EDITORIAL PAGE

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More Checks

He will be a rare citizen who, a few years from now, isn't getting a monthly check of one kind or another from the Treasurer of the U. S. Two or three millions of U. S. citizens will be getting them twice a month as employees of the Government. Five or six millions more will be getting war pensions or compensation. Several million farmers will be getting them. Other millions will be getting unemployment insurance checks, old age checks, accident and sickness checks, mothers aid checks, checks.

That "gentle rain" which was an innovation of the New Deal will have become a squall. Already the clouds are gathering. After a period of unequalled employment at unrivalled wages made possible by Government war spending, the Government is making plans to tide the workers over any unemployment that may develop in the transition to peace.

President Truman himself is author of a proposal to extend unemployment insurance to anyone who finds himself out of a job, no matter if he is not covered by present law or has made no contribution, and to increase its benefits to a maximum of $25.00 for 26 weeks (North Carolina's maximum: $15.00 for 16 weeks).

There isn't any doubt about it, this provision would relieve many a hardship. There isn't any doubt, either, that many persons who had gone to work only in response to the fanciest of wages, and who will be knocking off before long, will enjoy an extended vacation with part-pay in token having had a good thing of it while it lasted.

All this, mind you, more in the name of prosperity than of justice. We gotta be prosperous if it breaks us.

Ah, well; maybe it will work out for the best. Certainly it is better that there be unemployment insurance than breadlines. But the experiment is only beginning. We know that free Federal spending has a tonic effect on our economy. We don't yet know if the supply of tonic is inexhaustible, or at what point the remedy becomes more disagreeable than the ailment.

A World Of Ships

Not the least of our post-war problems is going to revolve, dizzily, around our ships. At the moment we have more than half of all the merchant shipping of the Allied world. Whereas we started the war with about 12,000,000 tons of merchant ships (and lost more than half of that), we now have about 62,000,000 tons. What we do about it will have a serious effect upon our and our allies' well-being, both financially and militarily. Viewed from any angle, these vast fleets of merchant ships are one whale of a problem. There is no lack of proposed remedies.

There is Lewis Douglas, who has been Deputy Administrator of War Shipping, charged with allocating all American tonnage. He warns strongly that the post-war world, if it desires peace, must return to the principle of the open market place. By that he means that there must be no government monopolies of shipping and markets, that ports must be free, and that shipping must be thrown open to competition by individuals. To accomplish that, America must make a substantial contribution. It amounts to this:

1. We must not retain a huge merchant fleet, say twice the size of our pre-war fleet. If we do try to operate 20,000,000 tons of shipping, he says that this, carrying half of our foreign trade, will necessitate government subsidies amounting to about $300,000,000 a year. That, he points out, will link our government closely to trade, and bring it into conflict with other governments.

2. We must hold our post-war tonnage to about 10,000,000 tons, carrying about 20 per cent of our foreign trade, as in pre-war days. And this must be disposed of to private operators on such a basis that they will need no subsidy to meet foreign competition. The monopolistic practices set up by the Merchant Marine Act of '36 must be eliminated.

3. The rest of our tonnage should be sold or leased to other nations at attractive terms.

On the other hand, Vice Admiral Emory S. Land of the Maritime Commission proposes that we sell only 10,000,000 tons to foreign operators, retain 17,000,000 tons for ourselves (to carry about half our foreign trade), and keep in reserve some 21,000,000 tons—as a military safeguard. He proposes scrapping 7,000,000 tons for obsolescence.

In brief, Admiral Land suggests that we must have a strong merchant fleet to back up a strong Navy, and that we must carry most of our foreign trade in our own ships. Mr. Douglas, taking what seems to be the broader view, believes that we must sell or sacrifice the greater part of our merchant shipping, to the end that a sound world trade may be rebuilt. These two views, we suppose, will between them provide for the settlement of one of our most important phases of reconversion.

Another Deal

There is every reason to hope that order will come to our labor relations, even in the troublesome post-war period. That hope lies in the forthcoming reorganization of the Department of Labor under Judge Lewis Schwellenbach, who hopes to gather to him all of the far-flung agencies working with labor problems, and who is, up to now, acceptable to all labor groups.

The Judge obviously expects power exceeding that of the National Labor Relations Board, the War Labor Board, and the War Manpower Commission. All of those agencies now cast their shadow over the Department of Labor; Judge Schwellenbach would likely not have left the Federal bench to head a powerless department. Thus it is certain that in President Truman's consolidation program, a good deal of activity will center in this department.

First changes are expected to be:

Return of the U. S. Employment Service to the Department of Labor (it has been attached to WMC); apprenticeship and occupational training programs returned from the same place.

Later, after the war, WLB may be retained as an agency for arbitration under the department. There is a chance that Social Security will be moved to his department, away from the Federal Security Agency.

At the moment the Department has only these branches: Wage & Hour and Public Contracts Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Women's and Children's Bureaus, U. S. Conciliation Service, Division of Labor Standards, and administration of the Davis-Bacon Act. To these must be added others, if Judge Schwellenbach is to cope successfully with future labor problems. Even so, he can scarcely hope to bring peace to the squabbling factions of CIO, AFL and Trainmen. But what he needs, and his department needs, and the whole of American labor relations needs, is a centralized authority. Otherwise there is more of the old grief ahead of us.

Sylva's Doctor

We are certainly in accord with Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, which has ordained that Mrs. E. L. McKee of Sylva be distinguished by an honorary degree. *Learned Doctor of Laws*, says Woman's College. She is all of that, and more. As a lady, a scholar, a unique Tar Heel stateswoman and lawmaker, she was due recognition.

North Carolina is not given to sending its women to Raleigh to the General Assembly. Mrs. McKee, in fact, is the only one it has ever sent to the State Senate—but if her record there is any indication of what we've been missing, we should hasten to repair our ways.

While there (in three regular and two special terms) she managed to become a foremost supporter of social and educational legislation, to gain fame by introducing and sponsoring our child labor law, which is accepted as a model, and to introduce and steer the Social Security Bill of 1936.

Enough, you see, to distinguish her as one of the state's first citizens, but among other things the recounting failed to mention what we consider to be her most noteworthy accomplishment.

She served as a member of Governor Broughton's Board of Inquiry in the Morganton Hospital investigation, and a most valuable member she was. She was the only woman. By her intense interest, her broad understanding, and her common-sense view of that affair she marked herself in our eyes as an outstanding North Carolinian. Dr. McKee it is, and should be.

The Modern Christian As A Citizen

By Dr. George D. Heaton

(Excerpts from a sermon delivered Sunday by Dr. Heaton at Myers Park Baptist Church).

THE world is always paying a penalty because the learned do not want to bother with the unlearned. They would much rather enjoy the cloistered circles of the institutions of higher learning than to go out with Dr. Laubauch and try to teach the one billion illiterates of the world to read and write. They yet think that you can have a pyramid of life with a comparatively few seats of higher learning resting on the backs of a billion souls who are daily oppressed and ground out in poverty because they cannot protect themselves through knowledge. South America, Africa, India, and the Orient all tell the same story: the learned did not wish to bother with the unlearned, and the world is paying the penalty.

Neither do the clean want their hands dirtied by the unclean. One does not need to travel to distant India where a caste system makes sure that the lines will not be crossed. We have our own scheme of isolation here whereby we make sure that those whose hands are unwashed will not touch anything which we of the washed hands would not have contaminated. We live in one section and they live in another; and those with the clean hands never care to go down into those places and scrub until the entire city becomes clean. It so much more comfortable and convenient this way. The city of Charlotte pays a great penalty because the clean will not dirty their hands among the unclean.

The rich would rather not drive through the streets of poverty. It takes years of such traffic before one can eat the plenty which we enjoy and not think of those in the shacks along the way whose tables are so meagerly set. We would rather not sweat in our brains over the issue of how we became well off, and they remained poor; and we would rather not be bothered with any movement that would offer hope to these who are so bound by need that life never gets above the level of food, shelter, and battling disease. But Charlotte pays a great penalty because the rich have found no way to remove the burden of poverty from the people.

To put it very plainly: the most gifted persons of our Christian community are not counting in the areas of citizenship which really determine the kind of world in which we must live and do our work. Jotham's parable of the trees is the continuing tragedy of history. The trees went forth to select a king to reign over them. They came to the most honored of all the trees in their midst: the olive, and asked it to rule over them. What was the reply: "Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honor God and man, and go to rule over the trees?" Which was to say, "Should I give up my comfortable place in religion, to attend to church and community responsibilities. I would much rather just sit and enjoy the services. We hear it every week. The next choice was the fig tree; and the reply was: "Should I forsake my good fruit and go to rule over trees?" Should I give up my economic advantage to fulfill a community responsibility. To make sure that no one misunderstands, the fig tree said: my business responsibilities are so great that I simply have no time for the work in the church or in the community. I've got to make a living. Then the trees went to the vine and asked it to rule over them, and the reply was: "Should I leave my wine which cheereth God and man, and go and rule over trees?" Should I give up my social and cultural privileges to attend to a community responsibility. I think you understand, but I want to be sure: there are those among us who may be tempted to say, "I have these social connections, and these cultural interests: I simply do not have the time for citizenship and church responsibilities. . . .

What happened: the trees in desperation turned to the bramble and the bramble said I will rule you and fire will spread throughout your community if you do not obey me. So did Hitler come to power: the great good citizens gave excuse. That is the way Mayor Hague and Boss Crump hold on: they came to power because the finest people were too busy.

According to the best students of democracy its first assumption is the essential dignity of every man. You never achieve a democracy until you believe that about all the people: the essential dignity of each person. Now this idea is not something which we obtained from Greek drama, or Greek philosophy or Greek religion. Greece had her vocabulary of a democracy, but she had no place for the dignity of the demos, the crowd of people. Where then do we find the origin of this idea? You must go to that little land of Palestine, and listen to a king by the name of Ahab talking with his foreign wife, Jezebel. He has seen a beautiful vineyard which is owned by a poor man by the name of Naboth, and he asked Naboth to sell it to him, but the poor man refused, saying it had been in the family for years, and he wanted to keep it. The silly, greedy king was pouting and being ugly, and his wife Jezebel could not understand. You are king, and if you want that land, take it. That was the code of ethics of the place from which she came. But Ahab knew better; and so Jezebel arranged the murder of Naboth, and then said to Ahab, now go down and take the vineyard, Naboth is dead and will bother you no more. But on the way Ahab met Elijah: "Hast thou killed and go to take possession? In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." You can search the literature of the world, and you don't get that idea anywhere else; and that is why you cannot find this idea incarnate in community living, save where the people of this book have been living.

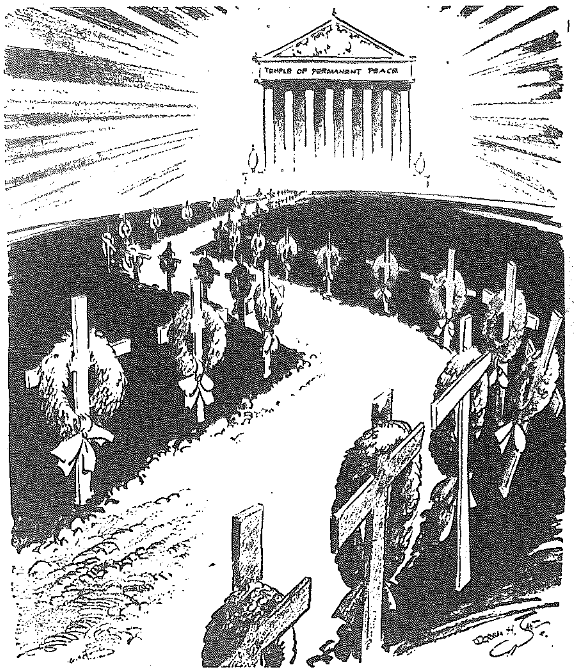
Then there is the assumption of justice for all. In a democracy we believe that the color of a man's skin, or the size of a man's purse should not alter the justice which he receives. And we are ashamed when we discover that it does. The number of Negroes convicted of first degree murder for the murder of Negroes is a very low average; and the number of Negroes convicted of murdering whites is the highest. We know that the poor and the rich do not always receive equal treatment in civil and criminal cases. In such situations we are apt to feel charitable, thinking that such charity will be a substitute for justice. But charity is something which can be withheld in a discretionary way; whereas justice is something which every person has a right to demand. That is why the prophets had little to do with charity but demanded in the scheme of God that justice should flow as a mighty stream, available for all. They knew that the world would fall apart without it.

The third assumption is certainly a religious one: that men should become the servants of the common good, rather than ride in domineering fashion in authority over their fellows. Who is the greatest person? Jesus gave the answer. Not the one who lords it over his comrades; but the one who becomes the servant. The worker in the community. The one who by his sweat and toil makes for the communal good. That is the true measure of greatness, and it is a religious measure of democracy.

The Christian citizen is one who will look with discerning eye upon the problems of recreation, housing, education, delinquency, and justice in his community. He will not look with the eye of his welfare or convenience, but with the eye of the Christian ethics. When he reads that there are fewer recreation facilities in his community than in other large communities in the state; then he will make his voice heard; and his actions will be effective. When he reads that in his community the people who teach his children in the public school receive less money for their services than the janitors in office buildings; less money than the porters in hotels; less money than the unskilled workers of industry; then he knows that something is wrong and he will do something about it. He knows that no communal life can be healthy where education is pauperized. He will look at the houses in which people live, and grasp that there can be no cultural advantages when seven people live in the cramped quarters of a few rooms, and will be so aroused that action will be taken in the years to come.

The city of Charlotte offers the greatest opportunity that I know for men and women of the Christian faith to prove what they can do when they assume the responsibilities of community social agencies; and give their wholehearted support to all that builds character. We thank God for those in this church who labor tirelessly day after day for the strengthening of such work as the YMCA, the YWCA, the Boy Scouts, and the Day Nurseries. But there must be more of us; and more of the Christian people in the city who will do these things.

Memorial Day--1945



Horse 'N Buggy

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

THE entire Republican membership of the House Ways and Means Committee has been arguing for high tariffs. That in itself is not so bad; this is a free country; a man wants to argue for high tariffs, let him argue for high tariffs.

What hurts is the innocent joy with which the argument is being offered; the air worn by these Republican representatives, as of men who have discovered something brand-new, and are perfectly entranced and delighted by what they have found. They announce that tariffs are needed to protect domestic industries. They say this with delicious little gestures of pride, as if it were a thought the world had long been waiting for, instead of being one of the oldest and tiredest gags in economics.

Do we really have to have an old-fashioned tariff debate all over again; done unsmilingly, with straight faces? Why can't we say, straight out, that a politician who deals in chestnuts is a bore, just like an actor who does the same? In the first place, the argument about protecting infant industry, which laid them in the aisles in Hamilton's day, no longer applies.

Our industry is not an infant any more, or, if it is, it is a kind of baby elephant, with a big appetite, and if we put a fence around it, all that will happen will be that it will starve, or die from want of exercise. The high tariff argument is a hangover from the days when we were painfully learning to make our own nails and horseshoes, and weren't sure we knew how; it does not apply in a day in which we can make enough nails and horseshoes for the whole world, with our left hand.

Finally, the whole concept of "high" tariff versus "low" tariff is sort of obsolete. What is proposed in the reciprocal trade bill now before Congress is an administrative device, whereby, in the rough, we swap favor for favor, finding markets and granting markets; letting in certain foods, for example, at just the seasons when they don't compete with ours, and gaining outlets for our own products in return. As against the efficient complexity of that administrative device, the demand for tariff walls, pure and simple, is a kind of primitive bawling.

The Ways and Means minority also makes the point that to let the State Department negotiate reciprocal trade treaties is bad because it means more "bureaucratic controls." It is characteristic of a certain type of mind that it loves to rattle around among these corny absolutes. Snow is white, butter is yellow, tariffs are good, and bureaucracy is bad. It makes an easy way of thinking, if you don't care where you come out.

The true dividing line between the pre-war mind and the post-war mind in America is going to be, I think, that the postwar mind will give up these outworn simplicities, this threadbare homespun. It is no use hanging on to the quaint old signposts, when the streets are gone. Suddenly we are adrift in an unfamiliar world, in which we must feel our way, try to sell our goods, try to keep going. Walk softly, there are 10,000,000 men around the next corner, waiting for jobs.

And how strange our factories have become; they are producing twice as much as ever before, without the 10,000,000. This one worker at his bench produces 30 per cent more in an hour than he used to, five years ago. Nothing looks the way it did; and among these shadows it is not reassuring, it is only bizarre, to let down the tailboard of the wagon, and to put on sale the same patent medicine that failed to cure papa; snake oil in the vitamin age.

The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

BACK in 1927, this country reached its lowest ebb in relations with Latin America. We had rushed troops into Nicaragua to protect U. S. Puppet President Adolfo Diez, former agent for a U. S. lumber firm. We wrote scorching notes to Mexico because they had seized certain oil lands and big ranches. We had troops in Haiti.

South American reaction was terrific. The Latins just didn't like us. However, this was our sphere and the State Department was determined that we not budge an inch.

The man who was sending many of those stiff notes was Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew, the same man who, nearly twenty years later, is still adopting the same note-writing tactics on Tito and Stalin.

Russia Hasn't Learned

In the eighteen intervening years, our Latin-American relations have improved and matured. In that area, at least, we have grown up.

But in Europe a Government in Moscow has not yet learned the same lesson regarding Poland we learned regarding Nicaragua and Mexico. That is the crux of the Polish problem.

Probably the chief difference between our general policy in the Caribbean and Soviet policy toward Poland is that Russia has been invaded twice through Poland in 25 years and we have never been invaded through Latin America.

However, just as the Monroe Doctrine has protected us since the early history of the United States, Russian policy toward Poland has not varied with the Empress Catherine, or Peter the Great, or Joe Stalin. Russian policy on Poland was fixed 200 years before Drake whipped the Spanish armada. Even then it was determined that Russia could not hope for peace unless the Poles were so placed that they could not be an invasion avenue for Prussia to use.

Prussia vs. Russia

It must be remembered that the Prussian militarist, living on the other side of Poland from Russia, is not pure German. He is also a Russian-Polish Slav. He has dominated the German Army for years, just as his vast landed estates have dominated the economics of Prussia and Poland. He is equally prosperous on either side of the line. Prince Hohenlohe, a Pole, who married the stepdaughter of Tony Biddle, ex-Ambassador to Poland, is also related to the Prussian nobility.

The Prussians and the Polish nobility understand ... make his views on Poland absolutely clear. It was in February, 1942, that Foreign Minister Molotov came to London to urge a second front. Russia was then in desperate straits. The Red Army was fighting at Stalingrad, its back to the wall. But even then, though Molotov came hat in his hand, he made it clear that Russia must have Poland, up to the Curzon Line, restored.

He asked for the same thing in Washington, as reported in this column on June 8, 1942. He begged and implored Roosevelt to start a second front, but he also made it quite clear Russia was yielding nothing on Poland. Molotov got neither. We were not ready to start a second front, and though the British were quite willing to agree on Poland—in fact did sign a memorandum on it—Roosevelt asked Molotov to postpone any agreement with the United States until after the war. American tradition, he said, did not countenance secret agreements.

"Friendly" Neighbors

This is the general background of the Polish controversy. This background does not necessarily condone the arrest of the 16 Poles, the Red Army's dog-in-the-manger policy in Berlin, or various other Soviet mistakes. But it does show how strongly the Russians feel—just as strongly as we did when Wilson sent General Pershing into Mexico to arrest and kill a lot more than sixteen followers of Gen. Pancho Villa.

Villa, incidentally, had killed sixteen Americans. The Russians also claim that the sixteen arrested Poles had killed 100 members of the Red Army. Nobody from this distance can get the straight of the controversy any more than we can understand the intricacies of Mexican politics—except for this fact:

It is known that British Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, while in San Francisco, told British Foreign Minister Eden that at least three of the sixteen Poles were questionable Fascists. (One is reputed to be a British agent now disavowed by London.)

Kerr also told Eden he thought the missing sixteen Poles were a poor issue on which to make a showdown fight. Kerr even tried to persuade Soviet-hating U. S. Ambassador Averell Harriman that the United States was wrong on the question; but he made no progress.

Eden and Harrisan both took the stand that the issue was not the Poles, but the way the Russians had handled the matter. In regard to this, of course, they were technically right. The Russians have bungled the matter, but so have we. The Polish question was supposed to be ironed out after Yalta by a commission composed of Molotov, Harriman and Kerr. However, Kerr, who understands the Russians, got an eye infection and was sent to a hospital. By the time he was back at the conference table, Churchill had issued

Strife In Syria

AS tension increased between French and Arabs in Syria and Lebanon, President Truman was reported to have been asked to mediate.

"What right have the French over there in Syria and Lebanon?" is a natural query in reading of the French-Arab disturbances in the region east of the Mediterranean between Palestine and Turkey. The answer makes a long story.

French interest in Syria goes back several centuries, when France dreamed of an empire in India and thought of Syria as a stepping-stone on the way. The dream was dissipated, but Napoleon I and Napoleon III both cast longing eyes at Syria during the nineteenth-century race for colonies.

Most of the Lebanese Arabs are Christians (one reason why later Lebanon was detached from Syria proper). Lebanon contains also the Druses, natives belonging to a religious faith evolved out of Egypt in the twelfth century A. D.

Came World War I. Syrian and Lebanese Arabs helped the British drive the Turks out of southern Syria and hoped for independence. But Syria, including Lebanon, was made a French mandate at the same time as Great Britain got mandates over Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq. (Two American investigators from the Paris Peace Conference recommended that the United States be given the mandate over Syria.)

The Syrian mandate has always been a headache for the French, who tried to break up native unity by creating a number of separate administrative divisions in Syria. In 1925 a native revolt drove the French Governor, Gen. Sarrail, out of Damascus. He retaliated by having the city shelled, with considerable loss of life and property, and the natives have neither forgotten nor forgiven. The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations ... French administration of the mandate.

Then the French tried conciliation. But in neighboring Iraq the British, giving up their mandate, recognized Iraq as independent, and that naturally restimulated Syrian and Lebanese independence demands. In 1936 the Popular Front Government of Leon Blum in France signed a treaty with Syria for independence, reserving the right to maintain French garrisons, but the French Parliament would not ratify—another sore spot with the natives. In 1939 France relinquished to Turkey the Hatay (including Alexandretta) section of Syria, where Turks were in the majority.

Came World War II and the defeat of France. The French administration of Syria stuck by the Vichy Government, and there were rumors of Nazi infiltration. In 1941 a Fighting French-British force occupied Syria; later in the year Gen. Catroux, French commander-in-chief, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon.

Since then the charges and counter-charges have flown thick. The Arabs insist the independence proclamation was unconditional; the French say that they retained the right to protect their interests. Something to this effect was contained in the constitution promulgated for Syria; the Syrians say the provision was inserted without authority by a puppet regime. In September, 1943, the United States recognized the independence of Syria-Lebanon and sent a minister; also, Syria and Lebanon are members of the United Nations, represented at San Francisco. Paris says all this does not signify unrestricted independence any more than in the case of Canada and Australia. A pipe line from the Mosul oil fields runs through Syria to its Mediterranean terminus. Moreover, France probably feels that its prestige as a great power will suffer if it loses its old spheres of influence.—Edi-

Statesmen At Work

(Serious, facetious and comic excerpts from the Congressional Record).

REP. Reed (N. Y.) speaking against reciprocal trade agreements:

I maintain that the internationalists who have at last become entrenched in our Government and clothed with power of life and death over our economy have used every weapon of propaganda at the taxpayers' expense to deceive and mislead the citizens of the Nation.

The public were told in 1934, again in 1937, and again in 1940 that each of the trade agreements should keep us out of war. Did these trade agreements do so? No; of course not. Now this new bargaining power requested is to keep us out of the next war. It was a program, so these international-minded men said, would increase our exports. The attempt to make good on these assurances cost the Nation a ghastly price in lives, blood, and heartaches. It contributed to the worst defeat our Navy ever suffered. In an effort to ... gasoline, steel scrap, airplane engines, and other essential war materials. There could have been no Pearl Harbor without the shipment of war materials to Japan in an effort to build up our exports in an attempt to justify the trade-agreement export policy.

The result of such deception in an effort to mislead the public, presents an unwholesome spectacle. Think of creating a situation which required the Congress to suspend tariff duties on the scrap iron and materials to replace the huge amount sent to Japan. We did this so we could bring into this country the material to enable us to produce the ships and weapons for our own defense and for the prosecution of the war.

The trade agreements did not keep us out of war; they will never keep us out of war, but we do know that in an effort to build up a fake export record, the