EDITORIAL PAGE

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Help In The East

When the war in Europe is won we are going to have whopping problems of our own, and they must be solved even before we begin the task of helping to put wrecked nations on their feet. Every military expert knows that the superb morale of American armies will be severely shaken when men are pulled out of Europe and poured into the Pacific to start fighting all over again. These millions of men, steamed up the second time for a tough job of conquest, are not going to be the great soldiers they are today. They are going to feel that their stretch ought to be over, and they'll deeply resent doing double duty.

With that in mind, it seems fair that we should call on others to help in the Pacific. Though we have rolled right to Japan's door, there are thousands of islands yet to be cleared, and bloody campaigns to be fought before conquered possessions are liberated. Most of those possessions will never be American, but will be handed back to their owners: France, The Netherlands, Britain. Why, for instance, should not The Netherlands send men into the Pacific to help recover an empire?

The crushing of Japan is primarily an American job, but when the Dutch have so much at stake, they might be expected to supplement our forces. Though The Netherlands has suffered heavy losses from water, fire and bombing, it has lost comparatively few men in this war. Its population of some nine millions could afford a sizable army of men built around a nucleus of soldiers well-trained in the Dutch army before the war. And they are no farther from their lands in the East Indies than are our European armies.

We have not yet made clear just what bases we shall acquire in the Pacific for our future security, but those will surely not be in French Indo-China, the Dutch Indies or British Malaya. In the winning of these possessions, our armies should be aided to the greatest possible extent by those nations which have most to gain.

We may get something back on all this lend-lease, but various skeptics have still to be convinced. The rarest of post-war types, they point out, is the paid piper.

The Absentees

If the War Manpower Commission is really in earnest, we'd suggest that it set a watch on Capitol Hill. There's scandalous absenteeism there. Congressmen don't believe in work-or-fight, or even in talk-or-fight. By our slide rule the House and Senate loses three million man-hours annually simply because the solons don't show up for work. And if WMC needs some help in overcoming Congressional immunity, Senate Leader Alben Barkley would help.

This week Dear Alben lashed out at the absentees, and Louisiana's Ellender picked up and went home. He'd be dogged if he'd hang around for two or three weeks while the Senate debated the Mexican Water Treaty, he said. And he explained that all those seats were vacant for the same reason. The Senate's task might be important, but it was powerfully dull to its members. It availed nothing that Senator Barkley reminded Mr. Ellender of the Lend-Lease bill now under consideration. The Louisianan, defying authority, went home anyway.

On that day, 36 of the Senate's 96 seats were filled—and that kind of attendance is typical. On many occasions only a handful of Senators sit and drowse, while one of the brethren reads through a ponderous speech. The House, with its 435 members, sports a record that is little better. The gentlemen of the lower chamber, badgered in their offices and confined by committee appointments, stay away from their seats even when important legislation is in the mill.

It takes something like the Wallace or Williams appointments to bring 'em out. Otherwise, they're "necessarily absent" or simply AWOL. And in these chambers resound the loudest and fiercest denunciations of absenteeism in war plants, and the most thundering demands for strict manpower control. Why don't they make Congress an essential industry, and let the boys punch a clock?

Landmark

Anybody who ever has looked into that vast excavation which is the old rock quarry in the West Dilworth section will realize what a menace to life and health and community development it is. Children have been drowned there. A floating mass of rubbish and scrap half fills it. Frequently a man or a boy with a rifle will be sitting on the bank of the quarry enjoying a little lazy target practice at the expense of the large rats that scamper and scavenge down below. With the exception of this hazard, it is the perfect playground for rats.

Protests of residents of the neighborhood have caused the City and the owner of the void to discuss means of filling it in and abating the undoubted nuisance which it is. That will be a costly job, and it could be argued that the City is not obligated to undertake any part of it. This hole in the ground was there before the residents. They could see (and smell) what they were letting themselves in for.

But by another approach, and the more equitable one, we think, responsibility comes straight back to the City for its failure, in the past, to assert its authority over the uses to which property within and adjacent to the city limits should be put. It goes, in short, to the lack of city planning which let a nuisance and a residential section run smack into each other.

There are, probably, though at the moment we don't think of one, other nuisances directly in the path of urban expansion, as there will be always until both residential and industrial development take place according to some sort of plan allowing for both.

A Substitute

In his January inaugural address Governor Cherry laid some stress on the problems of North Carolina farmers. And he made some proposals to the Assembly:

"I feel that the progressive and scientific services offered by our State and Federal agencies must be expanded and extended . . .

"Of increasing importance . . . is the development of methods for use of by-products and the development of new uses for agricultural products. . . . It should be our purpose to employ trained men in this field . . .

"The standard of living of most employed farm workers is far below the general level. . . . It is in the best interest of our State that the economic status of these citizens be raised. I pledge my administration to support every constructive effort having this purpose in view.

"I believe the time has come when North Carolina should consider the establishment of a new type of school for farm youths . . . a good agricultural school for boys who do not plan to attend college . . . where fundamental farm subjects could be taught. . . . I recommend this program for your careful consideration."

If the Assembly considered, it did not act, for the program is still just a part of the Governor's speech, filed away under State documents. Action had to await private initiative, when the State College Agricultural Foundation opened its drive for $2,000,000 last week, with a goal of lifting North Carolina rural life to higher levels. This attempt, serving as a substitute for State action that was not forthcoming at the recent legislative session, is aimed at virtually every North Carolina farm problem.

We hope that the Foundation will not be left alone in its task, and that the Assembly, in its next session, will dig the Governor's program out of the files and give official aid.

Finding something light and showy to suit the talents of the Duke of Windsor seems to be a British equivalent of the Henry Wallace placement problem.

"There is no such thing as spring fever," says another of the medical columnists, too listless to look it up.

Statesmen At Work

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

SEN. Butler (Nebr.). As every Senator will recall, Cecil B. De Mille's career in the moving-picture industry of this Nation extends back for more then a quarter of a century. During his distinguished career, he has directed some of the greatest motion pictures in modern history—such as the Ten Commandments, Ben Hur, Union Pacific, and a long list of other notable films.

Until recently, he was conductor of the Lux Radio Theater, bringing drama into the homes of millions of American radio listeners. In all his capacities Mr. De Mille has shown himself to be a loyal, idealistic American, placing emphasis on the highest ideals of life. There is no question about his patriotism, his love of freedom, his devotion to high ideals—ideals that most Americans have followed to make ours the greatest nation in the history of the world.

Mr. De Mille is no longer conductor of the Lux Radio Theater—and for a very strange reason, Mr. President. That reason, no matter what others say, is not because he is antilabor. It is not because he is against progress. His whole life is evidence that those who say and write such things are saying and writing untruths.

Mr. De Mille is no longer conducting the radio program for commendable reasons. He simply chose to refuse to give up a freedom—his right to vote as he pleased on a particular issue. He chose not to be subject to the tyranny of a labor union—a union of which he was a member in good standing and hoped always to so remain. He chose to stick by a right guaranteed him by our American Constitution rather than to let a union leader dictate to him how he should vote on a particular issue.

Mr. De Mille makes no case against legitimate unionism. He makes no plea for reaction. He says nothing that does not contribute to liberalism.

On the contrary, Mr. President, I believe that Mr. De Mille sets forth clearly the issues of the basic, underlying political struggle going on today—a struggle which has little to do, as events have shown, with political partisanship or other considerations. He shows that he and millions of other Americans who stand by him are fighting for true unionism, for true social progress, for undisguised, pure liberalism, not the kind that is nothing in the world but totalitarianism in disguise.

The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

THE brass hats, both British and American, have found there is more than one way to support Spanish Dictator Franco . . . For some time the Spanish Fascists have been trying to peddle 3,000,000 blankets to UNRRA. But strong-willed Governor Lehman put the deal down. He also issued an order that no relief goods were to be bought from Spain . . . So now the British Army is buying the 3,000,000 blankets from Franco and giving them to UNRRA as its contribution. Furthermore, the U. S. Army is purchasing an additional million blankets for its own use . . . The payoff is that the State Department has ok'd the deal . . . The diplomatic grapevine for weeks has warned that one of Moscow's chief gripes about the State Department was not so much Poland, but close U. S. collaboration with Franco. The Soviets can't seem to forget that Franco enlisted the Blue Legion to fight against them, even if the State Department can.

Small Oil Men Suffer

Like a breath of fresh air was the way Government officials described Judge Vinson's brief tour of duty as Federal Loan Administrator. However, some of them are wondering why he permitted his Defense Supplies Corporation to get away with a squeeze play against small, independent oil companies. . . . All oil shipped East gets the benefit of a U. S. Government subsidy called a "compensatory rate." This amounts to 1.52 cents ($0.0152) per gallon and compensates for the rail haul, which is more expensive than the water route.

But Vinson's Defense Supplies Corporation removed the compensatory rate from small oil companies shipping natural gasoline to the East Coast. These companies had shipped it East, where dealers blended the natural gasoline with naptha and made A-1 gasoline. . . . Removal of the compensatory subsidy automatically puts these small companies out of business when it comes to natural gasoline. Only thing they can do is sell it to the big companies in Oklahoma and Texas, who mix it themselves with naptha and then ship it to the East Coast. But the big companies are paid the shipping subsidy—provided they mix it before they ship. It's all a matter of having the mixing facilities in the Southwest, not the East. Looks like a put-up game for the big boys who have those facilities.

"Torch-Singer" Stettinius

Handsome Secretary of State Ed Stettinius spent several days in New York rehearsing for the State Department movie on Dumbarton Oaks. But despite rehearsals, movie-goers get a chuckle out of the way Ed rolls his eyes. Reason is he didn't learn all his lines, had to look at a blackboard just over the movie-camera in order to read them. This makes his eyes roll away from the lens as if he were a torch-singer, otherwise it's an A-1 picture.

The State and Interior Departments both have their eyes on the Philippines. State's budget carries a salary allowance for a U. S. Ambassador to the Philippines. Interior's budget carries a salary for a High Commissioner. If there is immediate independence, there will be an Ambassador; if not there will be a Commissioner. . . . Sir Gerald Campbell, British Minister under Lord Halifax, is leaving the British Embassy soon. . . . Walter Lippman, storming out of the movie "Tomorrow The World," remarked: "It's an outrage to make Japs of the American people as this picture does."

Best speaker at the Hugo Black testimonial dinner was Mrs. Roosevelt. Next best was toastmaster Alben Barkley. Bemoaning the fact that fighting liberal Senators were elevated to the courts, Majority Leader Barkley said: "I have lost so many Senators to the courts that you can see by any recent roll call that I myself feel lost." . . . Among the New Deal Senators promoted to the courts are Black of Alabama, Byrnes of South Carolina, Minton of Indiana, Rone of Washington, Schwellenbach of Washington, and Duffy of Wisconsin.

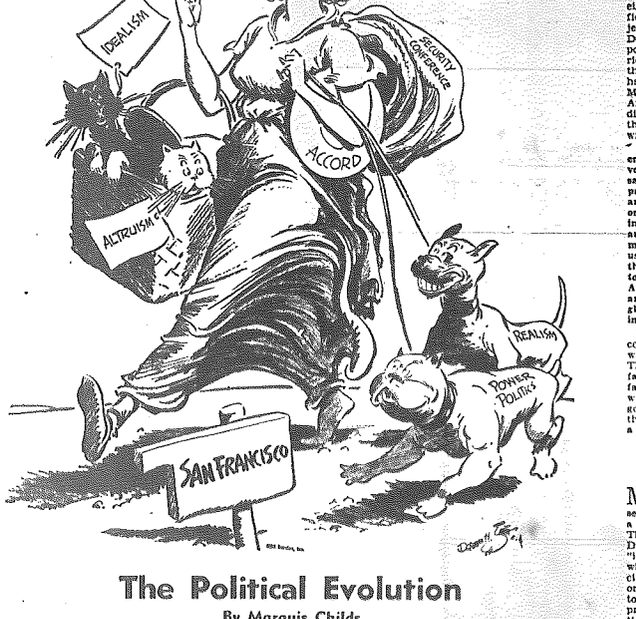
Jesse Jones' Old Job

Backstage jockeying has been terrific to fill Jesse Jones' old job as Federal Loan Administrator. Controlling the purse-strings, it has become the key position in the post-war set-up. . . . For a time, crusading Justice Bill Douglas let his name be put forward. Chief sponsor was FDR's one-time favorite, Tom Corcoran. However, Douglas' close court friends, Hugo Black and Wiley Rutledge, came to him at a dinner, urged that it was his duty to remain on the Supreme Court.

If he left, the court conservatives would have a majority—especially if the Concoran trade went through and Jimmy Byrnes was appointed to Douglas' place. . . . So Douglas withdrew his name. . . . Alabama's Senator Bankhead at first seemed strong for Alabama's Cliff Durr as Federal Loan Administrator. Later the Southern Utilities appeared to be making hay with bankhead. Durr is too liberal for them. . . . FDR's first choice for the loan job was incorruptible, efficient Budget Director Harold Smith, against whom the Senate could not object. Te Senate has been fighting so many Roosevelt appointments recently that he watches the confirmation angle almost more than any other. This bars a lot of good men.

Inside Germany—Hitler's Gestapo men have a tough time during blackouts. They strut in the daytime, but at night when the underground are loose, they cower in corners. . . . Diplomats say that the new movie, "Hotel Berlin," starring the latest Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt, Fay Emerson, gives some accurate glimpses of what Berlin is like during the bomb raids. . . . Himmler ordered all cooking gas turned off in Berlin last week. . . . Berlin street cars are now used so much for military transportation that it takes a Gestapo pass to ride on them. . . . German bankers are deserting the sinking-ship. Hans Puhl, vice-president of the Reichs bank, is heading a secret delegation to Switzerland, trying to contact the Allies. Their sob story is: "The German bankers never agreed with Hitler, merely went along for the ride." . . . Actually Puhl is chief Nazi operator for German Finance Minister, Hjalmar Schacht.

Now To Get Them To Eat From The Same Dish



The Political Evolution

By Marquis Childs

WASHINGTON

THE political pattern of America is changing. It is a change which began long ago with the Industrial Revolution. But it took recent events to make it unmistakably clear.

Once, the citadel of political radicalism and economic liberalism was in the rural areas. Farm representatives put forth the most extreme doctrines. From the agricultural hinterlands came such innovations as the initiative, referendum and recall.

The predominant voices for liberalism and progressive change came from the farm belt, and particularly from the Middle West. For a generation in American public life, the principal advocates of reform were George W. Norris of Nebraska, Robert M. La Follette Sr. of Wisconsin and William Jennings Bryan, who also came out of Nebraska. Other liberals—Walsh of Montana, Kenyon of Iowa, Howell of Nebraska, Olson of Minnesota—all were from the rural West.

Even the South contributed to the ferment. We forget today that Southerners such as Jack Garner of Texas and "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina often rode herd on Herbert Hoover and Wall Street in the late twenties and early thirties.

But the wheel has come full turn. Senators and Representatives from the South and Middle West are pillars of conservatism. They are the most outspoken foes of the New Deal. It is from the industrial cities of the north that the new advocates of reform are coming.

Under the influence of organized labor, they are turning against anything that resembles "regimentation," even in wartime. That was undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for the defeat last week of the administration's manpower bill.

The Republican party was split down the center two decades ago. Norris of Nebraska, the elder La Follette and McNary of Oregon were backing public ownership of Muscle Shoals. They opposed selling the great dam to Henry Ford. Senator George Moses of New Hampshire called these Republican Senators "sons of the wild jackass," and the name stuck.

The Senate vote on the appointment of Henry Wallace to be Secretary of Commerce showed how fully the political wheel has come round. Republicans from the Middle West voted overwhelmingly against Wallace. They professed to be afraid of his "visionary" ideas. At the same time, a large majority of New England Republicans voted to give Wallace a chance to test his vision in action.

New England was once the center of political conservatism. Yet of the seven Republicans from that region in the Senate, five voted for Wallace. These included Aiken of Vermont, Brewster of Maine, Hart of Connecticut, Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Tobey of New Hampshire.

It is Senator Aiken from Vermont, one of the two states which went Republican in 1936, who appears the most likely successor to the late George Norris as the leader of progressivism in the Senate.

Aiken is 52 years old, a farmer and an orchardist. He is quiet-spoken and gentle of manner, as was Norris. But before you talk to him very long, you are aware of his deep convictions. In his native state he has taken an active part in various farm movements, with the result that the Vermont Farm Bureau Federation is one of the most progressive in the country.

While he has always voted the Republican ticket, Aiken was a leader in the fight not only for confirmation of Wallace, but also for approval of Aubrey Williams to be head of the Rural Electrification Administration. Keenly aware of many New Deal blunders, he is nevertheless in sympathy with the objective of most of the reform measures identified with the Roosevelt administration before the war.

One of the curious anomalies of the current political scene is that Senator James Mead, who will probably be the New Deal candidate for Governor of New York next year, voted against the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project last December, while the principal speech in behalf of the river development came from Aiken, of rock-ribbed Republican Vermont.

Once the impetus for reform came from the farm belt. Today it originates in the industrial East.

"Every time it's the same—they get my favorite hero in an awful mess, then sing about soap! Is it any wonder I get all my homework wrong?"

The Very Climax

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

THE Allied Military Government has done not propose to appoint any more Nazis to municipal positions in conquered Germany. It will show every native Nazi party member the door, regardless of how much he knows about waterworks or garbage collection. It will, instead, find meek little Germans who were not active party members.

But it is a small recommendation, indeed, for a man to have, that he was merely not an active Nazi; that comes to very little, in the way of credentials, for an ordinary human being, if it is all we know about him.

Let us suppose (for the sake of a horrid comparison) that some other nation had conquered the United States, and that the foreign administrators, in picking officials, used, as their test of selection, active membership in the Democratic party, or active support of Roosevelt. It would be a ridiculous test. They could staff the country with Americans who had never worked conspicuously for Mr. Roosevelt, and yet these Americans would be Americans, different in a thousand ways from their conquerors, and not in love with them, either.

The new Allied Military Government order doesn't really mean very much. It still requires necessary to approach the occupation problem with profound pessimism, and to place little hope in this, or any other formula for separating one kind of German from another. One admits that the AMG must adopt some formula, but let us face the fact that none of the formulas is any good. Try to imagine Germans separating Americans into classifications in an Iowa town, and you will glimpse some of the difficulties involved.

The German separation, when it comes, will come from within. It will come because of the war. They will see how fascism has failed them; they will taste its failure on their own tongues. They will cast about for alternatives, good ones and bad ones, and then the cleavage will take place. For a time, many German men and women will be political nullities, Nazis and demi-Nazis and semi-demi-Nazis of cracked faith. The differences among them do not now exist, in effective form; the differences will appear in time to come.

Our job is to wait for that grand process to take place; sparing the Germans nothing, meanwhile, of the rigors of defeat, for that is part of the process.

But we are not waiting for that process. Hardly had the Americans taken Frankfurt, before the Blue Network was in there last Friday, putting three English-speaking Germans on the American air. These enemies were allowed to tell us, with nauseating winsomeness, all about how simple and "human" they are. One was allowed to attack the Versailles treaty. American soldiers in the field in Germany are not permitted to fraternize with the enemy, but these voices were carried into the American home, and no Army officer objected.

How soft these three Germans must think we are. Defeat means you get the privilege of using a coast-to-coast network in America. The incident is certainly based on nothing more than an innocent desire on the part of the Blue to have a "scoop"—put its moral in Frankfurt, must be that it is perfectly safe, under American occupation, to talk Nazi talk; nothing bad happens.

The incident didn't hurt us; but it certainly hurt the Germans by making it a little less necessary for them to face the realities of their defeat and probation. One would not have objected if Truman had invited German girls who helped the wounded soldiers of our First Division, and who was mauled by the Nazis for doing so, had been allowed to talk. Truth has separated herself from the other Germans, in the only way that counts. Somehow we must communicate to Germany that this is the kind of separation we are waiting for.

We must find somewhere in ourselves the toughness needed to keep all Germans under a cloud until they learn what it means to have been fascists. We must trust no formula completely; we must assign only the mildest importance to the fact that a man didn't carry a party card; we must make no conclusions. The Germans won't face reality unless they have to, and so far, on the basis of the easy, almost casual American approach, they don't have to.

A New World Court

MONDAY a group of jurists from the United Nations assembled in Washington to draft a statute for a new World Court. They will be implementing the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for "an international court of justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the (world) organization." The new court was to have either the statute of the present Court of International Justice, or a statute based on that of the present court.

The present World Court was set up under authority of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and maintained a certain connection with the league. That was one strike against the Court which made the United States Senate suspicious of it. Although the eleven judges and four deputy judges are nominated by member nations of the Hague Court of Arbitration set up in 1899 and 1907, they are elected (for nine-year terms) by the Council and Assembly of the League. The expenses of the Court are met from the budget of the League, as voted by the assembly; non-members of the league may contribute to the Court budget.

The Court (1) decides any dispute between nations which those nations agree to submit to it. (2) It decides disputes between nations (now 55 in number) which have accepted the "optional clause." This binds each accepting nation to abide by the decision of the Court in a dispute with another accepting nation on any question of international law and the interpretation of existing obligations. (3) It renders purely advisory opinions to the league on request and also on request of states. Up to 1945 the Court had rendered 37 judgments and 27 advisory opinions.

In deciding cases before it, the Court is required to follow international law and custom, existing treaties, and accepted judicial opinions. The new Court will probably give a somewhat narrower jurisdiction than the old.

In 1923 President Harding asked the Senate to sanction American membership in the World Court, with four mild reservations. To these the Senate added a fifth: that the Court should not render any advisory opinion affecting the United States without the latter's consent. The Senate added also two "understandings," by one of which a dispute between the United States and another nation could be submitted to the Court only by a treaty ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

In 1926 the Senate voted by 76 to 17 thus to adhere to the World Court. The fifth reservation seemed to the states in the Court a stumbling block. Thereupon former Secretary of State Elihu Root worked out a compromise, whereby if the Court acted contrary to the fifth reservation, the withdrawal of the United States from the Court would be anticipated.

The compromise proposal did not come to a vote in the Senate. In 1935 President Roosevelt asked the Senate to vote adherence to the Court with reservations and understandings like those of 1926, except for reservation 5. Adherence seemed probable until Father Coughlin initiated a last-minute barrage against the Court, and the Senate vote was 52 to 36—seven less than the necessary two-thirds. (But the population of the states whose two Senators both voted Yes was more than twice the population of the states whose two Senators both voted Nay). The Democrats were in the affirmative by 43 to 20, but 14 of the 23 Republican Senators voted Nay. The 1936 Republican platform, repudiating previous GOP platforms, carried this plank: "We pledge that America shall not become a member of the League of Nations nor of the World Court."

Thirty-two Senators who went on record on the Court in 1935 are still members of the Senate. Twenty were for the Court, twelve against it—a 62½ per cent pro-Court vote. For the Court in 1936 were Austin, Bailey, Bankhead, Berkley, Bilbo, Byrd, Capper, Connally, George, Glass, Gurney, Hatch, Hayden, McKellar, O'Mahoney, Radcliffe, Thomas (Utah), Tydings, Vandenberg, Wagner, Walsh. The Court in 1935 were Borah, Johnson (Calif.), La Follette, McCarren, Murray, Overton, Russell, Shipstead, Thomas (Okla.), Wallace, Wheeler, White.—Editorial Research Report.