EDITORIAL PAGE
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Men Of State

If there are men of good-will in places of power in the State Department they are hiding themselves in frustration behind the confusion which exists in that tradition-bound place. Daily dissatisfaction with American diplomacy mounts, and pressure increases for a change of leadership. President Truman, questioned at a press conference, said that he did not intend to remove Mr. Stettinius, but he is on record as dissatisfied himself that we had to rush into the San Francisco conference unprepared. He has promised to "straighten out" our affairs.

The report of Herbert Pell, who recently was forced to resign from the War Crimes Commission, can scarcely be overlooked. Its authenticated record of intrigue inside the State Department, and of the apparent intention of Mr. Stettinius to sabotage every effort to bring Nazi criminals to trial calls for investigation. And the fact that there are yet only 3,000-odd names on the list of German criminals (not one of them proposed by the United States) is reason for anxiety. Mr. Pell's report, as yet unchallenged and unanswered, is cause for greater uneasiness.

There was the business of Nelson Rockefeller and Argentina. Under the leadership of this Inter-American expert we forced the Argentine into the United Nations council, and watched without comment as that nation imposed an even tighter Nazi-styled dictatorship upon its people. There has been, throughout, an attempt to confront and rebuff the Russians at every time which has the look of a conspiracy. It is almost as if we had determined to alienate our stoutest ally, at whatever cost.

Inasmuch as President Roosevelt intended to be his own Secretary of State, and gave promises to "hold 'em in line", and President Truman has been forced to leave diplomacy largely to Mr. Stettinius and his corps, it would seem that the time for appraisal and reform approaches. It is not too soon to examine the men now directing our diplomacy, and to discover, if we can, in just what direction they are leading us.

Next Step?

Shortly before his death President Roosevelt appointed a commission to make a study of the guaranteed annual wage, to determine its probable effect upon the American economy. We have heard nothing from that commission, but it is inevitable that, even under a new Chief Executive, the report will come out, and be considered. Labor is going to press this demand upon the Government as a partial answer, at least, to the threat of ruinous business cycles which bring on great unemployment.

And the scheme is not so radical and far-fetched that it has no respectable proponents. Neither is it new. The garment workers of Cleveland worked under it from 1921 until the depression killed it. And Procter & Gamble Co. put it into effect in 1923—and has it yet. Wendell Willkie said of it: "An annual wage to those who work in plants with long seasonal or periodic shutdowns seems fair and necessary." Eric Johnston said of it: "The demand for wages by the year is a natural one. I think progress can and must be made voluntarily." Georgia's Senator George, remarking that Congress had tried to help business and agriculture through legislation, said: "I think we ought to lean to something like the annual wage idea."

For P&G the plan has worked well. The late William Cooper Proctor put it into effect by guaranteeing 48 weeks of full-time work each year, and removed the dread of seasonal lay-offs from his employees. He said that it was merely a simple attack upon unemployment from the worker's view, and that by leveling off production it paid greater dividends than any other labor policy his company ever adopted. It paid, he said, in dollars and cents, and it paid in human values.

When Congress finally comes to consideration of this demand by labor it will go back to evidence of this sort, and somehow keep in mind the fact that labor too, is asking for security and stability of our economy. It must come, we suspect, to share Mr. Proctor's view that, when industries are forced to suspend production, the suspension of profits is as nothing compared with the injustice to the working man whose living is temporarily withheld.

High-Level Scrap

The unfolding of Britain's political campaign, which will not be fought on the lower levels familiar to Americans, promises a fiercely-fought battle for supremacy. The English do not employ name-calling, noisy parades or showy placards, but the contest between Winston Churchill and the Labor Party is already an intensely personal affair.

There is this difference in this struggle and that of any American Presidential campaign—the Roosevelt-Dewey battle, for instance; Mr. Churchill is challenged personally, yet on the basis of his ideology. Personality is scarcely involved. Thus when Mr. Churchill opened his campaign he depicted in his familiar rhetoric the horrible fate which would befall Britain under socialism—meaning that, if the Labor Party won, disaster would follow. He spoke grimly of a Gestapo, of the loss of individual freedom.

And in replying, Clement Atlee held to the same plane. He attacked Mr. Churchill as a Tory, whose sole interest was in retaining the system of private enterprise dominated by his business. He hammered at the difference between Churchill the warrior and Churchill the Tory, directing the Empire in a new world of economics.

But, believe it or not, the Labor Party will scarcely be able to persuade the British people to decide the coming election on this point. Despite its great gains during the war, and a growing awareness that the old methods of empire will not suffice in this day, the British people are not likely to forget the magnificence of Churchill in war. And, staring at the warrior, they may not see the Tory at all, and thus refuse to renounce him.

Just Who's Free?

There is, you know, a slight difference of opinion between Russians and Americans as to the relative freedom enjoyed by the press of the two nations. The Soviet view is that our press is not free in any sense, that it is the kept creature of plutocrats, doing the bidding of advertisers and corrupt capitalists. And our own view, of course, is that the Russian press, under the most rigid government control, is only the house organ of J. Stalin and the Communist Party.

That is more or less the background for the interesting dispatch by *Izvestia's* Evgeny Zhukov from San Francisco last week. He painted a picture of British and American reporters for his readers: They were gossipers hard drinkers, irresponsible sensationalists. He blamed it all on the prostration, the cynical commercialism, of the privately-owned press.

On one hand, he says that U. S. and British writers cannot write what they think if their views do not agree with those of their publishers and editors. On the other hand, he deplores the situation which permits the exceptions, the "well-known writers," to write stories and opinions with which the publishers do not agree. He is as deeply concerned with the expression of two opinions on the same subject as he is with one.

We can understand that the sight of a large American press corps in high gear might astound Mr. Zhukov, and he doubtless had reason for criticism. But he wrote his whole dispatch without once reflecting that, in the case of his own *Izvestia*, every word which is printed must be in agreement with the dictates of the Kremlin. We suppose he is nonplussed by the distress of Americans at the Russian attitude, which is that there is only one side to each and every question—and that side must be official.

It is to be assumed the high words passing lately between Tokyo and the defeated kraut mark the end of a beautiful friendship and Jap withdrawal from the Aryan race (sun-tan division).

The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Truman had a significant talk recently with labor's undiplomatic diplomat, R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO Auto Workers Union, during which the latter opened up on Truman's appointment of Judge Lewis Schwellenbach as Secretary of Labor.

"I'm worried about that, Mr. President," Thomas said. "I understand Schwellenbach is Dave Beck's man." (Beck is head of the Teamsters Union in Seattle and a powerful AFL leader.)

"Don't you worry about Schwellenbach's representing anybody but me," shot back the President. "Anyone who's in my Cabinet speaks for me. If he doesn't, he'll go out on his ear."

"Well," replied Thomas, "I just wanted to make sure that the AFL isn't running the country."

"No one, from either the AFL or the CIO or the National Association of Manufacturers—or even the Auto Workers Union—is going to tell me how to run the country," was Truman's quick rejoinder.

Reconversion Mess

Thomas then made an impassioned appeal to the President for swift action on the reconversion front. He pointed out that tens of thousands of auto and aircraft workers are being fired daily.

"My boys aren't going to stand for much of that, Mr President," said Thomas. "They're going to blame you and the Administration unless something's done in a hurry."

"I realize that," Truman replied. "But you've got to remember that no man ever came to the White House at a more unfortunate time than I did. I've got a million things to do and I'm trying to get to them just as fast as I can."

Finally Truman asked Thomas to write him a detailed recommendation for reconversion.

"Will you read it if I send it in," Thomas asked, "or will it just go to some clerk?"

The President promised to look it over carefully himself.

But as Thomas was about to leave the President's office, he turned to Truman and said:

"I'm no Communist, Mr. President, but I don't like the mess Stettinius has got us into. Roosevelt always was able to keep a good balance between Russia, Britain and ourselves. But now this bird has got us into the position where we're a kite on the tail of the British lion."

"You can't blame Stettinius for that," replied Truman. "The situation after the President's death was so confused that we had to get straightened out in a hurry. I don't like it any more than you do. There wasn't enough preparation for the conference. But you and your boys can be sure I am going to get it straightened out."

Wallace Swings Right

Big business representatives, once worried over Henry Wallace, are smiling broadly about his new committee to study patents. They have managed to put one of the ablest defenders of the old patent system in the position of writing the vitally important patent report for Wallace.

He is Houston Kenyon, attorney for Standard Oil of New Jersey, which withheld synthetic-rubber patents from the American public before the war, and which is now engaged in a lawsuit with the U. S. Government to recover 2,000 alleged Nazi patents seized from Standard by the Alien Property Custodian.

The special committee was set up by Secretary Wallace at the suggestion of President Truman, who strongly criticized monopolistic patents and the "misuse" of patents, and cited the need for revising the whole patent system. Following this, Wallace appointed two old-line patent defenders, Charles F. Kettering of General Motors and Dr. Vannevar Bush, to sit on the patent committee.

This was interesting enough. But, on top of it all, Houston Kenyon, defender of the Standard Oil-I. G. Farben Cartel patents, is actually writing the first draft of the report for the Wallace Committee and doing the main spade-work for its members.

It was originally expected that Attorney General Biddle, the other Cabinet member delegated to act with Wallace, would serve as a brake on the big business patent boys. But present dope is that the patent report will be held up until after July 1, when Mr. Biddle will be out of the Cabinet.

Sugar Regulations

The War Food Administration is preparing a new allocation of sugar which will pare down Army requirements. Also it will reduce the foreign economic administration's shipments to Europe. Europe was originally supposed to get about 1,100,000 tons this year; but the rate has been cut to 946,000 tons of War Food is now preparing to trim it further to little more than 700,000 tons.

Overdrawing by the Army will also be ruled out. First and second quarter allotments for the Army were 106,500, but the Army actually took 120,000 tons the first quarter and 124,000 tons in the second. Officials say this is a typical Army practice—failing to stockpile when food is plentiful, and demanding more than its allocation when food is scarce.

The new plan being worked on by WFA may mean a little more sugar in the home—and will also mean the saving of numerous small businesses which depend upon sugar. Although OPA has talked of cutting industrial sugar users to 45 or 50 per cent of their normal consumption, it has secretly been afraid it would have to cut them to only 35 per cent. However, the war food plan will mean 50 per cent or better for industrial sugar users.

Every Big Spree Has Its Hangover

The Press And Censorship

By Marquis Childs

WASHINGTON

THE indignation of American correspondents suffering under censorship imposed by Supreme Headquarters in conquered Germany is easy to understand. There no longer seems any reason, in military security, for keeping back news, and SHAEF has now announced an end of formal censorship.

But you have to think, too, of the difficult position U. S. military authorities are in. Not long ago they were doomed for allowing correspondents to interview Nazi bigwigs and top German generals who took this convenient opportunity to spread unadulterated propaganda around the world. When American authorities stopped the interviews, they were damned for imposing censorship.

The press must take part of the blame. It doesn't make sense to shut down the propaganda mill of the Nazis, and then give Keitel, Guderian, Goering and company a chance to put over their point of view by way of the American press. Cleverly, the German generals used their interviews to suggest that the German military was not to blame for the defeat. In other words, the old myth of the infallibility of the General Staff was propagated once again.

While I have been one of those to protest against it, it must be admitted in all fairness that the Russians can advance some good reasons for keeping American correspondents out of eastern Europe. In the past they have taken a great deal of punishment from irresponsible American journalism.

Horror stories about the Bolsheviks were for many years the specialty of the section of the press that is once more beating the anti-Russian drum. The Chicago Tribune sent the notorious Donald Day to Moscow, and when he was expelled, he sat in Riga for years and turned out fantastic horror stories that furnished no little amusement to correspondents in Moscow. This same Donald Day went to Finland during the Russo-Finnish war. When the State Department sought to take up his passport, he joined the Germans occupying that country and later, according to State Department records, broadcast on the Berlin radio.

If eastern Europe were opened up to the Donald Days, we should be in for a new of similar horror stories. That part of the world has been the scene of a terrible war. It is suffering from economic breakdown, hunger and chaos approaching anarchy. That situation could readily be dressed up to serve the objectives of the anti-Russian press.

Apparently fearing just this, and with the memory of the same propaganda of the recent past, the Soviets have barred all correspondents. This in itself was a questionable policy in the long run, for without radical changes in the pre-Hitler European economic and political organization, at least independent Austria had small chance of survival and we risk repeating the tragic experience of the last quarter century.

But it is at least a beginning of reconstruction of nations. Actually, however, we are discreating any Austria. There are at present three Austrias—British, American and Russian—and really more because every corps zone is governed by military administrations, each making up its own policy as it goes along. Even village administrations differ according to the ability and imagination of the local captains. Since Austria is so small, atomization becomes glaring. One can push off in a jeep from any center and in two hours will have reached the closed frontier behind which are Russians and British. Even in American and British zones no common proclamations have been made public.

Europe, not historically, economically or culturally, is divided into army corps areas which are entirely arbitrary and the policy of one Allie has acute repercussions on the immediate problems of the others.

The Polish question, for example, is not just a problem arguable for certain predilections, but is something immediate and acute in terms of a small food administration problem which also exists in middle Europe. The problem of displaced persons is the greatest and most immediate headache in western Europe. Although Poles is in the Russian zone, at least a million Poles are in American and British zones either as released slave workers or soldiers of whom 100,000 are in Italy alone.

They are Allies but under present conditions are actually stateless. An overwhelming majority of them do not want to return to Poland as it is, and after years of mistreatment or heavy fighting have spread rage and frustration all about them amongst other displaced persons. Their reaction is absolutely normal, and it cannot be argued away by discussions of a higher policy. It can be dissipated only by creation of a tolerable situation.

This is but one example where lack of common principles and policy for staff and organization cures are constant disillusionments resulting in chances at the front and preparing for the release of forces that thrive on chaos. Those forces are not revolutionary, but are exactly subversive—subversive to any kind of organized society.

Statesmen At Work

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

SEN. OVERTON (La.) Mr President, this morning's Washington Post contains an editorial typical of the flak now being waged by certain editorial writers against the expense allowance which the House voted for its members to be used toward assisting them in defraying expenditures incurred on the discharge of their official duties. The editorial is captioned "Time for Retreat." It presents the time-worn theme of public indignation and jealousy against members of the Congress who care to undertake to give some substance that benefits that they so richly earned to all other Government officers and employees and to the taxpaying public generally.

The gist of that propagandizing editorial is contained in the last paragraph.

Since the Senate has continued to plump any tough measure to which the House is forced to back away from in anticipation of union of more good than the outpouring of public wrath that would rise against our entire legislative system.

This is the old, familiar, go-Congress-scarecrow that was so effective a few years ago against any parliamentarian the retirement of our national legislators. It is the oft-repeated and unfortunately oft-acted-upon suggestion that the Congress should determine [illegible] whether he the number of votes that its members would either lose or gain.

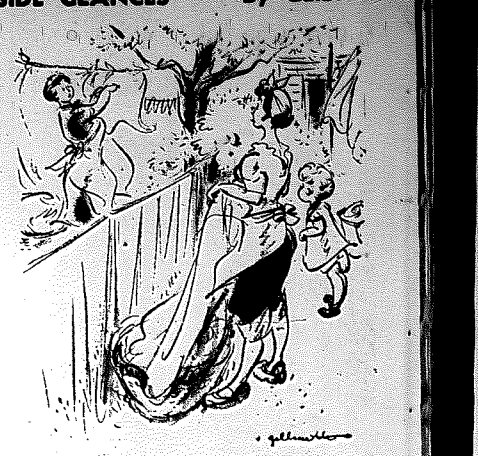
It has been rumored that some of the leaders of the House have been seriously thinking of beating a retreat in a frantic effort on their part to have the House with the cooperation of the Senate, strike from the bill the provision which both Houses have agreed to and which will afford the members of the House reasonable expense fund. Those leaders evidently look upon the allowance as being what the Washington Post describes as "a hot potato." They are afraid for the House to take the allowance.

The Senate has not its allowance; the House has won it and is afraid to take it. The situation is best epitomized in that ancient classic ditty which runs as follows:

A nigger and a white man are playing seven-up
The nigger wins the money and is afraid to pick it up

(Laughter.)

SIDE GLANCES By Galbraith



"My horoscope says this is a good day for important meetings, but I wish we had time to sit down in comfort while we tell each other our troubles!"

Germany In Pieces

By Dorothy Thompson

ROSENHEIM, GERMANY.

ANY conscientious newspaper reader at home has a clearer overall picture of events than the traveling reporter in Europe. For Europe is divided not into states, but into tightly closed army corps areas each without intercommunication even within their own parts except at the higher military levels. Each has its own newspaper for the armed forces, but even the news, except from home, is largely confined to that specific area. So what is read in the Mediterranean theater, for instance, is unknown in southern Germany, etc.

One can however observe details in an attempt to ascertain the pattern of the whole. The details repeat themselves with variations, but they do not add up to a consistent pattern. Everywhere they reveal glaring inconsistencies which are the result of the lack of policy not only among the Allies but within each Allied zone.

This lack has been given the name of realism. Actually it is rule under the thumb. Anyone trained in systematic thought could have foreseen exactly what is happening. This column has pointed throughout the war on the dangers of dividing Europe into several occupational zones, each free to carry out its own plans, and it has predicted such a situation inevitably would give rise to tensions which would be exploited to widen every breach.

Now that which must have happened by the very nature of things is happening and counsels us to avoid reality—expressions of solidarity uttered at San Francisco, London and Washington are useless unless translated into revised actions.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Austria. All the Allies agreed that non-Nazi Austria would be free and independent. This in itself was a questionable policy in the long run, for without radical changes in the pre-Hitler European economic and political organization, an independent Austria had small chance of survival and we risk repeating the tragic experience of the last quarter century.

But it is at least a beginning of reconstruction of nations. Actually, however, we are discreating any Austria. There are at present three Austrias—British, American and Russian—and really more because every corps zone is governed by military administrations, each making up its own policy as it goes along. Even village administrations differ according to the ability and imagination of the local captains. Since Austria is so small, atomization becomes glaring. One can push off in a jeep from any center and in two hours will have reached the closed frontier behind which are Russians and British. Even in American and British zones no common proclamations have been made public.

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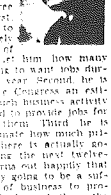
Consider S. 380

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

THE "full employment" bill (S.380) shocks a number of conservatives, because it is a proposal that we unless our economy once a year and look at it without its clothes on. The bill requires the President to stand up before Congress annually and furnish that body with three estimates. First, he is supposed to guess, as closely as the science of economics will let him, how many persons are going to seek work in the coming year. Second, he is supposed to give Congress an estimate of how much business activity would be needed to provide jobs for all who want them. Third, he is required to estimate how much private business there is actually going to be doing the next twelve months. It turns out, generally, that there is actually going to be a sufficient volume of business to provide jobs for all who seek them, the assembled Congressmen presumably to deliver themselves of three cheers and a tiger, and go home for the day.



If, however, it should prove that there is going to be a lower volume of business than needed for full employment, S.380 requires the President to suggest how the slack is to be taken up. S.380 is a remorseless and implacable bill of legislation. It doesn't let anybody off!

First, the President is required to suggest ways by which private business may take up the slack. Second, he may suggest means by which local government can do so. Third, he may suggest changes in Federal policy, such as tax or tariff revisions to create more jobs. But, fourth, if all these methods do not suffice, he must lay it on the line; he must propose sufficient federal expenditures to make the number of jobs in the country approximately balance the number of workers in the country. The idea is that the President doesn't step down off that dais until almost everybody in the country is sure of a job for a year.

Congress is then required, by S.380, to adopt a general job program for the year, either the President's, or the President's with modifications, or one of its own. It will be seen that the thing about S.380 is that it makes everybody finish his sentences, and complete his thoughts. At present, both the Executive and the Legislature are allowed to be as incoherent as they please, to speak in disjointed bits and unconnected recommendations.

S.380 is a bill requiring both the President and Congress to tell us little stories about themselves, where they're going, what they intend, what they really think about things, etc.

An unusual kind of democratic stock-taking is thus proposed, a new form of self-examination. It is not strange that many conservatives regard the entire proposal as rather indecent. It is, sort of naked. It brings the central problem of our economy out on the stage, throws a spot on it, and bids us look, without blushing. To look, but to look, is always the beginning of wisdom; a defeat for S.380 will be a victory for the averted eye.

A point to be made is that S.380 takes us into the realm of a kind of economic metaphysics. The plain truth is that we don't know what it's like to live in an economy in which we're all sure of jobs. What effect would that knowledge of security have on our personal spending, our savings, our planning? We have no idea at all; but there is a chance that S.380 might create an atmosphere which would give us incidental business benefits, not to be obtained by random, unscheduled relief measures. The mere existence of S.380 might conceivably be more reassuring, and do us more good, than the amounts actually spent under it.