by democratic vote," the sentence "Here is history, great history in the making," all contributed to the impression that a malevolent dictator was thus stopped in his tracks. To point up this moral, there followed 38 faces of Democrats in a "Congress friendly to business who found courage to reassert its legislative supremacy." But *Life* (same issue) bettered that. Do Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin point fingers, shake hands, pin medals, pat animals? So in pictures side by side with them did Franklin D. Roosevelt. The headline was "Speaking of Dictators. . ."

Indignant letter writers were told it was all a joke.

Next week the assault went on. Leading picture for a story called "America Listens As The President Goes To The People For \$5,000,000,000" was a Mr. Walter Kneal who proved to be "puzzled and confused" by a fireside chat that "left

him cold." Pay-off was a neat racial slur consisting of a Negro reliefer in Houston, Texas, sprawled out on a big bed before a big radio, saying "I think he's wonderful."

The same issue sported another one of *Life's* sporadic, hopeful but somehow ever halfhearted build-ups for Vice President Garner, this time "rumored to have split with the President over pump priming." The Garner boom had started much earlier with a picture biography headed: "A Restless Congress Looks to 'Cactus Jack' Garner to Lead It," and hinting that the man whom Hearst had twice tried in vain to make President was still at 70 good enough for Henry Luce. The Garner high was finally achieved in a handsome Bourke-White cover (May 2) for the "acknowledged leader of Congress and white hope of conservatives."

Last May *Life* was disheartened when Florida picked New Deal Senator Pepper in preference to an anti-Administration opponent. "There was no dodging the conclusion that the Roosevelt coat-tails are still a magic carpet to political office." Worse yet, three days after Pepper's victory and as a direct result of it, "22 wobbling Southern Congressmen signed the petition that brought the Wages & Hours Bill up for House vote!"

On May 23 *Life* asked loudly but rhetorically: "Has The New Deal Spent Billions To Keep Itself In Power?" Drawings to show that WPA funds were allocated primarily as political gravy were so transparently misleading, so deliberately oblivious to the special needs of states with erosion programs, farm problems and power dams to build, that *Life* had to admit the "fury of protest" that followed. Protests did not stop *Life* long. On June 27 it offered "positive proof" from the Gallup and *Fortune* polls that "the majority of U. S. citizens do not actively approve the New Deal." Read that sentence italicized by *Life* carefully. In it lies the essence of *Time Inc.'s* sleight-of-hand technique. In reality the sentence is a shameless lie. But verbally there's a weasel in it, and you'll find that weasel in the eighth word. What *Life* did to the Gallup-*Fortune* poll was this:

On almost every question asked, 20 to 30% were "undecided" and "uninformed," but those who had opinions were by overwhelming majority for the New Deal. Now, *Life* skipped out of this embarrassing truth by simply adding the "undecided" and "uninformed" to the opposition.

In other words, suppose 70% of the U. S. electorate (a high figure for an election) went to the polls during a hot campaign. Suppose two-thirds of them voted for a New Deal candidate (47% of the total electorate). *Life* might use the same trick and contest the victor since "the majority of U. S. citizens do not actively approve him."

Franco had exactly that idea about the last election in Spain.

By summer, with the 1938 campaign well under way, *Life* stepped up its pace. Few Roosevelt slurs, personal or political, were too scurrilous to run. On July 18 the reader was horrified to hear of an "astounding statement made with a straight face by Franklin D. Roosevelt. . . ." On Aug. 22 he was shocked to learn that reactionary Walter F. George, Georgia's "Gentleman-Scholar, Gets A Kick In The Pants From Dr. Roosevelt" who was stumping for a "100% New Deal stooge named Camp."

For weeks *Life* stormed and spluttered about the "Roosevelt purge" which was only a reasonable desire by a progressive executive to have a progressive legislature elected. On July 25 the purge was "a gentle one." By Sept. 26 it had reached mammoth proportions but had fortunately "fizzled out" in complete failure by a score of 9 to 0, though Roosevelt had intervened in only three.

In the month before election *Life* really went to town. Read the Oct. 17 lead, written with the fervor of a college cheer leader: "The Republicans



Gropper in NEW MASSES

Sing With New Zip and Zing." This was followed by seven pages of solid political ballyhoo, divided thus: Republicans 7 pages; Democrats 0. On Oct. 21 a good hunk went to Tom Dewey, "a young Galahad from Owosso, Mich.," another "White Hope." On election eve (Nov. 7) *Life* sat down with the reader for a fireside chat of its own. Title: "Political Quiz: Test Yourself Before You Vote Nov. 8." Excerpt: "New Deal sentiment will be a big factor in voting, big enough so that a strong Republican showing will establish and stimulate an anti-New Deal trend."

Election results filled *Life's* top office with glee. Here was a "challenge" to "Businessmen and Republicans to go forward" (Note coupling). Then followed the snidest job of the year. Under a gigantic trick-angle shot of the President (Jan. 16) *Life* described him as "this shrewd, bold, lusty self-willed man" who "now truly bestrides the world like a Colossus. His ambition and power are cut to fit." And further down, still more sinister: "President Roosevelt has never shared the majority's opinion!"

In short: Beware of Roosevelt the Dictator! A U. S. history writer rose in public some years ago and said of a certain U. S. newspaper publisher that "no decent person would touch him with a ten-foot pole." Subsequently the public caught up with this publisher and his great newspaper empire went bust. History moves fast these days. It may not take the public quite so long to catch up with *Life*. And we who earn our livings at *Time Inc.* hate to think what will happen when they do. It is our hope that this article may let Henry Luce see his loudest political mouthpiece as millions of U. S. citizens are already beginning to see it.

... two-thirds of a nation ...

LIFE's most recent public gesture, the Yale-*Life* conference on housing techniques, was about as practical as a haunted house. After much fanfare two hundred eminent technicians got together and talked about talking about techniques. Least misanthropic quote *Life's* caption writer could find for the magazine's two pages of pictures was that of Professor John E. Burchard of M.I.T.: "More knowledge of what the other man is doing and thinking would take housing research out of the hush-hush atmosphere which now envelops it and into the free and stimulating air of constructive and cooperative thought." But as a matter of fact, the discussion had been strictly limited (hush, hush!) in advance. And necessarily so, from *Life's* advertising and political points of view. The trouble with housing, as everyone knows, is that people haven't got enough money and enough security to own houses. Anything so tragically simple as this can't be said under *Life's* sponsorship. If the conference hadn't been limited, some unromantic realist might have pointed out that housing and security and high wages are problems which intimately interlock. And this couldn't have happened at a conference where most of the people invited represented building-material trusts constantly under fire of the Federal Trade Commission, and notoriously anti-union besides.

"We have decided to maintain the institution of Private Property," said Mr. Luce in a concluding address. "Private property in its essence is something it takes a man most of his lifetime to get—something you started paying for when you were young and receive, in undiluted value, when you are old or dead."

Almost at the same time as the Yale-*Life* soiree, a technical conference was being held in Moscow. Architects, engineers, nurses, teachers, doctors, met to discuss designs and building techniques for new nurseries and kindergartens. And in this case, discussion of technique was not a musty wind in an abandoned tunnel, for the buildings were going to be built.

Spain Is Not Conquered

What a Franco Victory Would Mean

EVERY rebel victory in Spain is a threat to every employee of *Time, Inc.* Any battle won by fascism anywhere is a menace to every *Time* wage earner, as it is to wage earners everywhere else. Fascism always brings a sharp drop in wages (as contrasted with the steady increase in wages and goods in the Soviet Union), a sharp increase in the cost of living and also a sharp increase in dividends for a few monopoly capitalists at the top of the structure they have helped to erect. Fascism, one of whose goals is to make the world safe for the big capitalist, always smashes trade unions. Each victory of fascism brings us one step nearer to a world war which can only be averted by a collective stand on the part of democracies determined to avert such a catastrophe.

If fascism, or an American brand of reaction which, like Shakespeare's rose, smelled the same though called by a different name, arrived here, what effect would it have on your pay check? According to a World Economic Survey published by the League of Nations the profits of German big business have risen steeply since the Hitler dictatorship, while wages have been depressed below subsistence levels. The League of Nations index for real hourly wages in Germany dropped from 104 in 1932 (the low point of the economic crisis) to 98 in 1936. The Foreign Policy Association, after an analysis of various wage statistics, concluded that the annual per capita income of German wageworkers and salaried employees averaged 1,990 marks in 1936 as compared with 2,077 in 1932. During this period, the Association estimates, the cost of living rose at least 20 to 25 per cent. At the same time (and this proves that the decrease in wages was not the result of Germany's international position) profits rose, according to the German Institute for Business Research, from a net loss of 2.5 billions in 1932 to a net profit of 1.9 billion Reichmarks in 1935.

Now there is nothing remarkable in wages dropping to starvation levels while profits pyramid under fascism, for fascism always arrives at that point when progressive forces become articulate enough to demand an equitable share of the nation's wealth for the people. Naturally this demand, if successful, would preclude unlimited, unregulated, public-be-damned profits on the part of big industrialists. At that point, unless the people are properly organized to protect their interests in a democratic front including all progressives, predatory industrialists begin looking for a strong man. In the name of patriotism and law and order they make covert contributions to such organizations as the Coughlinites and the Bund. This was done by the Thyssens and the Krupp who financed Hitler in Germany, and by similar tycoons who financed Mussolini in Italy. And it was good business. We might ask, before proceeding, whether you believe that the Girdlers, the Rands, the Weirs, the Fords, the Hearsts, the industrialists whose policies resulted in the Memorial Day massacre and the Harlan County mass murders, would be above the methods that have proved so profitable in Germany and Italy?

Germany, Italy and Japan have entered an alliance to reapportion the surface of the earth. In accordance with this plan for world dominion, Italy has already taken over Ethiopia, Germany has already seized Austria, dominated Czechoslovakia, and has announced that she will continue such seizures, while Japan is attempting to conquer China as a step toward monopolizing the Orient. As a part of that plan—the plan which would reduce YOU to an underfed automaton—Germany and Italy are aiding Spain's reactionaries in their effort to set up a fascist state on the Iberian

peninsula. Here again the inevitable recipe of New Deal was followed. A liberal, republican Spanish New Deal was legally elected by the people. The landlords and industrialists, rather than submit to legal and badly needed reforms, embraced fascism and collaborated with a foreign invasion designed to reduce the people to vassalage. If Spain is thus reduced, France, with the aid of French reactionaries, will be next, and Mussolini's boast that "Tomorrow Europe will be fascist" will have become tragic reality. And is there anyone who believes that a fascist Europe would present no threat to the United States? Is there anyone who believes that a fascist Europe would voluntarily forego the rich prize of South America?

Mussolini's prediction must not come true. The valiant democrats of Spain are still fighting against almost superhuman odds for a free Spain and a free world. You know by now that the persistent reports, printed in virtually all of the newspapers, that Loyalist Spain had surrendered, were untrue. The aim of such reports, of course, was to spread defeatism among friends of Loyalist Spain. To understand why this should be the desire of wealthy newspaper owners, you must realize that reaction everywhere, inside our country and inside every country, is always friendly to fascism in times of crisis for the simple reason that fascism is the highest, most concrete expression of monopoly capital. It is the last resort, the most complete form of protection, for the profits of the few. The reactionaries know—and we, too, must realize it—that the world is a unit; that a victory for reaction anywhere is a victory for reaction everywhere, and that a defeat for reaction at one point is a defeat that will be felt at all points. When you understand that, the entire world picture becomes clear. Then you understand why Chamberlain, the Tory representative of British industrialists, and Bonnet, the reactionary French foreign minister, are eager to come to terms with fascism. Then you understand why the same people who oppose Roosevelt's liberal domestic policies also oppose a foreign policy of collective security against reactionary war makers.

Munich, however, gave us virtually definitive proof that a foreign policy of collaboration with fascism, the appeasement policy of Chamberlain, is the road to war. Yielding to aggression does not stop aggression but encourages it. Chamberlain and the French reactionaries will yield again unless prevented by the democratic forces within their nations. Chamberlain and Daladier will not fight reaction until that reaction menaces British and French profits. They will sacrifice Spain and they will sacrifice Czechoslovakia but they will not sacrifice the interests of the Tories of their own countries. When those interests are seriously threatened, war will arrive.

But all this can be prevented. You must help prevent it. If you fail, it is your life that will pay the penalty. The first thing to do is lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain. Give Spain the means to fight your fight. Wire your Congressman. Write to the President. The next step is to realize that reaction at home always favors reaction abroad and in that knowledge to support all liberal, New Deal, progressive legislation through a broad democratic front including all anti-fascists. Thirdly, in the belief that surrender to a bandit does not persuade him from robbery, you can urge, anywhere and everywhere, that democratic, treaty-observing nations stand together to keep the peace and prevent a world catastrophe. Only thus can you protect your life, your job, your happiness. You act for your own interests when you wire your Congressman to lift the embargo.

TARZAN He Hunts, He Fishes

JOHN STUART MARTIN gives a melodramatic impersonation of an old-time newspaper man (though the only paper he ever worked on was the *Princetonian*), making alterations in his stories late Monday night, sitting in the bull pen with his hat on. Sometimes he doesn't show up for two or three days. He has slapped the backs of more Senators and Congressmen than any other *Time* writer. He definitely partakes of the Luce "I-don't-care-how-you-get-it, but-get-it" tradition. A year and a half ago he left his job as *Time's* managing editor to do a little fishing and write a book called *General Manpower*. Since he came back last spring he has written the lion's share of National Affairs each week, making noises like a lion while writing it.

Book reviewers are obliged to read a great quantity of bad books in the course of a year, but seldom does anyone have the opportunity of reading as bad a book as *General Manpower*. Mr. Martin had the really nifty idea of pretending to be writing in the 21st Century, which enabled him to make historical references to Joe Di Maggio, Charlie McCarthy, and Mussolini. The hero is Jonathan Orestes Jones, who has "the clean, hard body of a trained athlete and the thoughtful expression of a man whose interest in business has transcended the profit motive." Mr. Jones puts a million high-class strikebreakers into barracks in Lower California, then hires them out as industrial and military shock troops to anyone who wants them. He is popular with his clients because he assumes all social-security taxes, "which at this point in American history—" it is 1948—"were the greatest single cause of industrial bankruptcy." After he has put down a few minor revolutions and virtually transformed American industry, he is engaged to save the West from Communism. The peoples of the East, "odd but innocent children, have been filled up with naughty ideas by the Reds." Mr. Jones saves the West from Communism fairly easily by sending out to the Dutch East Indies a couple of hundred thousand of his best

men, handsome, blonde and virile, something like John Stuart Martin himself. The natives are frightened out of their wits.

The author of this adolescent stuff is clearly identified on the jacket as "of *Time* the Weekly Newsmagazine," which largely accounts for the attention most reviewers gave it. It is illustrated with maps by Bob Chapin, *Time's* map maker. Mr. Luce frequently makes the point that *Time's* reputation for objectivity, built up painfully over 15 years, is its most valuable possession. To anyone who reads *General Manpower*, the idea that Mr. Martin is possessed of any objectivity is simply ludicrous. Naturally his social and political opinions affect his conduct of *Time's* leading department; if he shares the philosophy of the reactionary politicians he writes about, it is important to know it. *Time's* official opinion, expressed in the review written by Managing Editor T. S. Matthews, is that in *General Manpower* Mr. Martin was only fooling. *General Manpower*, said Mr. Matthews, "will not be convicted of undue seriousness in any court." With this comfortable conclusion *How* *Time* is unable to agree. If Mr. Martin were not quite so aggressive a fisherman, quite such a crack shot, we might suspect him of burlesquing his "benevolent industrial dictatorship," with its healthy storm-troopers running around happily, making love to girls and chinning themselves. As it is, his company state has all the earmarks of Mr. Martin's idea of Utopia. It is the sort of setup in which he would be a big shot.

HIGH TIME

Mr. Martin is less crude in NA. He does his work by innuendo, by tricky leads, by making New Dealers sinister or foolish and anti-New Dealers dignified and cool-headed. The first result of his return to *Time* last spring was the sudden appearance in NA of frequent items about WPA workers leaning on their shovels. That particular joke was pretty stale, but Mr. Martin still thought it was funny. President Roosevelt was another hot sketch. No one on *Time* has forgotten Martin's performance before last year's elections: his shocked indignation, shifting to jubilation, over the "Roosevelt purge"; his "sanity in government" publicity for men like Merriam and Hell and James—with only a flip word or two for their opponents; his dramatic descriptions of Tom Dewey, in somewhat the same terms as he speaks of one of the characters in *General Manpower*: "From his square head down to the soles of his feet, he was a square-chinned fighting man." He got Tony Sarg to do a double-spread cartoon with the snappy title—"Our Country Fair—or Unfair." He thought up most of the jokes: Fanny Perkins as the tattooed lady, "Examine her closely, ladies and gentlemen, with CIO tattooed on every part of her anatomy," Secretary Morgenthau as a hula-hula girl: "He shakes 'em all down"; Franklin Roosevelt just starting off on his Death-Defying Third Term Loop.

In *General Manpower* Franklin Roosevelt lives through his Third Term Loop (though when he is not setting up straw men Mr. Martin really thinks a conservative Democrat will be elected in 1940, if not a Republican). After a brief Republican victory, James Roosevelt is elected. Then no less a square-chinned fighting man than Henry Cabot Lodge II succeeds in "breaking the grip of the Roosevelts" on the country. He incorporates labor unions "after a careful campaign of education in which the unions are taught to picture themselves as respected, responsible American institutions instead of as defensive cabals with their pistols at the public's head." (If unions were incorporated they would be at the mercy of labor-baiting judges, and employers would have free access to their books and membership lists. They would no doubt be respectable, but no good to their members.) Mr. Lodge goes on to lick the depression by "a patient course of economy in government which restores confidence to business." Here it may not be out of place to note that Mr. Martin has often slapped the back of Mr. Lodge, that he is, in fact, one of Mr. Lodge's pals. Mr. Lodge is spoken of in *Time* as "bright, young," sometimes as "smart, young." One of the best examples of Mr. Martin's methods occurred last month when the press was making an immense hullabaloo about the sale of American planes to France. Mr. Martin said: "To his full height in the Senate rose young Henry Cabot Lodge, grandson and namesake of one of the men who drove Woodrow Wilson wild on the League of Nations issue, to ask the Secretary of the Treasury"—something or other of no importance. Mr. Martin is also a pal of that slick article Bruce Barton. Mr. Martin calls Mr. Barton "thoughtful."

What News from Detroit?

SIDNEY Oviatt is no longer on *Time's* pay roll as Detroit correspondent. His predecessor, Christy Borth, was suspended a year and a half ago because a General Motors executive complained to *Time* that in a telephone conversation with him Christy Borth had used coarse language. Sidney Oviatt never used coarse language to executives. He had almost no newspaper experience and he knew nothing about Detroit, but he was fascinated by the romance of the auto industry. His chief sources of information were W. J. Cameron and Harry Bennett of the Ford Motor Co., and Homer Martin and Francis Henson, the anti-CIO officials



"Holy smoke—the editors of *Fortune* are on their way over!"

NEW MASSES

of the United Automobile Workers. Whatever you said about Oviatt, he was certainly prolific. He sent in tremendous reports every week about Martin's side of the UAW story. Now, with Henson no longer editor of the auto workers' paper, with Martin denounced by an overwhelming majority of the union membership and completely discredited, with Harry Bennett in South America, it is just as well that Oviatt is not *Time's* correspondent, for he would have had no way of obtaining even one side of the news any longer.

Open Shop

LAST month news got out that half of *Life's* huge print order was to be transferred from Donnelly's to Cuneo Press in Philadelphia, which already prints *Architectural Forum*. The explanation given was that it would cut down distribution costs in the East. An explanation not given was that no shop as anti-union as Donnelly's and Marshall Field's in Chicago (also anti-union) are now trading employees, organizing reserves of strikebreakers before trouble starts. Whatever the reason for the move, it pretty well spikes the well-known *Life* argument—that only Donnelly's has presses big enough and fast enough to print a magazine like *Life*. Meanwhile, Mr. Prentice, *Time's* and *Life's* circulation manager, is thinking of putting an end to the pretentious practice of sending out renewal letters containing return post cards with the postage prepaid by air mail. Too many cards have been coming in marked "I won't read your magazine while it is still printed in an open shop." Every protest like that costs *Time* seven cents.

Bird Dog

A year and a half ago it was Mr. Luce's feeling that *Fortune* lacked something exceedingly elusive: he couldn't think of just the way to describe it—call it business sophistication. *Fortune* was too emotional. So he hired William B. Harris, who had picked up a good deal of business sophistication working in the merchandising department of Bonwit Teller's. Also he was the son-in-law of Floyd B. Odium of Atlas Corp., on whom *Fortune* had had a crush ever since he made his first ten million. The magazine that means business has always had difficulty finding people who can write *Fortune* stories and still have sophisticated ideas about business. After Harris turned in his first story, on scrap iron, it was decided that from then on he would be a "bird dog," getting corporation presidents drunk and sniffing out future stories—"keeping," as one of Mitch's memos put it recently, "the light green at least two blocks ahead." At this difficult job he has been a knockout. He is now assistant managing editor, and amuses himself by baiting *Fortune's* more liberal editors with potshots like: "Why don't you put a hammer and sickle on the cover and be done with it?" Last month he looked over *Fortune's* forthcoming story on migratory labor. He didn't like it. It was too emotional. That was the trouble with this country. Too much wasted emotion. Look at that baby there in this picture. Healthy, positively overfed. And so vigilante methods are bad for America, are they? "How else," said Harris, "can a man protect his property?"

Time's Own Thrift Plan

ONE of the Luce magazines innocently publishes a story which touches the nerve of an advertiser, the advertiser gets in touch with the magazine, the magazine a few weeks later publishes another story which contradicts the first. To this familiar pattern *Time's* Business department last month added another variation. In December there was something definitely screwy about the Fidelity Investment Ass'n, one of the biggest "thrift plans" in the country (\$600,000,000 worth of certificates

in the last 27 years). The SEC charged it with publishing untrue statements, not keeping enough reserves, writing up the book value of securities, using the funds of investors for its officers' private purposes. Fidelity did not challenge the SEC's order, which *Time* reported. Then came the second step—pressure. Fidelity was a big advertiser; maybe it could maintain an appearance of solvency for years yet. So last fortnight when a Federal judge in Wheeling, W. Va., hearing a stockholder's suit, decided that Fidelity was solvent, *Time* trumpeted forth the news that everything was now lovely. However, the SEC investigator who had looked into Fidelity in the first place was off on a world cruise, and when he gets back it is scarcely likely that *Time* will ask him his opinion.

America

MISS ELSA WOODS of the Morgue writes us expressing a desire to have her name removed from our mailing lists: "I am an American," says Miss Woods. We hope Miss Woods will believe that it is not a spirit of self-righteousness, but a simple desire to have ourselves properly described, which impels us to reprint the preamble to the constitution of the Communist Party:

"The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working-class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

"By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free co-operation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man."

Miscellany

—When MOT Radio went off the air two months ago the script writers were put to work writing the scenario for a full length documentary film. They were enthusiastic about the idea—an American family through prosperity and depression. A couple of weeks ago MOT went back on the air, and MOT executives promptly forgot all about it.

—Sheldon Luce's secretary, Miss Utley, looks out jealously for the interests of her boss, who is, after all, the brother of THE boss. A while ago she was passing the desk of a Life editorial secretary, and she stopped, thunder struck. "Why, you're sitting on an executive chair," she said. The editorial secretary asked politely what was an executive chair. Miss Utley said it had a curved back. Straight-backed chairs were for stenographers. The awful thing was—Mr. Luce was sitting on a straight-backed chair. "O.K.," said the editorial secretary, getting up; "take it away." "Oh, he's sitting on it now," said Miss Utley. "I'll have to wait till he goes out to lunch." So Miss Utley changed chairs at lunch. But the terrible thing was—Mr. Luce didn't notice. . . .

—*Time's* new second-string correspondent in the London office is Martin Woodroffe, a man with political ambitions. He is a member of Neville Chamberlain's party; he will stand for Parliament from the Pontypool district in Monmouthshire, the next chance he gets. . . .

—Mitch Davenport specialized in philosophy at Yale, but he now believes in the stars. He once took lessons in horoscope reading from Evangeline Adams. When he takes an important step, like looking for a new apartment or hiring an expensive *Fortune* writer, he consults his horoscope first. . . .

—The publishers of *Architectural Forum*, by way of keeping their staff in a proper state of trepidation, say darkly that they don't know how long the *Forum* can go on, times are bad, magazine like ours is always on the verge of bankruptcy. Employees who get less than \$100 a week are sent home promptly after 40 hours so they won't have to be paid overtime, but nothing is said to the already overworked employees who get more than \$100 a week. Last fortnight the *Forum* signed the largest advertising contract ever signed by an architectural magazine, with Owens-Illinois Glass Co. . . .

—The name of Eustace Tilley, a little joke on the *New Yorker* to which *High Time* devoted some space last month, has disappeared from *Time's* masthead. . . .

—There is a quarrel brewing between *Fortune* and Elmo Roper, who does the *Fortune* surveys. President Roosevelt still seems to be popular. . . .

—There is something about *Life's*. In the last eight months there have been 10 babies born under *Life's* auspices, either to researchers or to the wives of writers. That does not include Farley Wheelwright's baby (Farley was fired a month before it was born). Fanny Saul, in charge of *Time's* unproductive researchers, is jealous. She has posted an unofficial bounty for the first *Time* baby: \$25. She was hopeful last month when she heard that Tom Wolf's wife was expectant. But four weeks ago, Tom was fired. . . .

—For the least trenchant metaphor of the month, we refer our readers to Mr. Luce's memo on *High Time*: "If they could not open their mouths without having some half uttered thought plucked out and used to stab them publicly in the back." . . .

—Naturally we were pleased that virtually everyone found the first issue of *High Time* sufficiently interesting to read through. A cafeteria waitress who happened to see a copy writes, "If this is what it means to work on a magazine, I'm glad I'm slinging hash." When *High Time* came into the mail room last month Bill Brower put it on a shelf under a piece of brown paper and sent a copy up to Mr. Luce. It just happened that there was a board of directors meeting that morning, the first in months. By early afternoon *High Time* was off the mail-room shelf. The telephone rang and Brower answered. "Yes, Mr. Palmer, I have it right here underneath my feet." There it was, under his chair, secure. "Oh," said Brower into the telephone. He hung up and said sourly to the nearest boy, "Distribute it." (Of course it is against postal regulations to interfere between the sender and receiver of a piece of mail.) Shortly after the issue was distributed Otis Peabody Swift's secretary, Mrs. Maul, came out of his office and said, "Why didn't Mr. Swift get one? He took mine." And then confidentially, "He got two mentions." . . . Some of the people in Mr. Prentice's department thought that Mr. Prentice couldn't have written such a memo to anybody—wanting to disfranchise WPA workers, what an idea. But Mr. Prentice said he certainly did want to disfranchise WPA workers, and he wished he could argue with the editors of *High Time* for about an hour; he'd convince them. A remark overheard in the ladies' room on 27: "Well, it was O.K., but why didn't they get Stillman?" Some of the *Life* advertising salesmen were sure *High Time* was just a slick piece of promotion for the *Daily Worker*. . . .



Do You Know Who Your Congressman Is?

A FEW YEARS AGO, when Congress was considering the Holding Company Act, the public utilities set out to convince Congress that the country liked high electricity and gas rates and enjoyed being gypped on good-for-nothing securities. They tore a few pages out of a telephone book and sent them over to the nearest telegraph office with the order: five hundred telegrams against the Holding Company Act. They didn't stop to consider the effect on a Congressman of five hundred telegrams all signed with names beginning with A. One Congressman, planning to vote for the Act, received a telegram signed with his own name urging him to vote against it.

Some Congressmen, of course, know just how spontaneous these spontaneous protests are. Some

Congressmen will vote for the interests of the majority of the people no matter how many indignant night letters they get. Some Congressmen will vote for the interests of the corporations whose money elected them. In between, there is a more uncertain group, and to pay no attention to this group is as unrealistic as paying no attention to the section of the electorate known as the "machine vote." These Congressmen will vote for reaction every time they think their constituents won't notice it. If they get a thousand telegrams saying the Dies committee is wonderful, and one saying that it is detestable, they will vote for the Dies committee.

Everyone knows the story of the Reorganization Bill last year. Noel Busch, writing National Affairs

for *Time*, pointed out that it had been chosen by the President's enemies as "an excuse—ill supported by the bill itself—to argue that he was trying to make himself a dictator." That was a perfectly fair statement of the facts. Those who knew the facts did not bother to write Washington. But Frank Gannett's Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, using money presumably supplied by outraged and patriotic citizens, wrote Washington in such volume (100,000 telegrams in 24 hours), that even a New Deal Senator like Robert Wagner changed his vote and Reorganization was defeated.

Not including Frank Gannett's committee, there are 800 openly fascist organizations in the United States all of which energetically lobby through the mails. You have never heard of the *Reveries*, published by the Kansas fascist, Rev. Gerald K. Winrod. It has 150,000 readers who are being taught to make themselves more articulate every day. According to the Gallup poll only 30% of American Catholics hope Franco will win in Spain. But Father Coughlin in one radio speech can produce floods of telegrams to Congress against lifting the embargo. Jay Allen reports that in some parochial schools the pupils are set the following exercise: "Do not lift the embargo," written in precise arm movement on the back of a post card.

Just before the 1936 election an unofficial poll was taken in *Time*; some 80% of *Time's* employees, Mr. Luce was shocked to learn, were going to vote for Roosevelt, 10% were going to vote for Landon, and 10% weren't going to vote—people like Mr. Gottfried, who said magnificently, "If voting is a privilege, not voting is also a privilege." We assume that this 80% of *Time's* employees still believe in the purposes and practices of the New Deal. For example—WPA. When President Roosevelt's recommended appropriation was up for a vote in the House, it was turned down by a big majority. After a week in which New Deal organizations had time to register startled protests, Senators stopped talking about cutting the appropriation further, and turned down Mr. Roosevelt's recommendation by only one vote. That shift was brought about by letters from home. There should have been many more, including letters from *Time's* employees. The increased WPA appropriation will come up again in the next month or so. So will the Wagner Act (which must be protected), social security (which must be extended), a health program (which must be passed), and the embargo on Loyalist Spain (which must be lifted). The opposition to these measures has money and organization. If the Wagner Act is amended, if the Neutrality Act is not, it will be because too many people think it was enough to have voted for Roosevelt in 1936. It was not. Write to your representatives in Congress!

Boy!

OF *Time Inc.'s* 31 office boys, half are graduates of smart eastern men's colleges. They are expected to sport a snappy suit of clothes (on \$20 a week), and have an air of *soisier faire* (but not talk back). Mr. William Palmer warns all applicants that they must "make good" within a year or expect to be fired. Some office boys become writers, most recently Jonathan Kilbourne on *Time*, but a while back *Fortune* office boys were told to stop thinking of getting writers' jobs and to snap into it. The office boys who haven't been to college don't hope to be writers and only want to hold onto the jobs they have. They have a feeling it is going to be difficult, for Mr. Palmer makes no secret of the fact that sooner or later he expects all of *Time's* office boys, including those in the mail room, to be college graduates. Then, he thinks, *Time Inc.* will indeed have tone.

NOTE:—To be certain of receiving HIGH TIME regularly, send your name and address and \$1 for a year's subscription to Room 500, 50 E. 13th St., N. Y. C.

Y B.F.
Newspaper Clippings

The Second Mrs. Wilson

Widow of President Writes of Courtship and Personages in Entertaining and, in Spots, Acidulous Manner

THE second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has written a remarkable autobiographical work entitled "My Memoir," published today (Bobbs Merrill, Indianapolis).

Woodrow Wilson made much of his career in New Jersey. So, in writing of this "Memoir," there comes to mind the night that Mr. Wilson was elected Governor of New Jersey—in 1910, was it not?—when the undergraduates at Princeton marched in the moonlight across the lawn of "Prospect." The French windows were thrown open and Mr. Wilson emerged. So did Margaret, Eleanor and Jessie in their long skirts and high whalebone collars. So, at last, did the first Mrs. Wilson. She held her hands behind her and leaned against the door jamb. Her glance was fixed on the sky. It was a cold night and clear, with the smell of a late harvest in the air. The moon was not bright enough to fade the stars.

Yes, there were stars over Princeton that night and there was one star that the antiquated telescope on Prospect street could not disclose. Woodrow Wilson saw it, and I think Mrs. Wilson must have seen it, too. In August, 1914, in the White House she died. This Ellen Axson, never told her love, which lies buried with her in the ground of her native Georgia.

Feeds on Fervor

But other cheeks respond to other stimuli, of which concealment is not one. The second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson feeds on fervor. She writes with the modern "true confession" technique. There is, in her "Memoir," a description of her widowhood as Mrs. Norman Galt and of the Presidential courtship, which found national and international fulfillment amid scenes of vice-regal splendor. In the end Mrs. Wilson, who never cared for politics and had never shaken hands with a President, could write with gusto that Dowager Queen Alexandra of England wore long, brown gloves in mid-afternoon, that Premier Clemenceau had eczema on his hands, that Queen Elizabeth of Belgium was allergic to pollen, that Margot Asquith had a zipper dress and wore pink underwear, that Queen Marie of Roumania was a vulgarian, that Edward M. House was "small and unimpressive," if not downright treacherous; that Joseph P. Tumulty was "a spoiled child." No such person as James Kerney, editor of The Trenton Times, ever existed. But Mrs. Wilson's ancestress, Pocahontas, was—well, a Virginian—and a "royal" one at that. As her literate descendant reminds us, in another connection, "no-blesse oblige."

The behavior of former Presidents' widows is never without a certain interest. The second Mrs. Wilson, living in Washington, has conducted herself in a dignified and charming manner. She gave no interviews, expressed herself not at all on public questions, made few public appearances, did not pose for photographs or news reels. In short, she showed the reticence of breeding. Sometimes she would go to a morning

concert, sometimes to a small lunch, sometimes to the wedding of a child of some former official or friend, sometimes to hear music in the evening at an Embassy or Legation, where, with simple naturalness, she conversed with the other guests and partook of a bit of caviar and a glass of champagne at a stand-up supper.

What of Her Advisers?

This Edith Wilson was gracious, beautiful and charming. But she decided to write her reminiscences. She tells us that she made the decision in 1927. More than a decade passed, and it was not until October, 1933, she "signed the contract." In composing this work her advisers, she tells us, were Mr. Bernard M. Baruch and Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, among others. What does the discreet and wise Mr. Baruch think of his imprimatur on this "Memoir"? The erudite Mr. Baker? And what of the "assistance" of Mr. Marquis James, the superb biographer of Andrew Jackson? Did Mr. James, for example, "ghost" Mrs. Wilson's work? Did Messrs. Baruch, Baker and James sit in council and decide that it should forever be recorded that Joseph P. Tumulty dashed up the steps of the rear portico of the White House in 1920 and shouted that there was proof that Warren G. Harding had Negro blood, and that therefore Cox and Roosevelt would be elected? One does these gentlemen the honor to doubt it.

Mrs. Wilson puts in the record, for all time, Mrs. Harding's rouge. The incident is characteristic of large parts of the book. Mrs. Harding arrived on the afternoon of March 3, 1921, to inspect the domestic arrangements of the White House. She wanted to bring her friend, Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean, doubtless wearing the Hope diamond, but Mrs. Wilson said no. Come alone. Mrs. Harding was ill at ease, flustered. She failed to shake hands with the housekeeper. Mrs. Wilson, who had been a house guest at Buckingham Palace, was horrified to observe that Mrs. Harding put her pince-nez on over her veil. Mrs. Wilson went out. When she returned, hours later, Mrs. Harding was still poking around downstairs in the kitchen. The next afternoon Mrs. Harding's husband was President of the United States.

Poor Mrs. Harding! Poor "Duchess," as her friends used to call her. The rouge has long since faded, and I have been told that when she was buried beneath a circular marble Pantheon at Marion, O., beside her Warren, the now famous pince-nez were placed on her nose, this time without veil.

House and Tumulty

Mrs. Wilson tells us that she distrusted Colonel House, that Lansing was disloyal, that Tumulty was ignoble. Yet these were the men close to Woodrow Wilson, whom he had selected to be around him, to advise him. One of them—House—he sent to Emperors, Kings and Foreign Ministers to represent the United States, although, it must be admitted, without a shadow of con-

stitutional warrant. Of House's enormous role in the formulation of America's policies as neutral, belligerent and victor, volumes have been written. Of Mr. Tumulty's usefulness and devotion to President Wilson, volumes could be written. Woodrow Wilson himself could not have believed what Mrs. Woodrow Wilson says of Secretary Tumulty and this because there exists a letter written by Mr. Wilson to James Kerney in 1924. In this Mr. Wilson said Mr. Tumulty was the man to make United States senator from New Jersey. That Mr. Wilson, on occasion, was irked and irritated by Tumulty there can be no doubt. What more natural! Of the value of Tumulty's services at Trenton and at the White House there is abundant evidence, from sources more fair of judgment than Mrs. Wilson.

These are the men against whom Mrs. Wilson directs her scorn. She had little or no faith in their judgment. If what she writes is true of them, then it must follow that Mr. Wilson himself was without judgment, at least as concerns the selection of his most intimate collaborators. One after one the pilots are dropped, as Ambrose Channel extends itself 6,000 miles to Brest and back, to the palace of Prince Murat and the house in the Place des Etats Unis.

Her acidulous words were not written under the spur of passing emotion. Mrs. Wilson's ink is cold; it has been frosted in the refrigerator of resentment for a decade or two. There is no incandescence in her satire.

But this work, so lavish in its criticism of those who cannot answer, is of great historic interest. It shows that Woodrow Wilson lived in a smother of uxoriousness. It enables us to understand, to some degree, phases of his baffling mind and life. It was Edith Wilson who stood at his bedside and beside his chair while the critical debates and the ultimate negative decision on the League of Nations were being carried out in the United States Senate. For Senator Lodge—and doubtless with some reason, from her viewpoint—she cherished an intense hatred. If the distinguished invalid was ever inclined to compromise, Mrs. Wilson was not. So the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations, and all that seems to be left of it, as far as concerns ourselves, is a modest building on the Flushing meadows at Mr. Whalen's World's Fair.

This adoring and ambitious wife has written words that will seem to some to make Woodrow Wilson unreal, commonplace and even cheap. Unreal? Yes. Commonplace? Perhaps, at times. Cheap? No. But as Mr. Wilson himself told her: "Truth cannot be crippled." Still—it will sell. H. S.

3-ASP
newspaper
clippings No. 311.....

THE WEEK

April 19th 1939.

28 VICTORIA STREET.
LONDON. S.W.1

TELEPHONE:
ABSEY 1234

AFTER ROOSEVELT

Informed, but not necessarily authoritative or final, opinion in Berlin this week on the impending Reichstag speech, was totting up the following factors and coming to the following conclusions:-

Press fury.

(1) The tone of the German press -- hysterical as it often is -- was in response to the Roosevelt message something different in kind, more furious, more hysterical, than ever before. Nazi propoganda experts admitted yesterday that they had never seen such a blast. This is judged as a measure of the weakness of the situation within the Reich, the impression made by the Roosevelt message, the uneasiness of the authorities in consequence.

"The Twist"

(2) For this, as much as for any other, reason it is thought in Berlin that the Reichstag speech may be taken as the opportunity for the first movement in that "twist, apparently at the last moment", referred to in the report in the last issue of THE WEEK in a quotation from Rudolf Kirscher in the Frankfurter Zeitung, by which the Fuehrer is expected to get "everything that the Germans really want" without having to go to war for it.

For obviously, by underlining the second section of the speech -- while abusing the first -- it would be very possible for the German Government to push suddenly into the foreground the raw material, and hence colonial, claims of the Reich.

It could be stated that "after all" Roosevelt has "admitted" that trade barriers might, in a more peaceful atmosphere, be talked about. Therefore, it could be stated by the German Government, why should we not talk about them at once.

And that in turn would be the opportunity -- already foreshadowed in the Goering conversations at San Remo reported here some weeks ago -- for the staking of the German and Italian colonial claims. (Cf also the "Pesti Naplo" article of Count Bethlen quoted here last week, which demanded a world conference, and stressed the Italian claims upon France as something that ought to be taken up following the "Munich armistice".

"Showdown"

In other words, there was considerable evidence in Berlin last night, that the Reichstag speech may be used as the beginning of the "great showdown" -- the next surrender or the next war -- for which the seizure of Prague, of Memel, and of Albania were, as outlined here before

any of them happened, intended to be the preliminary paralysing, terrorising jabs.

Splitting the Front.

A "beginning" only because it will above all be necessary at that stage for the German Government to make its next move towards delaying and splitting the very slowly forming cohesion between the western powers and their only serious ally in the west -- the Soviet Union.

It is calculated in Berlin that if it is possible for the German Government, in the Hitler speech to the Reichstag, to "suggest" that he might be willing to consider a conference provided that the Russians are excluded, he would at once be supported by the British "Fifth Column", and indeed by all those in London and Paris who have all along been in more or less close communication with the enemy.

(It has after all to be remembered that the agreement reaches between the German Government and the Federation of British Industries at the very moment of the seizure of Prague, despite all the beating of breasts in the British big press, was somewhat ostentatiously not repudiated by the British Government -- despite its protestations of horror and amazement at the goings on of the German Government.)

"Appeasement"

The most skilled propagandists in Berlin believe that by such a speech to the Reichstag, it might still be possible to do considerable execution in the way of once again simultaneously giving an opening to the "friends of the Third Reich" in the City of London and in the Cabinet, to the "appeasers", and to the job lot of pacifists and others who, it is calculated across the water, may still be mobilised in support of a "Hitler peace offer" etc etc.

(With particular -- and well justified -- interest was noted in Berlin the leading article in The Times of Tuesday April 18 on the subject of "Herr Hitler's Answer", with its bland suggestion that "if it be true that Herr Hitler has constructive counter-proposals to offer, the British people will await, and when they come, test them in that spirit." One of those observations which, as a French diplomat remarked on reading "it might have been read with indifference, without suspicion, and conceivably even with approval if only it had not appeared in 'The Times'."

BONNET-MOSCOW-LONDON

In this connexion it is of the utmost significance that Bonnet, French Foreign Minister, on Monday, after consultation with the British Embassy in Paris, suggested that the conversations between Britain and Russia should not be pushed to any definite conclusion until after the Hitler speech to the Reichstag. Bonnet, openly reproducing his Berlin master's voice with the sans gêne which has come to characterise all his activities, actually went so far as to point out that if only the talks could be held up that long, then it might still be possible to "come to terms" with Hitler, on the basis of a "colonial Munich".

The last hope.

It was quite freely admitted in French military circles this week that the reason for the prolonged delay, and the endless evasions, in the establishment of a close military alliance with the Soviet Union, is not any doubt on the part of the French -- or British -- General Staff as to the vast military power and potentialities of Russia, but solely to the belief, carefully fostered, naturally, by the German Government, that such an alliance would be treated in Berlin as the final end of "appeasement".

And that in turn, it is argued both in Paris and in London, would have unpleasant repercussions on the positions certainly of M. Georges Bonnet, and possibly of Mr. Neville Chamberlain -- the "men of Munich" par excellence.

The "Fifth Column"

The anxiety of the German Government on this score is of course a measure of the compelling strength such an alliance would have in either keeping the peace altogether, or ensuring victory if the peace were broken.

But the German Government is also correct in supposing that there are still at large, both in Paris and London, men similar to those who for so long were (and perhaps even now are) in direct contact with the Axis powers in Spain, and who despite the fact that they have now very evidently assisted to bring these powers to a point where they actually threaten Gibraltar, are not merely permitted to remain at liberty, but even retained in public positions.

It is a fact which contributes very largely to the confidence of the German Government in the ultimate success of its policy.

(In this connexion has arisen within the past week a curious and interesting situation among certain ex-officers of the British Army now about to resume service. Several of these have pointed out that among those who are apparently likely to hold commanding military positions, are men who throughout the Spanish war have not merely sympathized with, but actually supported in one form or another the Axis attack. Though less numerous than the Englishmen who, for instance, were killed in Spain in the effort to stop that attack before it advanced to so dangerous a point as it now has, the "friends of Franco" are certainly in more powerful positions. The question is being asked: How much confidence are loyal officers likely to feel in the command, direct or indirect, of people like these, who for more than two years have been more or less openly giving aid and comfort to the enemy? It is a point at present very minor, but likely to attain ultimately a certain importance.)

IN SPAIN

The precise troop position in Spain at the moment of writing is that all the Italian troops recently landed at Cadiz are concentrated at or near Santander: the Italian "legionaries" that is to say the troops who were there before the war ended -- are at and around Almeria: and the German "Condor Legion", together with three very large "special service" detachments of technicians (for the most part railwaymen) are on their way to the north.

At the same time the Italians are enrolling Spanish manpower for service in Libya -- the idea being that "doubtful" elements who might be dangerous to use in Spain itself, can be of use in fighting as far away as the Tunisian or Egyptian borders.

The situation as regards French territory bordering Spanish Morocco reached the point where it was necessary at the end of last week for the French Government to enquire what were the intentions of the Spanish Government in French territory. They received from the Spanish

Government a reply which although officially declared to be "reassuring" was in fact regarded in Paris as disquieting in the highest degree.

The reply was that "only those troops stationed in Morocco before the war are being repatriated thither" -- an admission, as the French see it, that there are in fact large troop movements into Spanish Morocco, which can only be designed for an attack either upon Tangier or French territory.

DANZIG

It has been possible to confirm from several sources the suggestion that Danzig was omitted from the Roosevelt message for the reason at once suspected by most of those who knew anything of what went on in London between Colonel Beck and the British Government during the Colonel's visit here.

When Mr. Bullitt, American Ambassador in Paris, made his famous dash to see Colonel Beck at Calais on Beck's return from London, he gathered from Beck that an "arrangement" with Hitler about Danzig was part of the price which Poland was going to pay (as suggested in this correspondence several weeks ago) for the British pledge to Poland.

The "personal message".

He also learned, incidentally, if he did not know it before, that part of the contents of the important "personal message" sent to Mussolini by Mr. Chamberlain on April 2, was a suggestion that Mussolini might act as "mediator" (remembering Munich) between Hitler and Poland in settlement of German claims on Poland.

It was learned from Berlin last night, that this train of events -- the British support for German claims on Danzig, making in its turn impossible a mention of Danzig by Roosevelt in his message -- is being taken there as a virtual invitation to the German Government to "go into Danzig and do its stuff".

Moral Blow

Of interest and importance is the fact that yesterday the German Government was looking at a "Danzig coup" with an eye less to its obvious military advantages and consequences than to its "moral" effects.

For it is judged in Berlin that a coup in Danzig now would have a really shattering effect upon the faint, but still evidently justifying confidence of the "anti-aggressor" states.

Coming immediately after the British pledges and the Roosevelt message, it is thought that such a move would be taken -- assuming that it was not opposed by the west -- throughout eastern and southeastern Europe as one more sign that after all British pledges cost more than they are worth, and that after all, whatever the democracies may say, it is always Hitler who gets away with it.

The Army

Although the news reaching us from Warsaw must be said to be con-

fusing and conflicting, it is clear, however, that there is at least a possibility that whatever Colonel Beck may have thought he had agreed to in London, the Polish Army may refuse to play ball, and insist on resistance to any German claim on Danzig.

Somewhat contrary to the stream of inspired suggestions put out in London on the subject of Polish views regarding the Russian alliance, it is clear that at least the principal heads of the Polish High Command and the Polish Government are thinking along very different lines.

Not on Home Ground

As distinct from those like Colonel Beck, of whom it is hard to say whether he is more under British influence or German, the patriotic leaders for the most part are stated to be actuated above all by the desire that the war shall not be fought upon Polish territory -- that Poland shall not itself be the battleground.

To achieve this end they see only one possible means: that is, that by overwhelming Russian aid they should be enabled immediately to carry the war into enemy territory.

It is of course true that there are elements in Poland -- and more still in Britain -- who even now would certainly prefer that the battlefield should be carried into, and if necessary right across, Poland, rather than that Russian troops should be called in.

Hence the extraordinary series of suggestions about a pact which would limit Russian aid to the sending of munitions and planes.

Indications are that all these discussions and plans are really simply efforts at temporisation: for it is obviously ludicrous to suppose that the Germans would not regard such action by the Soviet Government as an act of war, and would react to it accordingly: the Russians -- and the Poles for that matter -- would therefore be fighting under absurdly hampering conditions if at that stage there were still limits to what the whole of the Russian forces were "permitted" to do.

GENERAL IMPRESSION

Events are still developing "according to plan". There is at least a probability that the Danzig coup and perhaps a "push" in Teschen too, will be brought off even before the Reichstag speech, as a part of the "elastic attack".

A disquieting feature of the situation, and one which is giving encouragement to Berlin, is the evidence of large sections of the London press that the campaign to "soothe" British opinion is still, even now, going on.

This was particularly noticeable in the case of the German fleet movements to the Mediterranean.

Absurdly, this was described in large sections of the British press as a "hopeful" sign, on the ground that the German fleet would not "disperse" if anything risky were intended.

This is a parallel to the breezy theory spread through the British press to the effect that the Italians have kindly been so foolish as to disperse their armed forces all over the map in such a way as to enable the British and French to cut them off or bottle them up at any time they choose.

The facts are very different.

Memories

The movement of the German fleet must be regarded as highly significant precisely because in the event of war being regarded as imminent in Berlin, such a movement would certainly be undertaken. For the memories of the bottling up of 1914-18 are among the most powerful traditions of the German fleet. And if the Grand Fleet of the last war was bottled up, how much more effectively could the same be done to the present "pocket" fleet.

The German fleet within German waters has virtually no striking power - except eastwards; and as a defence is not essential in view of the tremendous coastal fortifications, and the minifields.

Algeciras

The place where it could have striking power would be at the entrance to the Mediterranean, where it would have value both as a reinforcement to the Italian fleet and as a commerce raider in the central Atlantic.

From a base at Algeciras, particularly following an eventual seizure of Gibraltar, it would have greater striking power than from any other point, and greater security than anywhere except within the Baltic.

While this would be its value in the event of war, its movement to Spanish waters has - just for that reason - also an immediate effect: the strengthening of "pressure", and hence the strengthening of the "squeeze" which is intended to reach its maximum around mid-May, when the alternative of war or "a new Munich" is intended to be set as sharply as possible before the world. At the same time, of course, the demand for the "neutralisation" of Gibraltar in "exchange" for the withdrawal of Italian troops to "preserve the integrity of Spain".

Italy

As regards the Italian position, it is perfectly evident that so far from the dispersal of their troops to distant points being "folly", it is the only strategy possible for the Italian High Command to pursue, and the whole basis -- geographical and military -- of the Axis is involved in it.

For the Italian forces to bottle themselves up in their narrow and indefensible peninsula would be militarily absurd. On the contrary, it is necessary for the Italians to disperse their forces to a number of points whence they can attack in sufficient force to be genuinely menacing, objectives which they reckon the British and French cannot afford even temporarily to disregard.

Centre or Edge?

The most active - and occasionally acrimonious - discussions in British military and naval circles have turned precisely on the question whether the Anglo-French forces are to fight so to speak on the ground chosen by the Italians - i.e. at the periphery of the circle, or whether they are temporarily to risk heavy territorial losses in the Sudan, in Egypt, and even at the Straits, while concentrating on one heavy knockout blow at the centre - i.e. direct naval attack at Spezia, Ostia and Naples, supporting a French army drive into the north Italian plain.

(For the French always say "we shall meet the Germans in the first big open battle of the war somewhere around Milan".)

The Italian theory is that while the British are attempting to deal with their "peripheral" attacks, the northern end of the Axis will be conducting the really heavy work both in the attack across Holland and in the attack across southern France towards Lyons.

The price.

Whatever happens to the "heavy work", it is calculated in Rome that at a fairly early date after the outbreak of a war, Italy would be in a position to be "bought out of the war" at a price higher than any that the most hopeful Stresa frontists are able to offer before the outbreak of war.

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Roosevelt

By

the Rt. Hon. **HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.**

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Sarr Lane, Burtens Bradstoke 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"TOTAL DEFENCE"

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S speech: the Anglo-French guarantees to Rumania and Greece: Hitler's birthday: the summoning of the Reichstag: Anglo-Rumanian trade negotiations: the cruise of the German fleet in Spanish waters: and, not least, the journey to Moscow of M. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London, are all like parts of a jig-saw puzzle which we seek to fit into a picture of which the title, when completed, will be either Peace or War. There is still a danger lest many people in this country, while trying to fit these international pieces into their places in the picture, should overlook or under-estimate an essential key to that picture, namely, the actual material effort we make at home.

President Roosevelt's speech and the Anglo-French guarantees are alike in this respect, that they represent a diplomatic initiative. Both are disturbing to the two Axis Powers; both have an important moral effect in heartening all the small Powers who since the Munich surrender of Czecho-Slovakia have feared that they in turn would be surrendered to Germany on any pretext, however flimsy, if she threatened force. But the Axis Powers will disregard moral effects in the future, as in the past, so long as they think that they can depend on their own superior force, and can resort, when and as they choose, to lightning strokes. What is needed, accordingly, is the manifest and rapid organization of a force on the other side capable not merely of defence, but also of a counter-offensive. To a considerable extent public examination of the possibilities of such an international counter-offensive is impossible. The Prime Minister can no more be expected to discuss the problem generally in the House of Commons than Service Ministers can be expected to give details. It is largely for this reason, no doubt, that the discussions with Turkey, for example, take longer than might superficially have

been expected, and the same must be partly true, at least, of the Anglo-Russian conversations.

But there are things that can and should be done in this country, openly and thoroughly, by way of providing the still-needed assurance that having set our hand to the plough we are not likely to turn back. German propaganda, operating through certain well-tryed media, especially on the Continent, is very busily engaged in suggesting that, whatever our statesmen may say, they are, in reality, still hoping that the supreme effort on the part of Great Britain can be avoided. It is hinted, for example, that since we have so long delayed the introduction of compulsory measures for mobilizing our industrial and man power in the common cause of defence against aggression, we must be hoping that the sacrifices which would be entailed thereby will be made by others.

One such suggestion, crude, certainly, but having a certain effect in some quarters, is that as matters stand a European war, though it might end in the complete defeat of the Axis Powers, would be wound up by a "victory march," mainly of fresh British troops, at which the shattered remnants of the armies allied to them would look on because they would be physically incapable of joining in it. It sounds absurd on this side of the Channel, but it probably sounds not quite so impossible on the other side. It is insufficiently realized abroad that the doubling of the Territorial Army here not only involves a complete departure from all our military tradition and practice in the past, but also involves a material mobilization which was certainly not contemplated at all a few months ago. Doubtless we have wasted an appalling amount of precious time. But for that very reason we cannot at one stroke of a ministerial pen supply at once the cadres of officers and N.C.O.s necessary to train the new divisions, nor can we instantly supply their full equipment. What we can and should do, however, is without any further delay to show in the

eyes of all the world that no effort is being spared to make up for the lost time, whatever the sacrifice of tradition and practice that may be involved. We must create now the conditions by which every citizen can be called upon to render the service for which he is best qualified. As an example, we might well adopt the Swiss maxim, "against totalitarian aggression, total defence." Those who may recently have visited that little democracy must have obtained an inkling of the extent to which it is prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice not only comfort and well-being, but even the fruits of several generations of national civilizational equipment.

Probably the most immediately effective evidence of grim determination here would be industrial mobilization, that is, priority for military, naval and air equipment. The Prime Minister's cautious reply in the House of Commons on Tuesday regarding a Ministry of Supply was taken—it must be hoped correctly—to indicate that, whatever title may be chosen, for practical purposes the desired centralization of control has been decided upon. As an example of the puzzlement to which our present practice gives occasion, there is the fact that the Government, as explained by Mr. Stanley in the House of Commons on Tuesday, are apparently still unable to prevent the transfer of British merchant ships to the German flag. Seeing that one of the recognized dangers of our present situation, and therefore of that of our allies and friends, compared with that of 1914, lies in the shortage of transport for foodstuffs and raw materials, it seems incredible that such a sale should not have been preventable and that the Board of Trade could do no more than twice make "representations" to the shipping company concerned. It must be obvious how incidents of this kind assist those who in other countries continue to insinuate that our motto, now as in 1914, is "business as usual."

If certain practical measures to convince other countries at once of our determination are well within our power, there is also a further step which would greatly aid that conviction. We need in the Cabinet fresh blood, men of recognized competence and proven convictions. This need not suggest to foreign observers that our Government is not to be trusted energetically to pursue the course which they now claim to have set. But it would relieve certain continued doubts abroad, based on the Government's own record in the past. In the September crisis it was asserted here and in other countries that France and Britain could not have prevented the destruction of Czechoslovakia by force, and therefore the French treaty obligation, for example, was released on the juridical principle "ultra posse, nemo obligatur." Is it surprising that people should now ask how what was impossible in the case of the well-armed Czechoslovakia has become suddenly possible in the eyes of the same Ministers in the case of Greece and Rumania? The

inclusion in the Cabinet of such a man as Mr. Churchill would help more than many people realize to allay such misgivings. There is another reason why such additions to the Cabinet are obviously desirable. Such men will not be handicapped by that sense of failure inevitable in our present leaders who have seen their policy of the last few years completely wrecked.

These are some of the ways in which it is possible to establish the conviction of our determination. That such action is urgently necessary is plainly indicated by the evident difficulty of the negotiations with Soviet Russia, although, as has been said, they also involve technical problems which cannot properly be discussed in public. As regards Russia, the general position can be stated fairly plainly. The British guarantees to her two western frontier States, Poland and Rumania, represent in a certain measure a guarantee also to Russia in the event of German aggression against Russia. She is interested, necessarily, in their preservation. But she doubtless wants to know what will be the situation if either or both are at first over-run as Rumania was in the Great War. In other words, she wants to be sure that she will have effective British and French aid if, having provided such assistance to Rumania and Poland as they accept, she consequently finds herself at war with a Germany whose troops reach her own frontiers. On the other hand, Britain and France doubtless want to know what will be Russia's attitude to them if they are left in a corresponding position.

Poland's Position

The fate of Czecho-Slovakia has made an ineffaceable impression on all eastern and south-eastern European nations. The impression is twofold. First, no promises made by Hitler have any value, so that any strategic weakness that may be brought about by cession of territory will be exploited by him for further conquests. Second, capitulation to Hitler means servitude. No freedom of any sort is possible under his (or Mussolini's) "protection." The Poles, who are now menaced by Germany, say, almost universally: "Better to perish than suffer the fate of Czecho-Slovakia." This is no mere phrase—every observer who has been in Poland says it is the spirit of the whole nation. The Poles are in as bad a strategic situation as the Czecho-Slovaks were—Germany hems them in on three sides and, by controlling Slovakia, she is close to the central industrial area where the great part of Polish war industry is situated.

Poland has open frontiers with nothing comparable to the Maginot Line or the defences of Bohemia and Moravia. She is outflanked in the north, and her only port, Gdynia, is at the mercy of the German fleet. The British guarantee extended to Poland has, of course, done much to raise the spirit of the nation. Thanks to his betrayal of Carpatho-Ruthenia and of the Ukrainian home rule movement, Hitler has turned the 5,000,000 Polish Ukrainians, who might have been Sinn Feiners, so to speak, behind the Polish front, into

Loyalists. The Poles know that in war they will suffer setbacks to begin with, but their hope is that, under pressure from the Western Powers, Germany will lose in the end and a greater Poland will emerge from the next war, just as a greater Serbia emerged from the last.



Spain and the Mediterranean It grows more and more manifest that every victory of General Franco's was a defeat for Great Britain. He is now much more the instrument of the Axis Powers than he was during the September crisis, when, with the approval of his Generals, he declared for neutrality. If he attempts to make a stand for neutrality now, he will certainly be removed. The hold of the Axis Powers over Spain has grown steadily stronger, chiefly because the Falangist movement has become the most powerful in Spain. The movement is the Spanish form of Fascism and National Socialism and its members are naturally pro-German and pro-Italian (especially pro-German). Neither France nor Great Britain have the support of any movement in Spain that could compare with the Falangistas, all the more so as they are doing very little in the way of persuasion or pressure to win Spain over to their side in the event of a general conflict.

At the time of writing a German fleet is on the way to Spain where it will receive a warm welcome and probably raise German prestige in Spanish eyes. What will it do then? Some ships may join the Italian fleet and others scatter for commerce-raiding—which is almost certainly the real reason why they have left the North Sea. The Spanish situation profoundly affects the Mediterranean situation as a whole. The Axis Powers are clearly attempting to dominate the Straits of Gibraltar from the Spanish and Moroccan sides. Spanish ports will be available for German and Italian submarines and surface-craft. The menace to the Western Allies in the Western Mediterranean cannot but weaken them in the Eastern Mediterranean. In other words, by their intervention in the Spanish Civil War the Germans and Italians have achieved what they wanted to achieve.



Arms for Franco Another disturbing element in the Spanish situation is the fact that while French warships mass at Gibraltar at Spain's southern tip, arms are being poured back over Spain's northern border from France into Franco's hands. Axis blackmail, in other words, still gets results. The reinforcement of Franco garrisons near the French border, the movement of other divisions to Morocco, and other hostile gestures, have served to bring into operation the Berard-Jordana Agreement to which the Quai d'Orsay subscribed as a preface to French recognition of the Franco Government. And now all the artillery, rifles, shells, tanks and lorries

the retreating Republican forces deposited in France are being returned to Spain to swell the strength of the latest recruit to the Anti-Comintern Pact which binds the Axis together. A reiteration this week of his promise to send his foreign "volunteers" back to their homelands was all that Paris required of Franco before setting the stream of supplies in motion. Franco, it is understood, has postponed the date of the Italian legionaries' departure from May 2nd to May 15th.



Japan in a Quandary Japan, if not placed in such a palpable dilemma as her European friends by President Roosevelt's message, nevertheless shares their embarrassment, and it is reported that she may have a special message for her own edification. Comment so far on the President's great challenge has omitted any reference to its effect on Japan's foreign relations, but it has not escaped the notice of these ostrich commentators that the message was associated with published orders for the return of the American fleet from the Atlantic to its Pacific stations. Japan may also notice the quiet strengthening of the British forces in Eastern waters. She may congratulate herself on the occupation of the Spratley Islands and she may give "unqualified moral support"—note the qualification—to her European partners, but she is out on a shaky branch, and knows it. Before the President's message, her newspapers reported the Cabinet's policy to be one of "drastic diplomatic pressure" on Great Britain and "other pro-Chiang Kai-shek Powers." Apart from the fact that the diplomatic pressure has since switched over to the other side, this is no new element in Japanese policy. She seems to be sinking deeper into the swamp from which Marshal Chiang Kai-shek says she can only emerge, in face of prolonged Chinese resistance, as a second-rate Power. It may be so. It is unwise to over-estimate Chinese claims, but there seems no doubt that during the past week China has achieved varying degrees of success in five provinces, and has put the Japanese forces on the defensive. This is exactly what Japan cannot afford, and it is of vital importance to us all that China should be helped in every available way.



The Home Front One of the most momentous post-war sittings of Parliament began this week. Far-reaching food plans were announced by Mr. W. S. Morrison. Sir John Anderson at long last revealed the names of the Regional Commissioners who are to control local civil defence in time of war. He also rejected the Finsbury deep bomb-proof shelter experiment and the idea of such shelters on a national scale. In the Chamber and behind the scenes there was a spate of Ministerial activity in welcome contrast to the recent period of doubt and uncertainty. The Easter recess seems to have aroused stronger views generally and more obvious doubts about the

Cabinet's capacity to handle the present situation. There was, for instance, an undeniable movement on the Government back benches to get something done quickly, and an almost universal demand was heard for the inclusion of Mr. Winston Churchill in the Cabinet. But much remains to be done, and healthy criticism still has plenty of scope. The next matter of moment is the Budget on Tuesday and, judging by reliable accounts, the nation would do well to steel itself for a further increase in direct taxation at the very least. It is difficult to see how this can be avoided.

A Vital Service

We are glad to see that at a time when matters of such immediate urgency are under consideration, the interim recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee which recently examined the Nursing Services are not being overlooked. The Service requires an additional 8,000 entrants annually to relieve the chronic under-staffing which at present makes it so unpopular. To break this vicious circle the most obvious remedies are an increase in salary, an assured pension and a removal of the marriage bar. The petty restrictions of which so many nurses justifiably complain require only the more generous interpretation to which these remedies should lead. In war the nursing profession is the first line of defence. In peace it is hardly less vital. For good health is a primary asset in the peaceful competition and collaboration of the nations.

Strikers and the Government

The Government's failure to assert itself in the Siemens' strike is disquieting. The factory at Woolwich has been paralyzed and the flow of vital technical equipment to the nation's defence forces has been stopped. Yet the Government holds aloof, treating the dispute as though it did not involve the national interest. The strike has resulted from the discharge of a shop steward, and, rightly or wrongly, 3,000 workers are so certain the dismissal was a disguised attempt to disrupt their Union organization that they have downed tools, tied up the plant and thrown other thousands of workers into idleness. They ask only for the re-employment of the shop steward as a demonstration of good faith on the part of the management, pending peaceful negotiations through the usual machinery for a more permanent settlement of the dispute. In resisting, the company lends colour to the workers' charge that its chief aim is to smash the Union and that it regards that task as a much more important one than helping to fill the nation's defence needs. In withholding the pressure it could so easily impose upon the holder of Government contracts in order to make the company make peace with its workers, Whitehall gives weight to the criticism that it still lacks the imagination and drive so necessary for hastening the work of equipping Britain's defence forces with the devices they must have if they are to implement Britain's pledges to Poland, Greece and Rumania.

Protection for Building Societies

The man of small means buying a house cannot expect Windsor Castle construction for £500. He has, however, the right to expect value for his money. All the help he will get towards that desirable end in the Government's Building Societies Bill is that a society shall be "deemed to warrant" that the purchase price is reasonable unless it gives a notice to the buyer that "the making of such an advance implies no such warranty." Definitely this is not good enough. All the weight, financial and legal, is on one side in these transactions. The inexperienced man cannot tell by merely looking at a house whether the damp-courses and the floor ventilation and the joists are all of correct workmanship. But the building society has a surveyor's report on which it makes its advance. That report the purchaser pays for but is not allowed to see. Only an auditor or actuary may see how much the society actually has advanced and how much of the price is guaranteed by builders' collateral. This is really a monstrous position. The purchaser is at least entitled to all the relevant information before he signs an agreement which ties him to pay for 20 or 30 years. It is to be hoped that the Bill will be drastically altered in Committee and that it will at least include the warranty clauses of Miss Wilkinson's Private Member's Bill.

EVENTS OF THE WEEK

Thursday, April 13th

House of Commons: Prime Minister announces decision to give guarantees to Greece and Rumania; debate on Foreign Affairs.

House of Lords: Debate on Foreign Affairs.

France guarantees Independence of Greece and Rumania; confirmation of Franco-Polish alliance.

Berlin notifies Britain and France of German Fleet manoeuvres to take place off Spanish coast.

King of Italy accepts Albanian crown.

Concentration of Spanish troops near Gibraltar; frontier manned by British troops.

Friday, April 14th

British Ambassador in Moscow instructed to discuss with M. Litvinoff means of securing Russian co-operation in system of anti-aggression.

Speech by President Roosevelt on America's reaction to European situation.

Tension increases in Yugoslavia; large German forces concentrated on Slovenia and Croatia frontiers.

Chinese troops advancing on Canton; Japanese evacuate city.

Saturday, April 15th

President Roosevelt sends appeal to Hitler and Mussolini asking for at least 10 years without aggression and offering Conference. U.S. fleet ordered to return to Pacific.

Monday, April 17th

Announcement that Hitler will reply to President Roosevelt's proposals on April 28th at special meeting of the Reichstag.

Food Defence Department announce that the Government will purchase all food in event of war.

Colonel Beck sees Rumanian Foreign Minister.

Sixteen French battleships despatched to Gibraltar.

Tuesday, April 18th

German naval squadron leaves port for exercises in Spanish waters.

M. Maisky, Russian Ambassador in London, recalled for consultation.

Hungarian Foreign Minister discusses claims on Rumania with Signor Mussolini in Rome.

Minister causes political crisis in Australia.

Chinese advance towards Nanchang.

House of Commons: Motion tabled by 52 M.P.s in favour of immediate mobilization of man, munition and money power of the nation; announcement of appointment of Regional Civil Defence Chiefs; debate on Nursing Service.

Wednesday, April 19th

House of Commons: debate on Building Societies Bill.

House of Lords: debate on Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon.
HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.

on ROOSEVELT

ONCE more President Roosevelt—the greatest President of the United States within living memory—has electrified the world. Once more he has hit the nail on the head. Once more he has acted at the right moment in the right way. Once more he has, in direct and simple language, expressed the mind and the aspirations of the ordinary people of all countries.

There is no Roosevelt among the ruling Governments of Europe. The more fervently therefore do we thank America for the present occupant of the White House.

Twice I met him there in privacy. It was, of course, an honour so to meet the President of the United States. But it was still more a pleasure. Here was a man. Just a man who talked to one, man to man. But *such* a man! So human. None of the stiff aloofness and artificiality of so many of the statesmen of the Old World. None of the theatrical bombast of the dictators.

His welcoming smile is a joy to behold. Certainly he has the art of handling people—a necessary and desirable art in the government of democracy. He gets to know what he can about his visitors before they arrive and does not make the mistake of handling them all alike. To Americans contacts are important, and this man is America at its best. He takes trouble about his contacts. He takes trouble about his visitors. He does not do all the talking. He tells you what he thinks about things; he answers questions. But he asks plenty of questions; and he listens to the answers. He is carefully using the opportunity to widen his knowledge of movements and men and women. That also is part of the art of democratic government and the conduct of foreign policy. And a forward-looking American President needs to be *very* skilled in that art if he is to survive!

Neither Herr Hitler nor Signor Mussolini would succeed at the White House. They are not without a skill of sorts, but as statesmen in the larger sense they are really second-raters, if that. Lucky for them that the Governments of the larger European democracies have been such a poor lot since the game of aggression was started. Even so, the dictators are now succeeding in mobilizing the world against them. And that is hardly a clever thing to do. If they *do* get into a first-class war, we shall see whether the dictators know their peoples. I doubt it.

Roosevelt has an extraordinary knowledge of his country and its people—another asset in government so many of our politicians fail to acquire! Part of his



knowledge is the result of careful study, and part—perhaps the greater part—is sheer “hunch,” something like the “hunch” of the first-class journalist.

In America that knowledge is very necessary, for the handling of national politics there is perhaps more difficult than in any other country. The diverse national origins of the vast population; the differing temperaments of east and west and south, and of the great cities, the smaller towns and the vast agricultural areas; the aggressive and often excessive assertion of democratic rights; the jealousy of executive power handed down by those who fought the British Monarchy in the Colonial days; the forty-eight States, supreme in their territory, apart from the specified powers of the Federal Government set out in the written constitution.

A bold and daring policy by an American President is full of pitfalls and perils. But Franklin D. Roosevelt knows his people and, subject to a check now and again, he smiles and broadcasts his way through.

In no field of American administration is the path more perilous than in that of foreign affairs.

Suspicious, prejudices and inhibitions abound. People here sometimes say it is easy for Roosevelt to speak out —“he’s 3,000 miles away.” They are wrong. For no statesman is foreign policy a more tricky business than for the President of the United States. The nationalities; the forty-eight States; the watchful Congress;

the press; they all have their views and fears, and they are very quick and emphatic in expressing them.

The President has to feel his way. This President does so. But this President's greatness is that on occasion, fortified largely by "hunch," he plunges, he stakes his all on a big move—like he did last weekend. It might have smashed him. It did not. It will not. His judgment was sound. If he continues to know his people—as I believe he will—he will make no major blunders.

* * *

His greatest difficulty has been, not the propaganda of the dictators—that is poor stuff—but the wrong outlook and the lack of moral principle in the policy of the statesmen of Britain and France. Many of our people under-estimate the importance of moral principle in American foreign policy. The Americans have not forgotten the wickedness of the punitive peace at the end of the Great War. They have strong views about our servile and treacherous attitude in the tragedies of China, of Abyssinia, of Czecho-Slovakia, of Spain. Our clumsy repudiation of the war debt rankles—for they regard it as repudiation, whatever we may call it.

It is Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini rather than Mr. Chamberlain and the French bourgeois politicians who have enabled President Roosevelt to set these things aside in the light of the great dangers to liberty which beset mankind.

And even so, without the greatness of Roosevelt, the change in policy could not have been made, incomplete though that change still is. The point that is reaching the minds of the people of the United States is this: that in a world war of ideals, the United States would inevitably be involved—sooner rather than later; it is better, therefore, that America shall be courageous in diplomacy now in the hope that thereby it may be unnecessary later to call upon America's sons to be courageous in the field of battle and on the high seas. And that is the point for us too.

Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini by their speeches and their deeds have taught this to millions across the Atlantic, as well as here. President Roosevelt has had the courage and the wisdom to drive the lesson home. By speech, radio, press and his contacts, the President has educated his people and has acted in the spirit of high endeavor.

But let not the Conservative and Simonite politicians of Britain and the bourgeois politicians of France think that Roosevelt is to be a mere instrument of theirs. He

knows them and their little ways pretty well. He is not interested in British or French military or economic ascendancy. He can recognize the jargon of imperialism at its true value.

Roosevelt is out for a peaceful world and the legitimate rights of all nations. He is against the brazen militarism of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini because it is a danger to all mankind, but he will seek justice and right for the peoples of Germany and Italy as for those of all other countries. He is not a Socialist, but he wants to see a tidy and peaceful world. These are his purposes—fine, clean, moral.

If we sought to use him for ulterior ends, we should, I hope and believe, fail. We must not try. It would be an insult to the man and his people.

European Chess Board

[FROM A GERMAN MILITARY CORRESPONDENT]

(The doctrine that a European war is inevitable is admitted only in the Nazi and Fascist philosophy. But increased aggression has provoked an answer from the peaceful States, and questions of strategy have become of general interest. For this reason we publish the following article, written by a German military expert.—EDITOR, TIME AND TIDE.)

ENGLAND and France continue their efforts by diplomatic or other concessions to play Germany and Italy off against one another, or to divide them. These are the very tactics which are favourable to the Axis propaganda, for neither Berlin nor Rome wish England and France to understand the real significance of the Axis—namely, that it is a closely knit and indivisible unity.

The great common aim of the Axis is world conquest, and this at the expense of the present world position of France and Britain. Germany and Italy have invested the whole of their economic strength, the whole of their capital, and the whole of their working power in armaments. This national capital must at some time "pay a dividend": that is to say, the Axis must attain its aim of world conquest, or inevitably go bankrupt.

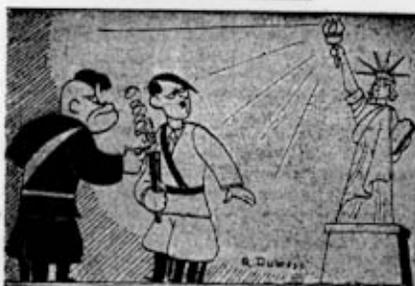
If for instance, during the next twenty months, it were impossible for either Hitler or Mussolini to make some new conquest or to gain some important political success in the international field, then it must be reckoned that, in the present feverish state of armaments, both German and Italian economy would be bled white, and both peoples might be led to a revolutionary crisis. But neither Hitler nor Mussolini will sit back and surrender themselves to such a development. By this very fact the Western Powers are themselves challenged to combat, unless they decide to wait until the two Dictators have attained such a strong position that they are able with a good chance of success to make a direct attack on the Western Powers (France and Britain)—an action which at this moment is not possible for them.

(The following strategical considerations are directed to the question as to what England and France can and should do if Germany or Italy, or both, move against some other small State and occupy it or annex it. In the event of a direct offensive by the Axis against either England or France (or both), then the following considerations will be only partially valid, since an entirely new strategical position would then arise.)

Military Operations of the Western Powers Against the Axis

The answer to the question that has been posed can only be that England and France must no longer play

LA LUMIERE QUI S'ALLUME



Ah ! ça ! que signifie cette dangereuse machination !—L'Humouriste

May 31, 1939

Hitler
Roosevelt
PSF
Newspaper
Clipping

WEEKLY LETTER SUGGESTIONS

(CAUTION: Inasmuch as these Weekly Letter Suggestions are distributed to several members of the House, all of the items used should be reworded by the member's own staff in order to avoid duplication of language in two or more letters.)

BRITISH YIELD TO STALIN

The outstanding event of the week abroad was the capitulation of Great Britain to the demands of Russia. She is now offering Russia the military alliance from which she has fought shy. The step marks the climax of the right-about face of Prime Minister Chamberlain and his government since Munich last September. Moreover, Soviet Commissar Voroshiloff has been invited to witness the British army maneuvers in England this summer.

HITLER'S SILENCE SUSPICIOUS?

Despite vituperations in the press at both ends of the axis, German silence on two fronts is significant. First, Hitler has been remarkably silent on the prospective British-Russian alliance, and has avoided placing any blame upon Russia for joining the "encirclement" front. Second, Germany has surprised the world by apparently ignoring the Danzig incident, in which a Nazi was killed by a Polish official. A week ago, it was feared that this would provide Hitler with an excuse for the seizure of Danzig. A few short months ago, this well might have been the case. The world breathed more easily when nothing happened. Whatever Hitler's plans, it is safe to say that he has felt obliged to stop temporarily, and to proceed with more caution. As a result, the tension in Europe is relaxing far more than at any time for many weeks.

JAPAN GOES HER WAY

The Japanese announcement that foreign ships entering Chinese waters are to be subject to search, and that this zone may be extended to a 100 mile limit, amounts to a blockade of the Chinese coast, and may, if put into effect, result in far-reaching international incidents.

This, coupled with the fact that Japan has thus far avoided a military alliance with the axis powers, despite pressure both at home by the

military clique and abroad by the dictators, and despite the alliance of Russia with England and France, demonstrates that Japan is concentrating every effort on the vast undertaking of conquering China. She has no desire to become involved in any European embroilments, and, least of all, to make any move which would lead to an attack from Russia at this time.

A ROOSEVELT SUPREME COURT MAJORITY

Rumors about Washington are that Mr. Roosevelt may get a chance to appoint still another member to the Supreme Court bench to replace one of the older members who is said to be contemplating retirement.

It has been rumored many times that Justice James Clark McReynolds would quit the bench, but so far the elderly Justice himself has had nothing to say about it. He has given no hint as to his intentions.

If Mr. Roosevelt does get an opportunity to appoint another member to the bench, he will have named a majority. He has already appointed Hugo L. Black, Stanley F. Reed, Felix Frankfurter and William O. Douglas.

Not only has Mr. Roosevelt thus been able to impress his doctrines upon the Supreme Court, but he has a great number of appointments in the lower Federal courts, and it is probable that before the end of his term he will have named a majority to the lower courts. His practice is to appoint much younger men than previous Presidents have named. The result, of course, will be that Mr. Roosevelt's doctrines of government will be impressed upon the country for many years after he is out of office.

There has already been a shift in the decisions of both the lower courts and the Supreme Court since Mr. Roosevelt began his attack upon the Federal judiciary in February, 1937.

Recent decisions of the Court have created some apprehension that it may to some extent be surrendering its function of checking the arbitrary powers of the Executive and the Legislative branches of the government.

It is a question always debatable as to whether or not the Supreme Court justices are influenced by public opinion. It would be remarkable if they are not.

It is also true that the Court has had to meet changing conditions which have not heretofore existed in such magnitude as at present.

At all events, the President has been able to accomplish his objective of changing the complexion of Court decisions through new appointments to the Federal judiciary, and it is now regarded by many of his supporters that he made his most serious political blunder in not waiting for the opportunity for reappointment instead of launching such a bitter attack upon the Judicial branch of the government.

NATIONAL DEBT WEEK

The Republican effort to call sharply to the attention of the country the dangerous drift in public debt has borne much fruit. Correspondence reaching the members of Congress and others in the Capital shows that the American people have given and are giving a good deal of thought to the implications in the rising debt and the continuing deficits.

It is not the intention of the Republican leadership to abandon its fight to keep the people conscious of what is being done to this and succeeding generations.

Several proposals looking toward a reduction of the deficits have been made by the Republicans, yet the New Deal Administration keeps crying that no suggestions for economy or increased efficiency are offered by the opposition.

All Republicans in the Congress are well aware that until they get control of the House and the Senate it is futile for the opposition to offer any measures for economy, because the Administration would not permit the Congress to adopt them. The pressure, bureaucratic, departmental and executive, never fails to show up when any Republican proposal is made for economy or efficiency, especially when such a proposal tends to cut down the size of the bureaucracy or impinge upon the political use of Federal funds.

The Republican leadership is very well satisfied, however, with the effects of the debt week program, and will continue the campaign.

POLITICAL BANKING CONTROL

It has been known for the last five years that the New Dealers are anxious to secure control of the banking structure of America. More recently the drift has been strongly under way toward expanded governmental banking operations.

This takes its form in calls for the R. F. C. to insure up to one million dollars the loans made by private bankers to small business men; also pressure for more public works taking shape around the idea of a public works bank to finance projects outside the government budget. The public works bank would obtain money by selling securities directly to the public.

Still another plan which cannot be lightly dismissed is that of a government directed Capital Credit Bank System. Such a system would rest on governmental money control power.

BUSINESS OUTLOOK

Some slight improvement in the business outlook has developed in the last two or three weeks. While it is true that current statistics give a far from bright picture, the reasons for the conditions are perfectly apparent.

One is the tenseness and uncertainty over whether or not we would be involved in a war in Europe. Another was the upset brought about to industry when John L. Lewis of the C. I. O. pulled his thousands of miners out of the coal mines in order to club the operators into giving them what amounts to a closed shop in defiance of the spirit of the National Labor Relations Act.

The war outlook in Europe has perceptibly improved, insofar as immediate hostilities are concerned, and the coal strike has been largely settled. The easing of pressure from these two directions will be beneficial, although business will not hit a stride until Congress takes definite action toward amending the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage Hour Law so as to remove the deterrents to capital investment and business expansion.

PUNITIVE TAX REVISION

If the Congress follows out the plan for revision of punitive taxes which have deterred capital investment and business expansion, a beneficial effect will be bound to follow. Since 1936 the Republicans have pointed out the ways in which these punitive tax policies have operated to stop down business; and the proposals of the Administration before the Ways and Means Committee last week are, in fact, an admission of the correctness of the Republicans' prognostications, which up to this time have been sneered at by the New Dealers as mere alarmist propaganda.

"BACK HOME" SPENDING

The Democratic congress, with a Presidential election in the offing, is beginning to show signs of yielding to pressure which is developing for a new half billion dollar program for public works to be spent for new school buildings, bridges, hospitals and other projects. It is probable that the pressure will not develop sufficiently for action this session, but it will be one of the big questions in the next session of the Congress. Of course any such program would throw the budget further out of balance.

ATTORNEY GENERAL ACTIVE

Attorney General Frank Murphy has been showing a great burst of activity, particularly against Federal judges who have been engaged in questionable (if not shady) transactions with loans, bribes, etc.

The general impression in Washington is that the Attorney General is building himself up for either first or second place on the Democratic ticket for 1940.

A singular fact being remarked in Washington, however, is that he, like his predecessor, Homer Cummings, continues to ignore the palpable violations of the Corrupt Practices Act in the sale by the Democratic National Committee of obsolete campaign books containing President Roosevelt's autograph at prices ranging up to \$10,000 a copy. The evidence of these violations was presented to the Department of Justice a long time ago by the Republican leadership in the House, and no defense has ever been made by genial Jim Farley, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, and Postmaster General.

This is one of the most stenchful and glaring examples of inconsistency, political corruption and refusal of the Department of Justice to act that stands on the books today.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS

The New Deal Administration is anxious for the Congress to end its session and go home in order to leave President Roosevelt in full control of the front pages and the radio.

Sentiment is divided in the Congress itself as to whether it is safe for the Congress to adjourn and go home, although all the members realize

that as the Washington summer comes on, sheer physical exhaustion, brought on by hard work, heat and humidity, will probably compel them to adjournment with much business unfinished.

The most thoughtful members of the Congress express fear in the cloakrooms of what may happen in foreign affairs as well as in domestic affairs if the Congress adjourns, leaving the full power of manipulation in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt and his advisors.

A good many members of the Congress regard with apprehension the new developments in China, with the Japanese adopting a new policy of stoppage and search of foreign ships. An "incident" might well occur which would embroil this nation with the far eastern branch of the German-Italian-Japanese axis while Congress was out of session and could do nothing to restrain the backseat drivers in the State Department, who apparently would not be averse to foreign entanglements.

VANDENBERG BOOM LAUNCHED

Michigan state officials and the Michigan delegation in the House of Representatives last week launched a boom for Senator Arthur Vandenberg as the Republican Presidential nominee for 1940.

Senator Vandenberg has already taken the position that while he be an aggressive candidate for the nomination, he certainly would not would not refuse it if it were offered to him.

It is probable that this action on the part of the Michigan House delegation and state officials will cause greater activity among those who believe that they have a chance for the nomination, and other announcements may be expected soon.

It is far too early, however, to forecast just how the Republican ticket for 1940 may line up. One thing is certain, and that is that Republicans will try to choose an outstanding personage with long legislative experience in the Congress for one of the two places on the ticket, and that both the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominee will be men who are acceptable to business as well as to the people.

Much will depend, of course, upon the choice of the Democratic National Convention. If Mr. Roosevelt is the nominee for a third term, that will bring about conditions wholly different from what they will be if the conservative Democrats succeed in controlling the convention. If the conservative Democrats fail to control the convention and Mr. Roosevelt is permitted to name his successor, still another set of conditions will have to be faced.

It is entirely probable that in 1940 the Republicans will do the obviously intelligent thing of delaying their national convention until after the Democrats have met. Heretofore the Democrats have always held the advantage in naming their ticket after the Republicans, although there has never been any reason why the Republican National Convention had to be held ahead of the Democratic Convention.

THE KING AND QUEEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Washington diplomats and society alike are preparing busily for the visit of King George VI and his Queen Elizabeth on June 8 and 9. Here, as all over the country, Americans warmly welcome the event, confident that it will promote the friendly good will and understanding between the English-speaking nations.

However, observers are not overlooking the diplomatic significance of the visit. If the English rulers hope to strengthen sentiment for the United States to support Britain in case of a European war and if they hope to pave the way for further loans by the United States to Great Britain, they are doomed to disappointment. The American people are determined not to become involved in any European conflict, and they are overwhelmingly opposed to lending England money, first because they know that it will never be repaid, and second because they believe such a course would be the first step which would eventually lead the United States into the war.

MORE PUMP PRIMING?

It has been known for some time that left-wing advisors of the New Deal inner circle have been urging another "pump-priming" orgy. Since the President's "more-debt-and-spending" speech, coupled with the announcement of Secretary Wallace that unless private investment increased the government would have to substitute Federal spending, and the request of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes for a half-billion spending program for public works, Capital observers anticipate that in the near future the Administration may officially launch another spending drive.

W.P.A. CHANGES

The House Appropriations Committee which is writing the 1940 relief appropriation bill is considering several basic amendments in the administration of the W.P.A. One is that employment on relief projects be rotated, so that those certified for relief who have not been able to get on the relief rolls may have a chance. A second is that relief workers be put on a work month of 130 hours, in order that, by abolishing the prevailing wage on relief, a greater incentive may be provided to return to private employment.

Colonel Harrington, W.P.A. Administrator, has agreed to certain economies in administrative costs, estimated at \$20,000,000 or more a year. He also admits that the relief rolls could be reduced to about 1,500,000 during the fiscal year 1941.

If put into effect, these should do much to increase the efficiency of the administration of relief.

SENATOR TYDINGS REPLIES TO THE PRESIDENT

Speaking at a dinner of the American Iron and Steel Institute Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, scored the Administration's spending policy. He pointed out that "it would take three generations, or sixty years, to bring down our national debt to where it was eight years ago, if it were reduced \$500,000,000 a year."

ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC PLANK FOR 1940

Last week, before the National Retailers' Forum, President Roosevelt nailed two planks in the Democratic Platform for 1940 -- more spending and more debt. A third was added by Secretary of Commerce Hopkins in his speech at the ninth annual world trade dinner -- a determination to carry the reciprocal trade policies of the Administration even further.

Branding our favorable trade balance of \$1,000,000,000 last year, "no matter for self-congratulation," Hopkins proposed to remedy this "unwholesome" state of affairs by a program to destroy this favorable balance and to extend further credits, particularly to Latin American countries, toward this end.

HIDING THE PUBLIC DEBT

Despite its apparent nonchalance regarding the national debt, there are indications that the Administration is eager for ways to minimize or conceal the truth of the situation from the people.

One method is by means of a "double budget". President Roosevelt employed this method last January when he listed \$16,481,000,000 of the \$28,273,000,000 added to the public debt from July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1940 separately as representing durable improvements and recoverable loans and investments.

Last week Professor Alvin H. Hansen, who advocated the adoption of the double budget system by the government, before the Temporary National Economic Committee, used a chart of the Securities and Exchange Commission as a "preliminary and experimental" example of how the system would work. Professor Hansen showed how the debt of \$20,980,000,000 accumulated by the Roosevelt Administration could be juggled so as to appear to be only \$9,382,000,000.

MR. HULL ON NEUTRALITY AND WORLD PEACE

The purpose behind the proposed neutrality revision plan presented by Secretary Hull is to give the Administration, particularly the President, greater freedom in the matter of foreign relations.

A supplement to the proposals was the Secretary of State's Chicago speech, in which he gave the American people but two extreme alternatives -- ostrich isolation, of which he prophesied dire consequences, and internationalism, involving an extension of the Administration's reciprocal trade policies and "maintenance of world order", involving attempts to police the world.

A zealous and life-long advocate of free trade, Mr. Hull joins those Administrative spokesmen who constantly seek to persuade the American people that they cannot hope to be prosperous until they have righted the economic as well as the political ills of the world.

The Chicago speech is interpreted by many observers as a summary of his political creed, which would prove significant in case he should be nominated as a compromise candidate by the Democratic Convention in 1940.

THE F. C. C. AND CENSORSHIP

The announcement by the Federal Communications Commission that only programs reflecting the culture of the United States and promoting international good will may be broadcast, under the penalty of revocation of station license, has the plain earmarks of censorship. The F. C. C. is to have the arbitrary power to decide what does and what does not constitute a promotion of American culture and international good will.

This is a potential threat not only to freedom of speech but of the press as well. If a station may be shut down for broadcasting a program which the F. C. C. decides is a violation of its decree, could this not be extended to the press?

Here is an innovation which Americans would do well to watch.

MONOPOLY HEARING POSTPONED

There is a well authenticated report that the Senate Monopoly Committee inquiry into Wall Street investment banking operations was postponed because it was feared that there would be a vivid expose' of the difficulties facing the investment banking business under the existing security laws. It is said and believed that postponement in this case means indefinite delay, owing to the objections of the S. E. C. to a public discussion of the effects of some of the regulations.

FARLEY BUILDS HIS FENCES

It is becoming apparent that the genial Postmaster General is seeing to it that no Democratic candidate can be nominated for President without Jim Farley's approval. It is now believed in Washington that Farley's swing around the country has resulted in his having enough delegates pledged to make his approval essential to a choice. There is much speculation as to whether Farley will consider that he owes a personal loyalty to President Roosevelt which will compel him to turn his delegates over to Mr. Roosevelt in event the President seeks a third term.

While the Postmaster General, who is also Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is known to be a man of intense personal

loyalties, many of his friends feel that the loyalty rule should work both ways; and there is no question that Farley has been shouldered well out of the picture as a Presidential adviser by the left-wing New Dealers who believe Jim is not in sympathy with their plans to remake the Nation.

BERLE HAS PRESIDENTIAL EAR

It is said there are a good many heart burnings inside the palace janisariat over the fact that A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, and Leon Henderson, member of the S. E. C., now have the Presidential ear. Berle doesn't work with the other members of the janisariat who are farthest to the left, and is very much inclined to arrive at his own conclusions about consultation with the others. The fact that he now seems to be teaming up with Leon Henderson would indicate to insiders the existence of a rival team to the now famous Corcoran-Cohen pair. Outside of these two groups is Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; so the factional jealousies and pulling and hauling that constantly confuse the palace courtiers seems more fevered than ever.

ARMY MULES AT REST

Quite a furor was caused in Congress sometime ago when it became known that the military authorities at Fort Myer, Va., intended killing several decrepit mules which had served with distinction in the World War. Sentiment rose up in the hearts of some of the members of Congress until they had lumps in their throats, and a movement was started to pension the faithful old mules to luscious meadows and plenty of oats for the rest of their lives. It has become known this week that after the wave of sentiment died down the Army officials quietly had the mules put out of their misery. The officials state that the mules were so old and sick that, instead of it being an act of kindness to let them live, it would in reality have been an act of cruelty. It is probable that nothing more will be heard about this matter.

MRS. ROOSEVELT AS HOSTESS

Much is being written by Washington correspondents, particularly the feminine correspondents, about how casually and officiously Mrs.

Roosevelt is preparing to entertain Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth when they visit Washington early in June.

The fact of the matter is, however, that Mrs. Roosevelt hasn't the slightest thing to do with the program of entertainment, luncheons, teas, etc. She does not even know in what parts of the White House the King and Queen will be quartered. Every last detail of the entertainment of the King and Queen is being managed by the State Department protocol boys, together with the British Embassy experts, and every event is being timed to the minute. Mrs. Roosevelt, all of the lovely stories to the contrary notwithstanding, will have as little to do with the arrangements as the housekeeper of the White House.

HEARTACHES AND HEARTEASE

The visit to Washington of their Britannic Majesties, King George and Queen Elizabeth, is demonstrating the fact that there are times when it is better to be entirely out of the social swim than in the shallows. Many a long day will elapse before the heartburnings have ceased for those who were just close enough the inner White House circle to expect invitations to meet the visiting monarchs but failed to receive them. Those in official Washington life so far out on the fringe of Capital society as to know they had no chance of an invitation to curtsy to visiting royalty are resting easy, and, if the truth were known, perhaps are enjoying somewhat the discomfiture of those who are nursing disappointed hopes.

March 12, 1940

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Lehn & Fink Products

Lehn & Fink Products

	1939	1938
Year Dec. 31 earnings	\$624,661	\$420,414
Per common share	1.56	1.05

Report of Lehn & Fink Products Corp. and domestic subsidiaries for year ended December 31, 1939, certified by independent auditors, shows net profit of \$624,661 after depreciation, federal income taxes and \$6,943 loss from operations of foreign subsidiaries, equal to \$1.56 a share (par \$5) on 400,000 shares of capital stock.

In preceding year company reported net profit of \$420,414 after \$40,596 operating loss of foreign subsidiaries, equal to \$1.05 a share.

It is stated that in view of disturbed conditions abroad, the directors authorized creation of a reserve of \$250,000 out of earned surplus for possible exchange losses on conversion of balance sheets of foreign subsidiary companies. Exchange losses for 1939 of \$39,097 have been charged to this reserve, whereas the loss for 1938 was charged against income.

Consolidated income account for year 1939 compares as follows:

	1939	1938	1937
Net sales	\$7,810,017		
Cost & exp	3,873,381		
Profit aft exp	\$1,136,636	\$914,252	\$647,098
Depreciation	79,526	84,852	86,754
Balance	\$1,057,100	\$829,400	\$560,344
Other income	27,683	40,182	47,399
Total income	\$1,084,783	\$869,582	\$607,443
Fed inc tax etc	453,179	408,572	97,000
Loss for'n sub oper	6,943	40,596	*23,880
Net profit	\$624,661	\$420,414	\$532,623
Common divs	545,462	495,875	500,000
Surplus	\$79,199	\$175,461	\$32,623
*Profit, †Deficit.			

Balance sheet items of Lehn & Fink Products Corp. and domestic subsidiaries as of December 31, compares as follow:

	1939	1938
Total assets	\$3,008,503	\$4,852,739
Cash	860,098	1,631,572
Inventories	988,039	1,014,853
Current assets	2,387,582	2,162,089
Current liabilities	551,558	516,408
Earned surplus	1,915,939	2,086,740
*Capital shares (par \$5)	400,000	400,000
*Includes 3,300 shares held by wholly owned foreign subsidiaries. †Includes marketable securities.		

PSF newspaper
3

Re:Newspaper--Standard Opinion of April 13, 1940
with headlines--"VOTERS DECREE F.D.R DRAFT" (Primaries)

See:Democratic National Convention folder-Drawer 2-1940

Confidential
file E Meyer

PSF

PUBLIC OPINION NEWS SERVICE

FOR RELEASE

Sunday, June 9, or Monday, June 10

U. S. Manpower Overwhelmingly Ready To Volunteer If Nation Were Attacked

Survey Estimates 22,000,000 Would Try to Volunteer

MAJORITY WOULD DEFEND CANADA ALSO

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

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PRINCETON, N. J., June 9.—Men in every state in the Union—representing the military manpower of the United States—served notice on all concerned today that the overwhelming majority of Americans of military age are prepared to volunteer for the defense of this country if it should ever be attacked.

That fact is revealed today in an important nationwide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

Men in all walks of life—from the lumber camps of the West Coast to the fields and offices of New England—and between the ages of 21 and 45 were asked: "If the United States is attacked, would you personally volunteer to fight?"



Their replies indicate that, in the essential matter of national defense, American sentiment has changed little since the days of the "Minute Men" of Concord and Lexington, or since the days of 1812, when Americans took up arms against the last invasion of the United States in more than 125 years.

Here is the way they answered the question:
WOULD VOLUNTEER . . . 86%
WOULD NOT VOLUNTEER . . . 7
UNDECIDED . . . 7

Applied to the total manpower of the United States, within the age

Millions—of Men—for Defense

The Gallup Poll

If the United States is attacked, would you personally volunteer to fight?

(MEN UNDER 45)

YES . . . 86%

NO . . . 7

Undecided . . . 7



THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are opposed to entering the war. They would spring to arms in overwhelming numbers—

Public Favors Registration Of All Aliens

By Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 9.—If it were left to the average American, every person living in the United States today who is not a citizen of this country would be required to register with the government, according to overwhelming sentiment in a nation-wide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

At the present time, non-citizens, once they have satisfied the requirements of the immigration authorities, are free to come and go within the United States as they please.

Under Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, the Department of Justice has asked Congress to require every non-citizen to register with the government and to notify the authorities whenever he changed his address.

Voters in the Institute survey were 19 to 1 in favor of such a proposal. The Institute asked a cross-section of men and women in all parts of the United States: "Should all people who are not United States citizens be required to register with the government?"

The replies were:
Favor Registration . . . 95%
Oppose Registration . . . 5%



22,000,000 Would Try to Volunteer

MAJORITY WOULD DEFEND CANADA ALSO

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP

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Here is the way they answered the question:

WOULD VOLUNTEER . . . 86%
WOULD NOT VOLUNTEER . . . 7%
UNDECIDED . . . 7%

Applied to the total manpower of the United States, within the age limits of military service, the survey indicates that this country would have a potential volunteer force of nearly 22,000,000. Of course, no national defense plans in existence contemplate such a gigantic military force. If this country were attacked millions of men would be required for service behind the lines, preparing supplies for the armed forces and carrying on the functions of civil life. But even so, the survey indicates that the vast majority of American men are prepared, mentally and psychologically, for the ultimate sacrifices of national defense if the occasion should arise.

No Signs of

'Jingoism'

THE SURVEY FOUND little if any evidence of "jingoism"—little or no desire to rattle sabres for the fun of it. The great majority of Americans are still opposed to sending an Army and Navy abroad to fight in the present European war, as successive Institute surveys have shown.

Nonetheless, the survey indicates that America's unwillingness to enter the war in Europe is no sign of a "peace at any price" sentiment in the United States.

"If volunteer if any nation made the slightest gesture against the United States," is the way their verdict is expressed time and again. Others frequently remark that they would want to be certain in their own minds that "we hadn't provoked the attack, but, once certain, I'd volunteer in a minute."

Sectionally, the great willingness to volunteer for the defense of the United States was found in the South and in the seaboard states. But even in the traditionally isolationist Middle West the vote averaged more than 4 to 1. Men in the wealthier- and in

the middle-income groups proved more willing to volunteer for national defense than men in the lowest-income groups. But here, too, the differences were almost negligible. Many of those who said they would not volunteer,

The Gallup Poll

If the United States is attacked, would you personally volunteer to fight?

(MEN UNDER 45)

YES . . . 86%

NO . . . 7%

Undecided . . . 7%



THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are opposed to entering the war in Europe, recent nation-wide studies by the American Institute of Public Opinion have shown. But if the United States should be attacked the men of America

moreover, remarked that they had large families dependent upon them or were incapacitated in some way.

The survey found no difference in the replies of men under thirty years of age and those between thirty and forty-five, a fact which indicates that the widespread campaign for pacifism and non-resistance during the last generation has had little, if any, effect on the willingness of younger Americans to defend their nation against attack.

63% Would Volunteer

To Defend Canada

A FURTHER QUESTION in today's survey shows that the majority of Americans have reached the conclusion, also, that an attack on Canada by a foreign nation would be a thrust at the security of the United States. President Roosevelt has stated that the Monroe Doctrine applies to Canada just as it does to Latin

America, and the Institute survey reveals that nearly two Americans in three of fighting age say they would volunteer if Canada were attacked and the United States came to her aid.

When asked: "If Canada is invaded and the United States goes to her aid, would you personally volunteer to fight?" The answers are:

WOULD VOLUNTEER TO DEFEND CANADA . . . 63%
WOULD NOT VOLUNTEER . . . 24%
UNDECIDED . . . 13%

Since a survey reported in the (NAME OF PAPER) in the past week showed 84 per cent saying the United States should fight, if necessary, to keep a victorious German Reich from taking over the British, French, or Dutch possessions in Latin America, there is gradually being outlined a picture of just what the American people do desire to defend.

More than a year ago, after comprehensive surveys of American opinion, the Institute reported three strong desires in the mind of the average American (1) to assist England and France by measures short of war in case of a European conflict (2) to keep out of a European war ourselves and (3) to build our own national defenses. To these three principles a fourth must now be added—to prevent any extension of European power in North America or Latin America.



would spring to arms in overwhelming numbers—without waiting to be drafted. That is the reply of men from 21 to 45 in a nation-wide survey just completed. Eighty-six men in every hundred said they would volunteer.

Census Nears Completion

By Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 9.—Evidence that the long job of conducting the decennial U. S. census is nearing completion comes from an independent study by the American Institute of Public Opinion, which found more than 90 per cent of the men and women reached in a cross-section of the voting population saying they had been reached by the census enumerator.

Only 1 per cent said that the census taker had called but had not been able to find them at home or to obtain the necessary information.

Week by week since the early days of the census last April the Institute has checked on the progress of the task among U. S. voters by asking: "Has a government census taker called at your home and obtained the information for the government about you?"

Replies in the study just completed are:

Yes 91%
No 6%
Called but didn't get information . . . 1%
Don't know 2%

Registration Of All Aliens

By Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 9.—If it were left to the average American, every person living in the United States today who is not a citizen of this country would be required to register with the government, according to overwhelming sentiment in a nation-wide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

At the present time, non-citizens, once they have satisfied the requirements of the immigration authorities, are free to come and go within the United States as they please.

Under Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, the Department of Justice has asked Congress to require every non-citizen to register with the government and to notify the authorities whenever he changed his address.



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No Signs Of Hysteria

THE SURVEY FOUND no evidence of an "alien hysteria" among the voters. On the contrary, their comments indicated time and again that "we merely ought to know who our aliens are" and that "we ought to keep our eyes open."

Voters frequently declare that there will be much less chance of "fifth-column" activities in America if the government keeps tabs on the more than 3,600,000 individuals here who have never sworn allegiance to the United States.

The largest single groups of non-citizens in the United States today, according to the figures of the United States Immigration Service, are the Italians, with approximately 700,000, the Poles, numbering about 500,000, and the Germans, with about 365,000.

In today's survey the Institute found the greatest demand for



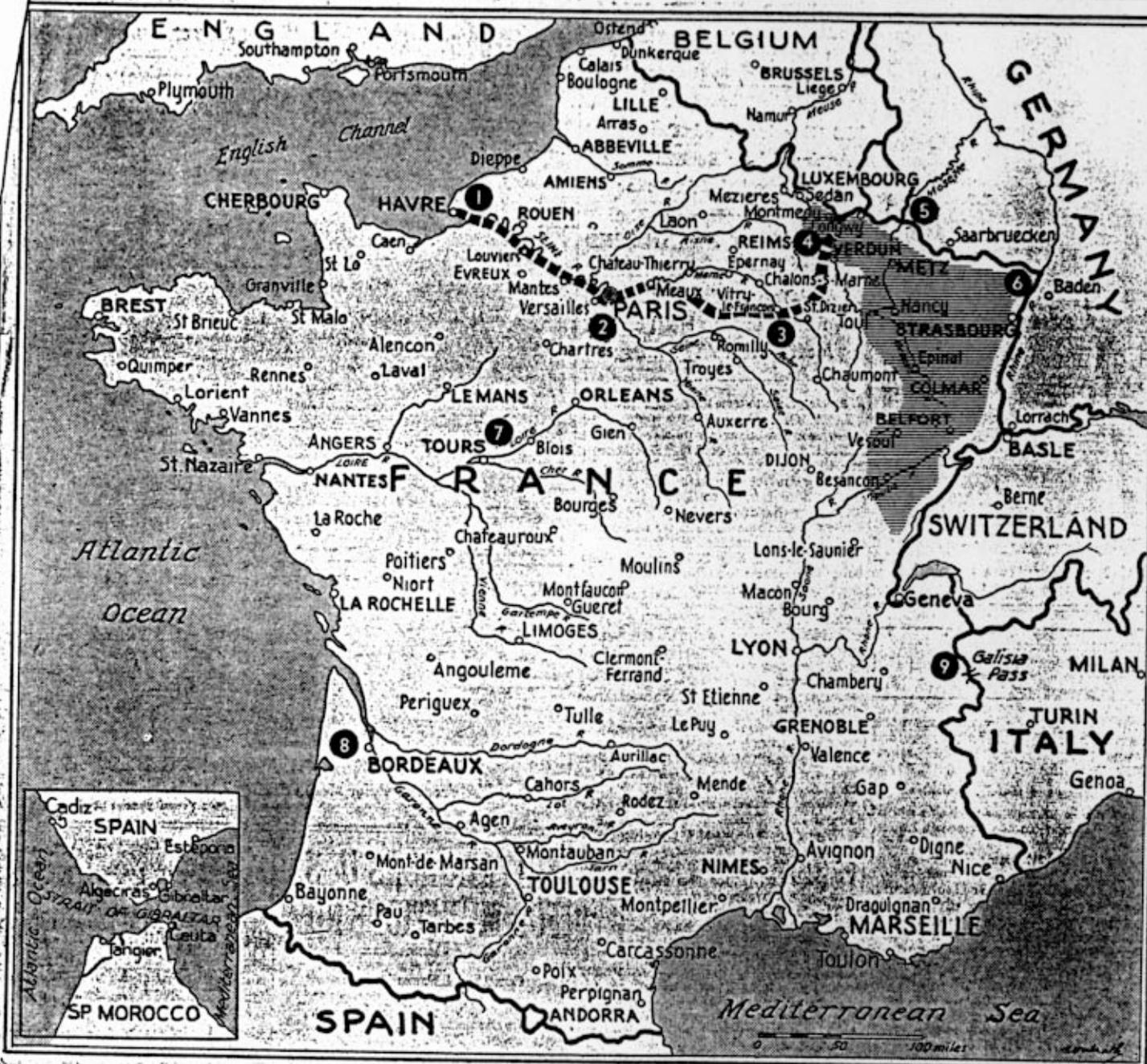
Attorney General Jackson His Alien-Registration Plan Is Approved by the Public

registration of non-citizens in the South and West. The vote by sections was:

Register Aliens?

	Yes	No
New England	93%	7%
Mid-Atlantic	95	5
East Central	94	6
West Central	98	2
South	97	3
West	97	3

NEXT SUNDAY: "Which party would you like to see win the Presidential election?" That question is being put to a cross-section of the voters in each of the 48 states by the American Institute of Public Opinion. Watch for the state-by-state results—including the vote in (INSERT STATE) —in next Sunday's (NAME OF PAPER).



NAZIS PUSH FORWARD AROUND CAPTURED PARIS AND ATTACK IN THE EAST

Claiming the capture of the seaport of Havre (1) at the same time as they occupied the French capital (2), the Germans continued on the move, apparently to forestall any French effort to reorganize farther south. In the center of their line they drove toward Romilly and St. Dizier (3), reporting the capture of Verdun (4) and said they had taken Montmedy, due north of Verdun. This movement was regarded as an effort to move in behind the Maginot Line (shown by shading). A frontal assault

on these fortifications was launched in the Saar region (5). The French in their turn shelled the Westwall in the vicinity of Baden (6). They moved their seat of government from Tours (7) southward, probably to Bordeaux (8). Rome reported a French attack had been repulsed at Galisia Pass (9). The inset map shows Tangier, internationalized city across from Gibraltar, which was taken over by Spanish troops. At near-by Ceuta a damaged Italian submarine took refuge. Another Italian undersea craft put into Algeiras, across the bay from Gibraltar.

The Map of France

By R. L. DUFFUS

Shut your eyes.
Now let me guide your finger
On the map.
It's alive, isn't it?
It's beating like a pulse.
It's warm with men's lives.

It doesn't matter where:
Nancy, Chaions, Dunkerque;
Mons, where the British saw the angels
In the older war;
Armentiers—that's Mam'selle's town;
Arras, where the old merchants
Spread their goods;
Valenceens—they made lace there;
Ameens, where the statue leaned
Above the ruins—
They didn't shoot Him down
In that war.

There's Rouen, that's where
They burned Joan of Arc.
She saved France, though.
If you don't believe it
Ask at Domremy, where they know.
They say some of the Frenchies—
The Stukas had been after them, and maybe
They saw things that weren't there—
Saw Joan the other night, in smoke and
thunder.
She was dressed in steel, and crying,
But her sword was drawn.
Pity was in her eyes, and anger.

All along the line the dead were rising:
Light shone on Wipers and on Noove Chapelle;
The English dead were storming Vimy Ridge.
There was Verdoon and the Frenchies standing;
"Detoor!" was what they said,
"Road closed! No thoroughfare!"
The marines were back at Chateau Teery,
And in the Argonne Forest
Fritz's sewing-machines cost twenty Yanks
a piece.
But they were paying what it cost.

Glory!
Tell that to the dead marines.
Glory stinks.
Glory has cooties in its shirt.

Glory lies in a hole
With a hunk of shell in its guts,
Yelling for water—
And there isn't any water.

It wasn't glory Joan was thinking of.
It was France.
This is the map of France.
It's alive, isn't it?
It's beating like a pulse.
It's warm with men's lives.

Not glory—something further.
They've been here a long time, these Frenchies.
You see their churches
Against the sky.
Big ones, that pray in stone:
Reems and Chartres,
Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle,
Ameens and Orleens.
They took a long time to build.

You see their roads,
Old roads with trees along them,
Straight roads, going places.
Julius Caesar came this way,
And here Joan rode her big white horse.
And here came the French,
Drunk with liberty,
Singing the Marseillaise,
To save the young Republic
At a place called Valmy.

You see their houses—
Old houses, dingy old houses,
Old villages,
Cobbled streets,
Worn by the feet of generations,
Old taverns,
Where men have talked on quiet nights
For half a thousand years.

They've got roots, these Frenchmen.
This is their land.
Havre and Compiegne,
Nancy and Laon,
Beauvais and Epernay,
Paris and Bordeaux,
Nantes,
Marseilles,
A thousand little towns—

They made them
A long time ago.

They made other things:
They made books and songs,
Pictures and statues;
They made ideas.
Ever hear of
Liberty,
Equality,
Fraternity?
They invented them.

The tanks break through.
There swoop the Stukas.
Hitler's on the march,
Into a land not his,
Into a land he cannot understand
And therefore would destroy.
The smoke rolls
In the Place de la Concorde.
The city's ringed with fire.
Maybe Hitler's right.
Maybe it's hell and damnation
And the world's end.
Maybe liberty won't work,
Maybe equality can't fight,
Maybe fraternity can't knock a tank out.

And maybe not.
The map says not.
Verdoon and Chateau Teery say not.
Notre Dame and Chartres say not.
The faces of Frenchmen,
The old houses,
The books,
The songs,
The streams, the rivers, the mountains,
The army of those who died for liberty,
Say not.

This is the map of France.
It's alive.
It's beating like a pulse.
It's warm with men's lives.
It's been ploughed in blood
And fertilized with bones.
But it will not die.
They say some beaten troops
Saw Joan the other night.
She wept but her sword was flaming.
This is the map of France.

*Confidential
until Saturday night.
E.M.*

FOR RELEASE

Sunday, October 8, or Monday, October 9

*file
pressout*

*BP
Moosejaw
Clipping*

American Public Backs Roosevelt Pledge to Defend Canada; Would Also Fight to Keep European Invader From Caribbean

53% Would Fight Any Invasion of South America

MONROE DOCTRINE REAFFIRMED

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion
Copyright, 1938

PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 8.—If the neighboring Dominion of Canada, now at war with Germany, were actually invaded by any European nation, a nationwide Institute survey indicates that the great majority of American voters now say they would be in favor of using United States forces to aid the Canadians.

Secondly, the same large majority say they would fight to defend Cuba, the Bahamas, Mexico or any other territory commanding the approaches to the Panama Canal if any of these should be invaded from Europe.

And finally, a small majority (53%) say that they think the United States should go to war to defend Brazil, Chile or any other South American nation from similar European assault.

With the meeting of 21 American republics just concluded in Panama, and with Americans more conscious of "hemisphere defense" than they have been in nearly a generation, the Institute's fact-finding survey is an attempt to see how far the average American would be willing to go at the present time.

Whether or not the present fighting in Europe raises the danger of actual invasion for the Western Hemisphere is a question for military experts. The public's determination to defend its neighbors—as well as its own continental area—may never be put to the test.

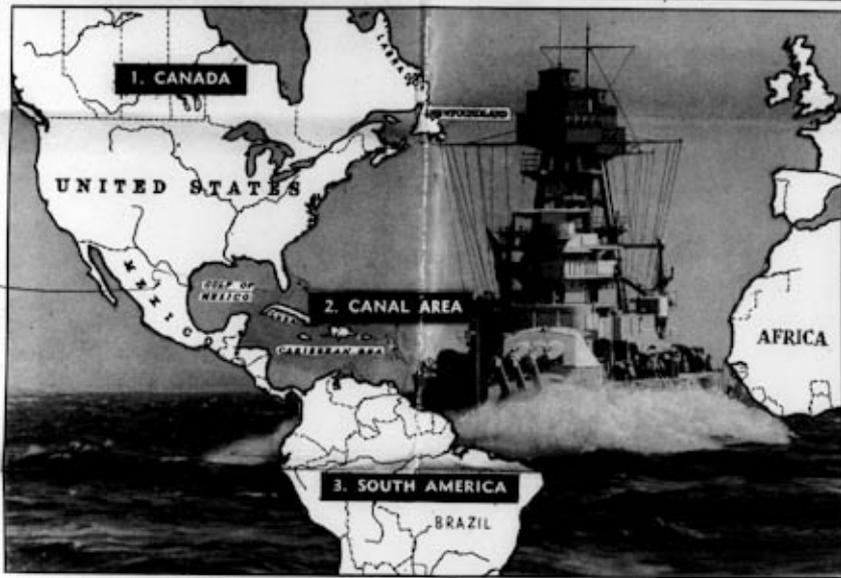
But the survey indicates that the American public, no less than many American military authorities, believe there are interests in the Atlantic arena for which they would be willing to fight. The voters are apparently in favor of renewing the warning of President James Monroe, delivered 116 years ago, that any new attempt to extend European systems to the American continents will be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety."

The survey indicates, moreover, that a majority of Americans are back of President Roosevelt's pledge to defend Canada, a pledge enunciated only this year at Kingston, Ontario, where President Roosevelt said:

"I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

73% Favor Defending Canada

Should America Fight If Canada Is Actually Invaded?.... If the Panama Canal Area Is Invaded?.... If South America Is Invaded?



WITH AMERICANS CONSCIOUS of Western Hemisphere defense problems as they have not been for 20 years, a nationwide Institute of Public Opinion survey shows (1) that 73 per cent of the voters believe the United States should come to the aid of Canada if that country is actually invaded by a European

3. If Brazil, Chile or any other South American country is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep the European country out?

SHOULD DEFEND SOUTH AMERICA 53%
SHOULD NOT DEFEND 47%

While an average of one person in eight (13%) was undecided or without an opinion on the question of aiding countries in South America against an actual attack, only one person in nine was undecided about the United States' position in case of an attack in the Caribbean and only one in fourteen (7%) was undecided on the question of

nation (2) that 72 per cent think the U. S. should fight to defend Cuba and other Caribbean islands in the vicinity of the Panama Canal and (3) that 53 per cent think the U. S. should fight if Brazil or other South American countries were invaded.

ing record of the American public's reactions to the war overseas. In previous Institute surveys the majority of American voters have strongly favored keeping the United States out of war abroad by insisting on cash-and-carry legislation covering the sale of supplies to belligerents. They have shown increasing sympathy for repeal of the arms embargo following President Roosevelt's appeal to Congress, and they have declared their almost unanimous opposition to sending troops abroad.

On the other hand the surveys have shown strong sympathy in this

No Peace-Time Conscription for U. S., Voters Ask

PRINCETON, N. J., Oct. 8.—Although the European war has affected American thinking in numerous ways, there has been no substantial increase in the number of Americans who would approve compulsory military training for this country in peace-time.

In its latest nation-wide survey on the question the American Institute of Public Opinion has found that a large majority of voters—more than six in every ten—still oppose peace-time conscription, although the number is slightly less than nine months ago when the Institute first put the question to the public.

Last December, before the British broke their long-standing tradi-

THE QUESTION
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YES 39%
NO 61%

tion against compulsory military training, the Institute asked a carefully selected cross-section of American voters in all states: "Do you think every able-bodied young man twenty years old should be made to serve in the Army or the Navy for one year?"

With the same question put to a similar cross-section in the survey just completed, the trend has been as follows:

Favor Con- Oppose Con-
scription scription
Dec., 1938 ... 37% 63%
TODAY 39 61

The prevailing view is that—because of the strong U. S. Navy and our policy of staying out of European power politics—America does not need compulsory military training, the comments show. Those holding this view claim that the present voluntary system for instructing reserve officers—coupled in time of emergency with large-scale civilian training—is quite sufficient for

the present situation. In the past, however, there has been a marked increase in the number of young men who think that a year's compulsory training is necessary for the defense of the country.

Whereas only 33 per cent of the well-to-do class approve the idea of conscription, 45 per cent of those in the lower income group and on relief approve it. One explanation for this divergence is that many unemployed persons think they might find jobs—either



Whether or not the present fighting in Europe raises the danger of actual invasion for the Western Hemisphere is a question for military experts. The public's determination to defend its neighbors—as well as its own continental area—may never be put to the test.

But the survey indicates that the American public, no less than many American military authorities, believe there are interests in the Atlantic arena for which they would be willing to fight. The voters are apparently in favor of renewing the warning of President James Monroe, delivered 116 years ago, that any new attempt to extend European systems to the American continents will be regarded as "dangerous to our peace and safety."

The survey indicates, moreover, that a majority of Americans are back of President Roosevelt's pledge to defend Canada, a pledge enunciated only this year at Kingston, Ontario, where President Roosevelt said:

"I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."



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73% Favor Defending Canada

From Any European Invasion

IN its survey the Institute put three questions to a representative cross-section of the voters in each of the 48 states. The questions and the answers of voters throughout the country with opinions are:

1. If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should use its Army and Navy to aid Canada?

SHOULD DEFEND CANADA 73%
SHOULD NOT DEFEND 27%

2. If Cuba or any other country within 1500 miles of the Panama Canal is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep the European country out?

SHOULD DEFEND CANAL AREA 72%
SHOULD NOT DEFEND 28%

Who Is Right?

There is plenty of disagreement among political commentators as to the soundness or unsoundness of the American public's view on neutrality.

To Walter Lippman, the public's position is the present European war is "sound." "A cold-blooded examination of the position shows, I am convinced, that the sentiments of the people reflect correctly the real interests of the country," Lippman says.

To General Hugh S. Johnson, the problems involved seem too complicated for the average man. "I doubt whether Bill Spivens and Jack Robinson know or can find out enough about them to decide," says Johnson.

Who is right?

The American Institute of Public Opinion takes no sides on any issue. But so that Americans of all political persuasions can know what the public is thinking—and so that students of politics can have objective facts for their conclusions about public sentiment—the Institute is conducting nation-wide fact-finding surveys based on impartial, objective and well-proved methods.

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NAME OF PAPER



WITH AMERICANS CONSCIOUS of Western Hemisphere defense problems as they have not been for 20 years, a nationwide Institute of Public Opinion survey shows (1) that 73 per cent of the voters believe the United States should come to the aid of Canada if that country is actually invaded by a European

3. If Brazil, Chile or any other South American country is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep the European country out?

SHOULD DEFEND SOUTH AMERICA 53%
SHOULD NOT DEFEND 47%

While an average of one person in eight (13%) was undecided or without an opinion on the question of aiding countries in South America against an actual attack, only one person in nine was undecided about the United States' position in case of an attack in the Caribbean and only one in fourteen (7%) regarding an invasion of Canada.

The reasons why many Americans are less concerned about South America than about Canada and the Canal Zone are twofold, the survey comments show. First and foremost is the feeling that South American countries are "too far away" to represent the same military threat to American life and property. Second is the belief that South American countries should look after their own defense.

Institute surveys, conducted over the past two years, show that concern for South American defense has increased sharply since the renewal of German, Italian and Russian military activity in Europe. In February, 1938, before the German advances into Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, the Institute found only one American in every three willing to fight to defend South American nations from European attack. But by December one American in every two had come to believe American intervention would be necessary if one of the Latin American nations were attacked. The trend of American public opinion has been:

Should U. S. Fight If South America Is Invaded?

	YES	NO
February, 1938	33%	67%
December, 1938	50	50
TODAY	53	47

No Great Difference Between

Democrats and Republicans

AS on other current questions involving American foreign policy, there is little difference of opinion today between Republicans and Democrats as to what the United States should do.

The greatest majorities in favor of active U. S. steps in case of continental invasion are found in the Northeastern states and in the South, and West. Young people, who would have to do most of the fighting in such emergencies, are a trifle less in favor of United States intervention than their elders.

The survey adds one more page to the rapidly grow-

ing record of the American public's reactions to the war overseas. In previous Institute surveys the majority of American voters have strongly favored keeping the United States out of war abroad by insisting on cash-and-carry legislation covering the sale of supplies to belligerents. They have shown increasing sympathy for repeal of the arms embargo following President Roosevelt's appeal to Congress, and they have declared their almost unanimous opposition to sending troops abroad.

On the other hand the surveys have shown strong sympathy in this country for the Allies, and a recent test revealed that 63 per cent of the voters thought that Germany would, sooner or later, launch an attack on the United States if the Allies should be defeated.

Summary of Recent Surveys

Following are the results of the latest nation-wide surveys by the American Institute of Public Opinion measuring the public's reactions to the war in Europe:

TODAY'S SURVEYS

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TODAY	39	61

The prevailing view is that—because of the strong U. S. Navy and our policy of staying out of European power politics—America does not need compulsory military training, the comments show. Those holding this view claim that the present voluntary system for instructing reserve officers—coupled in time of emergency with large-scale civilian training—is quite sufficient for American needs.

Frequently it is remarked that "it would break up young peo-

LEANS IN FAVOR

MOST opposed to the idea of a year's compulsory training are young people of military age, the survey shows. Thirty-six per cent of those under the age of thirty say they would favor a conscription program, as compared with 40 per cent over that age.

The most significant differences, however, are between persons in business and professional groups—the upper income group—and those at the bottom of the income scale.

Whereas only 33 per cent of the well-to-do class approve the idea of conscription, 45 per cent of those in the lower income group and on relief approve it. One explanation for this divergence is that many unemployed persons think they might find jobs—either as military recruits or as substitutes for those who were serving their year's time.

PREVIOUS SURVEYS

Should we declare war and send our Army and Navy abroad to fight Germany? (Oct. 5)

YES 5%
NO 95%

Do you think Congress should change the Neutrality law so that England and France could buy war supplies here? (Oct. 4)

YES 62%
NO 38%

If Germany should defeat England and France in the present war, do you think Germany would start a war against the United States sooner or later? (Sept. 29)

YES 63%
NO 37%

If the Neutrality act is changed, should England and France be required to pay cash for goods or should we give them credit if they cannot pay? (Sept. 24)

REQUIRE CASH 96%
GIVE THEM CREDIT 10%

Should England and France be required to carry the goods away in their own ships? (Sept. 24)

YES 94%
NO 6%