

The Constitution, Not Treaties, Is The 'Supreme Law Of The Land'

ON the eye of congressional debate on the Bricker amendment, it is important to clear away the confusion over the constant and repetitious use of the phrase, "Treaties are the supreme law of the land."

By quoting that phrase out of context, sponsors of the Bricker amendment have managed to convince many Americans that treaties take precedence over (1) the U. S. Constitution and its amendments, and (2) acts of Congress.

That is not true. This is what Section 2 of Article VI of the Constitution says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." (Italics ours.)

The intent of this section and its meaning are perfectly clear.

It was intended to establish the legal relationship of the Federal government to the various states in those areas specifically made the responsibility of the federal government by the Constitution.

It means that the "supreme law of the land" is of three kinds:

1. The Constitution itself.
2. Laws of the United States (acts of Congress.)
3. Treaties.

But it also declares very specifically that they are "supreme" when they conflict with "the Constitution or laws of any state."

Where does it say that a treaty is supreme over the U. S. Constitution when it is in conflict with the Constitution itself?

Nowhere does it say that a treaty is supreme over a subsequent act of Congress, when the treaty involves domestic law.

Constitution, acts of Congress, and treaties are the "supreme law of the land" when they conflict with state constitutions or acts of state legislatures. But neither an act of Congress nor a treaty that conflicts with the Constitution is legal.

The Constitution is the only "supreme law of the land." The U. S. Supreme Court has spoken out on this point several times. In *Geoffroy v. Riggs*, the court said:

"It would not be contended that the

treaty making power extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a charter in the name of the government or in that of one of the states, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the United States, without its consent."

In the *Head Money Cases*, the Court said:

"A treaty, then, is a law of the land as an act of Congress is, whenever its provisions prescribe a rule by which the rights of the private citizen or subject may be determined. . . But even in this aspect of the case, there is nothing in the law which makes it irrevocable or unchangeable. The Constitution gives it no superiority over an act of Congress in this respect. Nor is there anything in its essential character, or in the branches of the government by which the treaty is made, which gives it this superior sanction."

"A treaty made by the President and the Senate. Statutes are made by the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives. . . If there be any difference in this regard, it would seem to be in favor of an act in which all three of the bodies participate. And such is, in fact, the case in a declaration of war, which must be made by Congress, and which, when made, usually suspends or destroys existing treaties between the nations thus at war."

"In short, we are of opinion that, so far as a treaty made by the United States with any foreign nation can become the subject of judicial cognizance in the courts of this country, it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass for its enforcement, modification or repeal."

And in the *Chinese Exclusion Case*, the Supreme Court said:

"The treaties were of no greater legal obligation than the act of Congress. . . A treaty, it is true, is in its nature a contract between nations and is often merely promissory in its character, relations into effect. If the treaty operates by its own force, and relates to a subject within the power of Congress, it can be deemed in that particular only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress."

In reiteration, then, treaties are not supreme over the Constitution. They are not even supreme over a subsequent act of Congress, when they involve domestic law, and can be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress.

Why, then, should the sponsors of the Bricker amendment try to peddle the foolish notion that "treaties are the supreme law of the land"? In our opinion this is a smokescreen designed to obscure the real issue. In a second editorial on this subject tomorrow, we shall attempt to document that charge.

Lambert Schwartz, 1953's Young Man

LAMBERT Schwartz, who was named Charlotte's Young Man of the Year Saturday night, has served this community capably in such a variety of ways as to shame those of us who don't "find time" to do more for our fellow-citizens.

Name a community activity of 1953, and likely you'll find that Mr. Schwartz was one of the cogs who contributed to its success.

He was active in sports promotion, as chairman of the tri-state's Most Valuable Player award dinner, chief of the Soap Box Derby, a member of the board of directors of the Quakerback Club, one of the promoters of the Shrine Bowl and Carolina Golden Gloves program (and found time to win the 1952's Young Man of the Year, Grant Whitney, as winner of the Jaycee Golf tournament.)

He served on Charlotte's Crime Commission, then spent several weeks, at the City Council's request, studying the Police Department as a member of a special three-man committee.

He served on the board of directors of the Symphony Association, Chamber of Commerce, Carrousel, Georgia Tech Alumni Association, Tuberculosis and Health Association, Temple Israel, Good Will Industries, yes, and of the Bachelors' Club.

He went further and on on behalf of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, of which he is immediate past president, served on committees of United Community Service, headed the Chamber of Commerce's New Quarters Committee.

And while we're not sure when he gets to his own business he apparently does a good job of it, for this year he received national recognition as one of the outstanding operators in the linen supply industry.

Lambert Schwartz, by his unstinting effort and friendly manner set an example to his community service that will be hard to equal. The judges who selected him named the right man, and we join in offering congratulations to him.

Traffic Violators Get The Velvet Touch

WE'VE no quarrel with the city officials who worked out a plan to reserve two spaces on Alexander St. so people who want to pay their fee for parking violations can have a place to park.

But how about the guy who hasn't run afoul of the law, but who has other business at the City Hall or County Courthouse?

How about the fellow paying his taxes . . . or listening them? Or his water bill? And how about the citizen who would

like to go to a meeting of the City Council, either as a spectator or on business? Or visit any of the other public offices in the two buildings?

Both the city and county officials have used public money to provide parking spaces for official cars used by deputies, officers, and other public employees. And the City has leased a vacant lot across 4th St. for the use of its employees.

It's about time that the two bodies give other citizens some consideration. Parking violators don't merit any special favors.

From The Nashville Tennessean

THEY'RE OFF

BY ACCEPTING a Tennessee's suggestion that it quit buying brooms and mops with holes in the handles, the Army estimates it will save \$15,233 a year.

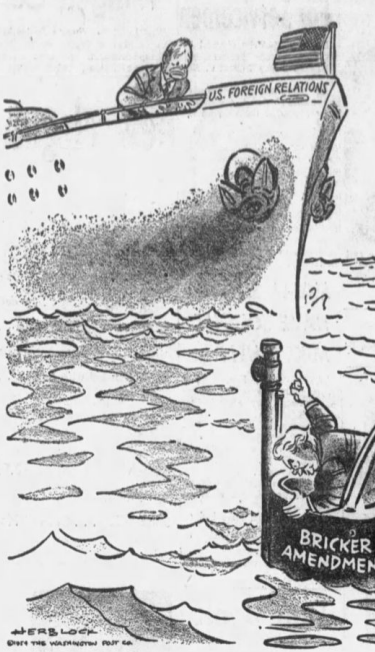
"It was simple," says the author of the idea, Mr. J. W. Hill Jr. of Jackson. "All the time I was in the Army, I never saw a broom hanging from a nail. They were always placed in racks to dry."

Now if somebody will just take it from

there and suggest that the Army also quit buying the nails that the brooms and brooms were never hung on, the economy movement will really be rolling. And then there are the hammers used to drive the nails. And the tool boxes to keep the hammers in, and . . .

Why is it that a person who smores never has insomnia?—BOSTON HERALD COURIER.

'Hail To The Chief! Fire Away!'



Presidential Strait Jacket

Ike To Fight Bricker Plan

BY MARQUIS CHILDS

INLECTION in these fields to the states and a treaty should not take it away.

But the line is a fine one and a host of constitutional authorities agree with the President and Secretary of State Dulles that the chief executive in a strait jacket so confining as to make the conduct of foreign policy all but impossible.

Several highly qualified authorities have been saying the same for many months. That approval of the amendment by Congress would not be a possibility but a probability. Arthur Krock of the New York Times has written a series of scholarly columns analyzing the way the amendment would restrict those responsible for the conduct of foreign policy.

The imminence of this threat has come home somewhat belatedly to the Eisenhower Administration. An alert has been sounded, the signal for it being the President's press conference statement reaffirming his opposition to the essential clause of the Bricker proposal.

The reason the Administration has come tardily to an appreciation of what passage of the amendment means is apparently the fact that Senator Bricker would agree to an innocuous compromise. After the Senator talked with the President a week ago, it was felt he had been won over and would agree to drop the clause at the heart of the proposal. In effect that clause says a treaty cannot supersede the laws of the states.

But Senator Bricker has not agreed to a compromise. He says the controversial clause must come to a vote of the Senate. And he is confident he has the votes. After all, 51 Senators endorsed the proposed curb.

Bricker insists, and he can be a persuasive arguer, that the amendment will not interfere with treaties on the international level. It will only insure that treaties and Presidential agreements covering such matters as divorce and crime will not take precedence over the laws of the states.

The Constitution, says lawyer Bricker, specifically reserves jurisdiction over such matters as divorce and crime to the states.

Success is like contentment—usually showing up when you've been so busy working you've forgotten all about it.—GREENWOOD (Minn.) Commonwealth.

get thrashed out. It remains something remote to most people and therefore almost by default it may be passed.

Yet, as the President said at his press conference, the amendment would mean a change in the basic structure of the Constitution and a return to the pre-Constitution phase of the articles of confederation with each of the 48 states having virtually separate powers.

MANION'S ROLE
One of the most zealous advocates of the Bricker Amendment is Clarence Manion, former dean of the law school of Notre Dame University. Manion has campaigned to get support for the amendment from American Legion posts around the country.

The White House may not have known this when the President picked Manion to be chairman of the important commission surveying Federal-State relations. The commission is supposed to come up with recommendations for ending the costly duplication and overlapping of government functions. Manion has said that when he accepted the post, he had no intention of keeping quiet on the issue of the Bricker proposal.

But he was told rather pointedly the other day that it would be desirable if he got down to carrying out the work of the commission which has conspicuously lagged. If he were to devote himself to this undertaking, it was suggested, he would have less time to speak in behalf of a measure that the President feels is putting crippling restrictions on the capacity of the chief executive to deal with day to day emergency in a world of crisis.

There are other influential backers of the amendment. One of them is Frank E. Holman, Seattle lawyer closely associated with the White House. Credits Holman with persuading the Senator to resist any compromise.

As for the President, he means to stand firm. His associates say he is even considering carrying the issue to the country in a major speech. Both sides seem to have cut off the avenues of retreat.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

ONE OF the interesting things about the present session of Congress is that Eisenhower's chief Senate opposition—aside from McCarthy—comes from the Republican ranks. It is a vulnerable. Members of the Senate press gallery, who have a feeling of smelling out their senatorial enemies, have even rated him the 96th Senator.

He is John Bricker of Ohio, who has opposed the President on the St. Lawrence Seaway; who has drummed up a nationwide drive to hamstring the President's treaty power with the so-called Bricker amendment; and who is spearheading the confirmation of a McCarthyism, Robert E. La Follette to the Federal Communications Commission—an appointment which some White House advisers would just as soon have vetoed.

Yet if friends of President Eisenhower took a careful look at Senator Bricker's record, the nation would wonder how he has the nerve to fight on certain issues.

On the St. Lawrence waterway, for instance, the senator from Ohio was picked for service on the key Senate Interstate Commerce committee in 1948, a committee which has much to do with passing or blocking various transportation projects, including the St. Lawrence.

Firm Retained
At about this time, the Pennsylvania Railroad, which the Seaway, dropped the law firm of Henderson, Burr & Randall in Columbus, a very fine old firm in the senators home town, and retained the Bricker law firm, paying it \$25,000 in 1948.

About the same time, Senator Bricker voted to piggyback the St. Lawrence project in his committee. Senator Taft took a stand just the opposite. So did the farm organizations of Ohio, the Ohio steel industry and the platform of the Republican Party.

state would greatly benefit from the Seaway, has consistently voted the other way.

Bricker Amendment
Now let's look at the Senator's record and his support for the Bricker Amendment. This amendment is opposed by the Republican Party, his own party, his general and his secretary of state, on the ground that it would hamper the President's treaty-making power and put U.S. foreign relations back to the divided days of 1776. It happens that Eisenhower is more skilled in his knowledge of foreign affairs than most presidents and far more so than he is on domestic political matters. Yet some of his so-called supporters are clamoring to hamstring his authority.

Inside fact is that the Bricker amendment was sold to Bricker by his old friend, Frank E. Holman, a Seattle lawyer who is president of the American Bar Association, a distinction which he parades at every conceivable opportunity in connection with the propaganda campaign for the amendment.

Holman has likewise teamed up with or permitted the teaming up of some of the worst isolationist, anti-religious, semi-Fascist, or

Powerful Bloc To Oppose Ike's Farm Price Program

BY STEWART ALSOP

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has announced that he intends to fight for his farm program. It is already obvious that he will have to fight with every weapon at his command—from patronage to the veto threat—to get anything remotely resembling this program through Congress.

The heart of the Eisenhower program is, of course, flexible price supports, to be determined within certain limits by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson. Sen. Milton R. Young of North Dakota, a tall, thin-spoken man who may conceivably cause the Administration more trouble than any other senator except Joseph R. McCarthy, intends to make mincemeat out of the whole program with an amendment making 90 per cent surplus mandatory. Young claims with absolute assurance a bedrock minimum of 49 votes in support of his amendment.

McCarthy has repeatedly warned Republicans colleagues that the "Communist issue" will never win the election, if the Republicans lose the farm vote—and whatever else they may think of him, his colleagues have respect for McCarthy's political instincts. Indeed, the news that anything less than rigid 90 per cent farm supports will doom the Republican is becoming authority all the while.

Yet the President was persuaded to favor flexible farm supports for a very simple reason. He was warned by many experts—McCarthy including him—that if Eisenhower—that a rigid support system, continued much longer, would mean the collapse of the whole farm support system.

It is not generally known that the system has already broken down in certain areas. In some states, farmers are selling surpluses under 90 per cent parity. This is not because they are indifferent to receiving full parity prices. It is because the warehouses and elevators are already bulging with the mountains of commodities the government has acquired, and there is simply no more storage space. The farmer must find storage space for his produce.

Given many more months of rigid supports, according to such an expert as Sen. Clinton Anderson, former Secretary of Agriculture, and there is no more storage space anywhere. Thus the rigid support system could very well mean a tragic fate for the farmer, Anderson believes, are hardly likely to be grateful to the politicians who foisted the fate on them.

It would be difficult to deny that rigid, high farm price support has a certain "welfare state" coloration. Yet the most conservative politicians from the Midwest and West and corn areas have been able to rise above principle in this regard, and for a simple reason. The farmer is blundering into the "welfare state" voted for by the farmer under pressure from constituents with a "southern European background."

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