THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

60th Anniversary Year

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FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1948

What Is Our Foreign Policy?

IN the sharp exchange between Senator Vandenberg and Secretary of State Marshall on the reciprocal trade issue, we have another pointed demonstration of the fact that Republicans call the tune on America's so-called bipartisan foreign policy. Their Congressional majority gives them this power, which they are exercising more vigorously as prospects grow that nothing can keep the GOP from winning the 1948 Presidential election.

As a result of a rebuke from Vandenberg, the Republican Party's foreign affairs chief in the Senate, the State Department must swallow its objections to the Republican-sponsored bill which would renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for only one year and with restrictions severely limiting the Administration's authority in tariff-cutting.

Despite Senator Vandenberg's contention that this legislation does not constitute a reversal of America's fourteen-year-old reciprocal trade policy, under which we slash import duties in exchange for similar concessions from other countries, all the evidence is that the Republican bill is a large step in that direction. We recently had a clear warning of what's in the wind from another Republican leader, Senator Millikin of Colorado, in the course of the debate on this measure.

Senator Millikin protested against extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act for two or three years, as requested by the Democratic Administration. He pointed out that there is apt to be a change in the White House after this year and declared the incoming administration should not be bound to a policy on foreign trade in advance of the election. His statement is added evidence that the Republicans are agreeing to a one-year extension simply to avoid the political embarrassment incident to an open repudiation of the reciprocal trade program before the voting in November. Meanwhile, they are carefully setting the stage for a large-scale reversal of that policy after November in case the Republicans win, and placing restrictive clauses in the act just in case the GOP has miscalculated on the outcome of the November balloting.

This strikes us as a strange and devious application of the old American principle of meeting issues squarely and honestly in campaign time. Despite its disturbing oddity, we are very much afraid that the GOP stratagem will deceive a sufficient number of voters to permit the party of normalcy, high tariffs and isolation to win in November. We are even more concerned over what will happen if the threat to the reciprocal trade system materializes.

If the tariff log-rollers and economic nationalists take full command after November and the reciprocal trade program is discarded at the end of another year, the world will be tossed back into the cut-throat trade rivalries from which two world wars grew. Such a development would undo the good work for international reconstruction and co-operation in the Marshall Plan, which Senator Vandenberg himself has done so much to advance.

It is notable that even while the reciprocal trade program is being weakened or undermined, this Republican Congress has moved toward early abandonment of the European Recovery Program. It refused to accept a four-year commitment on the plan, fixing the limit at fifteen months and even attempting to cut that to one year. It has made slashes in foreign aid funds that dismay administrative experts and chill European hopes.

Republican hacking at these two pillars of our bipartisan foreign policy becomes more disturbing in the light of this Congress' enthusiasm for vast atomic-air power preparations. Hopes for peace decline steadily as Congress places more and more dependence on American military strength, less and less on economic co-operation. Whether our European friends will be encouraged by such actions to stand with us against Communism, or whether it will even be possible for them to do so on these terms, is a agowing question. Meanwhile, this development gives cause for fresh alarm over what the Republicans mean when they promise to be much more forceful than the Democrats in dealing with Russia.

After Election Comes The Draft

BY its amendment to the Selective Service bill postponing registration and inductions until next Jan. 31, the House has done nothing to improve the position of Congress in the debate with President Truman over the merits of Congress.

The date fixed for inauguration of the draft says plainly that the amendment was designed to delay the full impact of conscription until after the Nov. 2 Presidential election. Authored and directed by Republicans, this change in the legislation has the obvious purpose to make a numerous body of voters forget that the Grand Old Party had anything at all to do with anything like conscription in peacetime.

As we see it, the amendment could be justified only if the House were able to show that there has been an enormous improvement in the disturbed international situation since day before yesterday, or that there is a bright prospect of such an improvement between now and next Jan. 31, or that our armed services can meet their manpower requirements by voluntary enlistments. In each instance, we are sorry to say, the contrary seems to be the case.

This same House earlier recognized the emergency that calls for a peacetime draft when it took a forward part in authorizing and appropriating funds for a record peacetime military budget. A particular Congressional contribution to American leadership in the arms race was the order for a 70-group Air Force, which Congress pushed through over the objections of the Truman Administration and our Secretary of Defense.

In the super-Air Force operation, Congress compelled the Administration to come up from 55 groups, originally declared by our defense chiefs to be adequate for security purposes in the new preparedness program. That action by House and Senate not only placed a heavy strain on our economy but it also required expansion of the services all along the line to keep them in balance.

The spectacle of the House putting off the draft day to a more politically convenient time, dodging public reaction to the preparedness policy in which Congress and the Administration are committed, has not been pleasant to watch. How much it has set back the preparedness program and what effect it will have on foreign opinion and American morale remains to be seen but certainly this stalling and evasion have not strengthened us either at home or abroad.

An Excuse For Congress

THAT noted North American traveler, Harry Truman, is being mighty unfair to that city-bound Republican Congress up there in Washington. While he gleefully rides the ski tow at Sun Valley and takes in the sights at that old Western outpost—Tombstone, Arizona—the harried GOP legislators wipe their brows in Washington, a notoriously sultry city.

What can he mean by suggesting that the Congressmen shouldn't pack their brief cases and make their getaway? Don't they have fences to mend, conventions to attend and grass roots that need some inspection? It is true that Congress hasn't completed a lot of important business but we don't feel the Congressmen are behaving unnaturally in their mad rush to adjourn, or that this is evidence the 80th Congress is the "second worst" in history. After all, June is vacation time.

Even cows and ferry skippers feel peripatetic come June. We hear from Curry Rivel in Somerset, England, that Mrs. Laura Betty's strawberry roan heifer tried to get away from it all by climbing up a 172-step circular stairway in the Curry Rivel monument. (Of course, Mrs. Betty's boys, Henry and Bertie, had to lead the lowing heifer back down the steps—one by one—but just imagine how refreshed and relaxed the heifer must be now.)

And in Newport News, Captain Ed Hudgins guided his ferryboat considerably off course in crossing Hampton Roads, scaring the daylights out of a group of passengers. The Captain got fined ten bucks for breaking the monotony of keeping the "Ocean City" on that same old course—but think of the fun he had in giving way to his wayward inclinations. Probably he will be able to sleep much better now.

And wasn't it about this time last year when that Brooklyn bus driver absconded with his vehicle for a trip down to Florida?

No, it's not fair of the President to want to keep the Senators and Representatives in Washington. For one thing, we don't believe this Congress would complete the business the President asks for even if it remained in session all Summer, and that would spoil our vacation.

After the people of Louisiana become inured to the new taxes, benefits and services, such things as steel, coal and railroad strikes would bring no pain.—*New Orleans States.*

An Englishman was visiting this country for the first time and as he was driving along the highways, saw a large sign, "Drive slow. This means you!" The Englishman stopped in surprise and exclaimed, "My word! How did they know I was here?" —*Greenville (Tenn.) Sun.*

Another thing we've never understood is where the bugs all come from and how there are so many, so early and how they all get on the right plants so quickly. —*Lexington (Ky.) Herald.*

Those lacy fringes on the rusted fenders of the older automobiles are the cutest thing we've seen since the ladies gave up wearing pantalets. — *Roanoke (Va.) Times.*

'Anybody Looking?'

Congressional Abuse Of Power

The Autocrat Of The House

(Note: In the long fight to get the draft bill out of the House Rules Committee and bring it to the floor of the chamber for a vote, we have had another demonstration of the dictatorial authority of this Congressional group. This legislation finally was blasted from the committee's grasp under the pressure of Republican Party leaders when two GOP members of the committee changed their position against permitting their fellow representatives to vote on the measure. An effort to reduce the autocratic power of this committee was made in the Reorganization Act but that reform was blocked by two other members of this same committee. In the following article, reprinted from the New York Times, this committee's operations and its historical background are discussed by Arthur Krock, the distinguished Washington correspondent of The Times:)

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AS the House now operates, no major legislation can come before the body for a vote unless the Rules Committee grants it a special rule on the application of the chairman of the committee which is handling the legislation. Rep. Monroney, who with former Sen. La Follette drew up the Reorganization Act, wanted it to provide that, whenever a chairman so applied, the Rules Committee would be obliged to report a special rule for the legislation for the House majority to adopt or reject as it saw fit. But there were two members of the Rules Committee on the Monroney-La Follette group, and they fought this reform so hard that, to get the other reforms through, it was abandoned.

The result is that a majority of the Rules Committee still can block any major legislation it chooses simply by declining to report a special rule for its consideration. From May 7 until last Monday it maintained this attitude against the draft legislation which was adopted by the Armed Services Committee, headed by Rep. Andrews of New York. So far as power is concerned, the Rules Committee could have stifled the measure until the session ended.

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THE history of this House committee is long and expanding. Originally set up as a traffic squad to carry out the plans of the majority leadership in orderly fashion—a particular necessity in the last weeks of a session—the committee has abused its power and become the dominating master of the whole House, denying the majority party its will when it both desires and dares to. From 1789 until 1880 this group was a select committee, of which the Speaker was made an ex officio member. In 1880 it became a standing committee of the House, over which the Speaker eventually exercised arbitrary control.

The late Sen. George Norris of Nebraska, then a Representative, led the successful attack on the set-up in March, 1910, in the time of Speaker Cannon, and the Speaker was removed permanently as a member of the committee. But this reform only substituted a small syndicate of autocrats, a majority of the Rules Committee, for one, the Speaker. The leaders whose party controls the House carefully select this committee majority from their personal henchmen. But sometimes these henchmen defy the leaders, or enough of them join with committeemen of the minority party to form a new committee majority in defiance of those who put them where they are. Then the leaders as well as the House are powerless to do anything about it.

This is rare, however, as was demonstrated Monday when Speaker Martin and Majority Leader Halleck finally exercised their influence to force out the Draft Bill from an unwilling Rules Committee. But it remains the potential autocrat of the House.

This group passes on proposals to change rules, create new and special committees and hold investigations. It sets the hours and the days for House sessions. It has jurisdiction over special orders and special bills designed to enable a House majority to push forward particular legislation, a procedure which otherwise would require suspension of the rules by a two-thirds majority. It can bring out either "open" or "closed" rules for the consideration of such bills; the former allowing amendments to be offered from the floor, the latter confining this privilege to the committee in charge. Or it can decline to do any of this, and thus exercise veto power over legislation, as it did with the bills for universal military training and to establish a Federal Fair Employment Practice Commission.

The Rules Committee also has assumed the powers of amendment—a recent instance being the long-pending Civil Service Pay Bill, which it has declined to make way for unless the committee in direct charge will change certain pay and postal rates.

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THE Rules Committee is a necessity because of the size of the House and the conflict of legislative business that becomes a jam as time for adjournment draws near and selection is essential to order and performance. Like many other useful agencies, however, the committee on occasion has abused the need for it and the functions given it to meet that need. A practical safeguard against this abuse was proposed by Mr. Monroney, but his reorganization group had been so selected that the Rules Committee was able to prevent its own reform.

For this the Democratic leaders of the time were basically responsible, just as now the Republican leaders of the House must take responsibility for the excesses of a Rules Committee that has a Republican majority. But, though they assumed and carried out this responsibility today, abridgement of the powers of this group is still in order.

Joseph Alsop

Vandenberg Setback

WASHINGTON

A SETBACK certainly had to be expected by the group seeking to draft Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg as Republican candidate for the Presidency. The plans of the Vandenberg underground have been developing almost unnaturally smoothly, considering the sharpness of the competition, and the difficulty of nominating a man who will not connive. At any rate, a setback may now have occurred, because of Senator Vandenberg's refusal to promote his own candidacy.

Political leaders supporting a Presidential candidate like their support to be acknowledged by the candidate himself, in the fullest, frankest and most solid form. Partly, this is because they want to be sure they can depend on the man they are backing. Even more, it is because they want to be certain that the candidate's obligations to his backers are fully understood and will be fully recognized.

MIGHT REJECT DRAFT

From the first, the other candidates and their managers have warned important, uncommitted leaders like Governor Duff of Pennsylvania and Driscoll of New Jersey that Vandenberg might reject a draft at the present moment. And they have added, in a lower voice, that even if Vandenberg accepted a draft, he would not recognize his debts to those who helped to draft him.

Because the specter of Vandenberg has grown increasingly more alarming, this form of propaganda was given a special play at the Governors' conference in New Hampshire, which must have been the most remarkable panorama of ambition and intrigue in recent history. The propaganda apparently convinced Governor Driscoll. On Tuesday, he transmitted a message to Washington asking for definite assurance, by a stated hour, that his support for Senator Vandenberg would not be wasted.

The answer was precisely the answer that Senator Vandenberg has given scores of other people in recent months — that he was not a candidate and did not wish to be a candidate.

This was relayed to Governor Driscoll almost instantaneously, a newspaper account of Vandenberg's position, as explained by him to his friends, reached the conferring Governors and was shown to Governor Duff of Pennsylvania.

A little later, the group planning a draft Senator Vandenberg who had previously received assurances of Duff's and Driscoll's support got word in Washington that these assurances might be withdrawn. As these lines are written, the situation is in flux. The vital fact is, however, that if Duff and Driscoll leave Vandenberg, they will go in opposite directions.

Driscoll is expected to join the camp of Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Duff, on the other hand, cherishes a strong personal distaste for Dewey. One reason why the Pennsylvania Governor may have changed his mind, after being very staunch for Vandenberg, is that Vandenberg was quoted as speaking highly of Governor Dewey's qualifications. Therefore it is reported that Duff will lead his men in the Pennsylvania delegation — between thirty-five and forty-five votes — into the camp of Senator Robert A. Taft.

If Duff and Driscoll thus divide between Taft and Dewey, a convention deadlock is just as likely as it ever was. No one has ever argued that Vandenberg could be drafted, except after a deadlock. Thus, even if the draft-Vandenberg planners can no longer dispose of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey delegates, the underlying situation will not have changed radically. In some respects, it has improved.

Senator Vandenberg himself is still emphatically subject to a genuine draft at Philadelphia. His position on this point has never wavered. He will not seek to be nominated. But if he is nominated, he will accept. Equally emphatically, those planning to draft him have refused to support operations because of the flurry at the Governors' conference.

SINCERITY PROVED

Furthermore, Vandenberg's sincerity has been more than declarily proved. His admirers' enthusiasm was coming dangerously close to transforming the draft-Vandenberg movement into a stop-Dewey movement. Now, however, Vandenberg has not only again refused to connive for the nomination. He has also again refused to stand in the way of any active candidate, and has let his good opinion of Governor Dewey become known. This can strongly influence Governor Dewey's decision, if and when he has to recognize that he cannot be nominated himself.

Dewey still has a good chance to go over on an early ballot. But if Dewey does not go over, the forces favoring the booms for Vandenberg and Republican candidates — Dewey, Vandenberg, Harold Stassen and Governor Earl Warren of California — will certainly be likely to unite on Vandenberg than on any one else.

Samuel Grafton

Coddled Convention

NEW YORK

SECURITY is what everybody in the world seeks, and few attain. But some do get it, and it seems to me that the leading beneficiary of our structure of security at this moment is the Republican Party. To be able to meet at a fluid, uncertain time like this, and to have ahead of you a well-anchored way, among candidates of not very sharply different views, is indeed to be well-wrapped against the winds that blow and bite in the world of 1948.

In this chancy time, after a great war, when institutions are dissolving like sugar, and no man can foretell what lies ahead, and many are afraid, the Republican convention of next week will indeed be the most coddled of all organisms, the nut within the membrane within the shell within the husk. Here in the convention room will be that quiet place we have heard exists at the center of the whirlpool; here, where, in a boiling world, and according to an old ritual, will be made among men who are, on the whole, as nearly of the same mind as it is possible for a group of adults to be.

POLITICAL FORT KNOX

Here no voice will be raised to cry out that prices are unduly high, and that a people is being taxed by them; nothing so raucous will penetrate into this well-ringed interior. Here will dim echo only such outbursts, and not even the overtone of an echo will vibrate in this, the Fort Knox of politics.

Here no one will say that war may follow a policy of heavy armaments; that cry will never reach into this sanctum, this chamber which will for a week be truly the center of the complicated structure of security we are erecting in this world.

Here no liberal will rise to argue, or object, to point out, or to beg to differ. There are those who say this earth where one can entirely avoid taking notice of liberalism, where one can neither be for nor against the liberals; but this is one of them, this is a place where one need not be, and need not answer. That is what is meant when one says that this convention chamber will indeed be a protected place, guarded by the Constitution, so filtered and refined as to make most other forms of air conditioning seem crude.

ATTICAL CLIMATE

There will be estimable men and women who will be coming to Philadelphia next week, but if I were they, or one of them, I would want to inquire deeply into that strange sense of well-being which is going to be all over the place. It is so atypical a climate in the world today that it can't be just a real weather; it must be due to the workings of a wondrous sort of thermostat. In a year when a nomination made up out of a bipartisan agreement, the death of a man named Roosevelt, a large arms budget that lubricates the economy, a heavy new pressure against unorthodox thinking, and other elements of the same sort.

It will be an interesting, and in a way, a highly dramatic spectacle, for here we shall see how the enormous new structure of security we have been erecting fails to produce. In one small space, for one small moment, the feeling that the conditions of a safe political past tense have come back. Here, and only here, at the center of the whirlpool, in a world made of chance itself, will men be certain that whatever decision they make is the right one, sure to be fruitful and absolutely certain to be safe.

People's Platform

Thanks From Burkholder

CHARLOTTE

Editors, THE NEWS:

SINCE I have been defeated in my race for Congress I would like to take this opportunity to thank the voters of the Tenth District for their loyal support in the primary and specially do I appreciate the vote of confidence from the 21,000 voters (Democrats as well as Republicans) who voted for me two years ago.

Even though I have been defeated in my race for Congress I am still deeply interested in the welfare of our nation. Since Roy A. Harman has gained the nomination for Congress by public vote with a nice majority over all other Republican candidates, he now has my loyal support. I personally know Mr. Harman to be an honorable qualified candidate who is worthy of any man's vote.

—P. C. BURKHOLDER.

Good Advice To Stalin

STATESVILLE

Editors, THE NEWS:

THANK you very much for your editorial in your June 8 issue, "Notes For a Letter to Stalin." You have a sound basis for your opinions, and I feel sure that all right-thinking Americans agree with you. I am sending Drew Pearson a copy of my News, and if you can furnish me two or three additional copies I would certainly rush them to Mr. Truman, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Stalin.

—Z. D. GREENWOOD.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

Stassen Raised Interest In GOP Race

Editor's Note—The character and prospects of Harold Stassen are analyzed by Drew Pearson today in his series of columns on GOP candidates.)

WASHINGTON

WHETHER Harold Stassen wins or not—and he probably won't—he has done a great service to the Republican Party.

When other candidates were being coy, and while certain leaders were saying they did not want to be President, the refreshing Mr. Stassen announced that he was one who wanted to be President, proceeded to go out and hustle for it. Furthermore, he made other candidates hustle. Result was more scrutiny of candidates, more public thinking about the Republican nomination than in any other recent Presidential year.

For this alone, the American people owe Mr. Stassen a large vote of thanks.

The Stassen campaign today is dragging. His campaign chest, once amply supplied, is now reported to be $100,000 in the red. Many of the big-money boys, once enthusiastic over Stassen, cooled off after his Oregon defeat. It was not that they disagreed with Stassen, but rather that they want to be on the winning bandwagon and they figured Stassen wouldn't win.

Crucial Debate

HISTORY may show the Dewey debate was the turning point in the race to decide who will be the next President of the United States.

Stassen, in challenging Dewey, figured he was playing safe. The advantage was against Dewey. Not only did it appear more popular at that time to outlaw Communism, but Stassen was accustomed to rough-and-tumble debate. After all his speeches he had invited questions from the audience. He had had a lot of practice. In his grain-speculation charges against Ed Pauley, he had outtalked both Pauley and his defending Senators. Holding press conferences was Stassen's forte.

Knowing this, some of Dewey's friends advised him not to accept the Stassen challenge. The youthful Minnesota Governor, Paul Lockwood warned Dewey, was baiting a political trap.

"If I am going to be defeated," replied the usually cautious Mr. Dewey, "I know of no better issue to be defeated on. We cannot have thought-control in the United States."

The debate which followed sent Dewey's battered stock soaring. It may have decided who will be the next President of the United States.

Stassen Was 'Too Liberal'

THREE other factors are working against Stassen:

1. His youth. He is 41 and many people think he can afford to be aged in the wood a bit.

2. The party bosses. They don't want a man they cannot control, would much prefer a party hack like Bricker of Ohio, or good-natured Speaker Joe Martin.

3. Stassen's liberal background.

Stassen's onetime liberalism now appears to be diluted with growing gobs of conservatism. Some suspect the one-time crusading Governor of Minnesota of trying to carry water on both shoulders, in order to keep happy both his labor following and the large group of businessmen who have oiled his political machine.

These include: Henry Atwood, president of the First National Bank, Minneapolis; Julian Baird, president of the First National Bank, St. Paul; Harry A. Bullis, chairman of General Mills; Edward B. Cosgrove, head of Minnesota Valley Canning; Dohald Davis, head of Minnesota and Ontario Paper; Jay Cooke, prominent Philadelphia opponent of the housing bill; W. L. McKnight, head of the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.

At any rate, Stassen, who once opposed the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, who favored strong anti-trust prosecution, and urged heavy taxes on high profits, has now pulled in his horns on many of these issues.

To his credit it should be noted that he has had the courage to take a stand on almost everything—even the dynamite-laden question of whether the U. S. Ambassador to the Vatican should be recalled and whether U. S. taxpayers' money should be used for busses to parochial schools. As a result, a storm of criticism has poured on his head from his own Church (Baptist) and other Protestant groups.

Immigrant Grandparents

STASSEN has a unique American background and, despite his youthful years, a wealth of diversified experience.

Like Wendell Willkie, his grandparents were immigrants; two from Germany, one from Norway, one from Czechoslovakia. To get his education, Stassen worked on a farm, as a grocer's clerk, in a bake shop, and spent three Summers as a Pullman conductor on the Milwaukee Railroad.

As a young Minnesota lawyer, Stassen was so forthright that in his first race for governor he defeated both the Farmer-Labor candidate and the Old Guard Republican machine. The AFL and CIO endorsed him.

It was Senator Joe Ball, a St. Paul newsman whom Stassen appointed to the Senate, who later reciprocated by persuading the White House to appoint Stassen as U. S. delegate to the first United Nations conference in San Francisco. There, Stassen, a returned naval hero, did a good job. Time credited Governor Stassen with helping the peace organizations desiring to "consult" with the U. S. delegation, Stassen not only kept them reasonably happy but made political friends in the process.

More important, he proved himself a better statesman than Vandenberg by battling against the veto. Van has received the major credit for constructing the U.N. Charter, but it was the youthful Minnesotan who foresaw the veto reefs ahead.

Should Stassen win out in his ambition to enter the White House, foreign policy would be in the hands of a man who had already conferred with Stalin, Molotov, Atlee, and other world leaders. The young man from Minnesota has given himself as much preparation as possible for the big job to which he aspires.

Opposite to be a much better President than various of his Republican confederates, but certain of the party bosses would almost cut off their left arm before they would let him get the nomination. They would take him for Vice-President with great pleasure, however. And that, probably, is where Stassen will end up.