

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

The Dust Has Settled

WASHINGTON.

LAST week, with the whole world listening to him, Mr. Acheson was put to as hard a test as any Secretary of State in our time has had to meet. He had to redefine the position of the United States in relation to the enormous revolution in Asia—to the revolution which is marked by the rise of the Soviets, the fall of Japan, the collapse of the Kuomintang, the liquidation of the British, Dutch and French Empires, and the appearance of India, Pakistan and Indonesia as new independent powers.

He was beset by demands for a "policy," which in the minds of many would not have been recognized as a policy unless it was a program of actions to be taken at once by the use of military forces, money, and ringing declarations. Mr. Acheson made no attempt to satisfy these demands. Instead, he undertook the less popular but far more responsible and necessary task of re-examining, revising, and re-orienting the American attitude to the greatest revolutionary developments which have occurred in Asia for many centuries.

HE MADE it quite clear that he and his advisers have not been sitting around helplessly and aimlessly during the past six months waiting for something to turn up while the dust of Chiang's collapse was settling. Mr. Acheson and his advisers have been thinking. Now we can see in broad outline the working hypotheses to which their thinking has led them.

THEY have recognized that Stalinist Communism is primarily a new instrument of the old Russian imperialism. This is not the view of many anti-Communists, including certain of the State Department experts. These anti-Communists have insisted, largely as a result, I believe, of being taken in by Cominform propaganda, that the great Russian imperial state was the faithful servant of international Communism. That, too, is what the innocent fellow travelers all believe. But the truth, as Tito has found out, as Mao will find out, is that the Cominform tail does not wag the Russian bear. Quite the contrary. The pattern of Soviet policy in Germany, in the Danube valley, in the Balkans, in Turkey and Iran, in Manchuria, in Outer and Inner Mongolia, in China and Japan, is not to be found in the writings of Karl Marx or in the declarations of the Third International. The pattern is to be found in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office, which Stalin, after the death of Lenin and the defeat of Trotsky, took over as the successor to the czars.

Mr. Acheson's clarification of this cardinal point, hitherto so badly

confused by the strategists of the cold war, is an essential preliminary to any policy. It enabled him to put his finger directly on the main premise of a Chinese policy: that the Russian imperial interest in Manchuria and in Mongolia and Sinkiang is in conflict with the vital interests of China. If Mao surrenders the Chinese provinces to Stalin, he must betray the revolution which he has led to victory. If Stalin yields to Mao and retires from these provinces, then the new Chinese Republic, though it calls itself Communist, is like Tito's—an independent state and a rival and competitor of Moscow.

MR. ACHESON's recognition of this conflict, his insistence that the crucial area is not in Formosa or in Hainan but in the long disputed Chinese-Russian borderland, is a China policy. His speech at the National Press Club calling attention to this conflict between Red China and Russia, coupled with the refusal to obscure the conflict by provoking an American conflict with Red China, was in itself an action of great moment throughout Asia. Mr. Acheson was not merely talking on Thursday to the press and to Senators Knowland, Smith and Taft. He was acting in Asia.

The event will show that he was acting with great sagacity and deep penetration. He has isolated the Soviet Union as the only power which is seeking territorial aggrandizement in Asia.

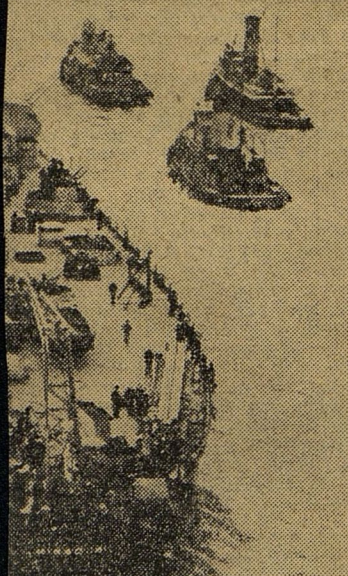
In the course of time this is bound to re-establish an American influence in China. No other position he could have taken could have done that when American influence had sunk to an all-time low as we went down to defeat entangled with Chiang and his carpetbaggers. Had Mr. Acheson yielded on Formosa, using American military power to take control of Chinese territory, he would have remained entangled with Chiang, and he would have obscured the grandiose imperialism of Russia by a shoddy act of American imperialism. The new leaders of Asia would have continued to believe that all great powers are imperial powers, and that as between them it is six of one and half a dozen of the other.

THE Acheson policy, resting as it does on an estimate of the historical forces at work in Asia, will have to be understood in a longer perspective than tomorrow's headlines. We must not wait tensely for news that Mao has defied Stalin, and is hurrying back to Peking to denounce Russian imperialism and the Cominform next week, next month, or next year.

For the mills of the gods grind slowly, especially in Asia.

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the Mud



Acme Wirephoto.
 a serviceable battleship last night
 to the Chesapeake Bay mudbank
 Tankers were removing more
 and some ammunition yesterday
 Below is a general view of the
 signed their surrender in 1945.

Jump to Escape French Ouster Denied by Pole

Lille Consulate Worker Lays His 3-Story Leap To 'Nervous Condition'

By Agence France-Presse

LILLE, Jan. 18. — Joseph Skrobala, Polish Consulate employee who failed in a suicide attempt here two weeks ago, said today that he had jumped from the consulate's third-story window because he was suffering from a "nervous condition."

In his first statement for the press since he tried to kill himself, Mr. Skrobala denied reports he made the attempt because he faced expulsion from France on suspicion of espionage. He said he had suffered a long time from "nervous crises" which caused him to "lose control" of himself.

On the day he jumped from the consulate window, he said, "the crisis was stronger than usual." He added that reports of a dispute within the consulate were unfounded and that the attempt was not made "for sentimental reasons."

Mr. Skrobala denied he had just received word that he would be expelled from France. He admitted, however, that he had reports over a year ago that he might be forced to leave France, but insisted that his suicide attempt would have occurred at that time if it had been linked with a possibility of expulsion.

Mr. Skrobala said he had protested in writing to French authorities for the fact that he was not able to speak with Polish authorities while he was in the hospital. He said he worked in the Bethune coal mines before he joined the Polish Consulate last June.

22 French Citizens Depart From Poland

HELMSTEDT, Germany, Jan. 18 (A.P.).—Twenty-two French citizens expelled from Poland reached Western Germany today.

French officials at this border crossing point between the Russian and British Zones of Germany said the group crossed the frontier early today.

The group included Pierre Marschal, Warsaw correspondent of Agence France-Presse, and three members of the French Legation staff in Warsaw.

French railway officials at Mainz said the group passed through that city this afternoon. They changed trains and went on to Paris, where they were expected to arrive late tonight.

uns Legal Fight

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

The Soviets and the Senators

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WASHINGTON.

SINCE the Senators who visited General MacArthur and the Generalissimo opened up their campaign, events of great consequence have taken place in the Far East. All of them point, I think, to the same conclusion: that the immediate and paramount objective of Soviet policy is to isolate China from the non-Communist world.

If this can be done, China will lie exclusively within the Soviet orbit. The supremacy of the Kremlin in Peiping will be assured. Then the Russian penetration of North China and the Cominform's domination of Asiatic Communism will not be interfered with—except as the Chinese themselves may be driven to resist and to rebel.

SOVIET diplomacy is acting with great shrewdness. The first phase has had to do with recognition, and the tactic employed has been, first, to encourage India, Pakistan and Britain to recognize Red China by treating them reasonably well in China; and, second, to prevent American recognition by stirring up incidents and to prevent French recognition by entering into relations with Ho Chi-minh, with whom France is at war in Indo-China. The advantages of this diplomatic maneuver are many-sided. It divides the non-Communist powers, and since they cannot have a common policy in China, it prevents each of them from having any policy in China.

But not only that. As India and Pakistan enter into normal diplomatic relations with China, the Chinese will not feel that they are morally isolated from the other peoples of Asia. The recognition of the Indonesian Republic, which has just taken place, will strengthen this feeling. On the other hand, in the eyes of the peoples of Asia, France is the last of the Western imperial powers still resisting native independence by force of arms. The United States, still entangled with Chiang, is—alas—identified with everything that the great mass of the Chinese people have turned against. And so, the longer France can be kept embroiled in Indo-China and the United States entangled with Chiang in Formosa, the longer will Moscow have a free hand in China.

The isolation of China, the failure to admit her into the world community of the United Nations, will then be attributed to French imperialism, so much less enlightened than the British or the Dutch, and to American support of the reactionary forces, which Chiang's carpetbaggers represent.

THE Russians have played their game very cleverly. They have made France and the United States accomplish for them what they themselves most wanted to have accomplished: namely the isolation of China. Nothing suits the Kremlin better than to keep France preoccupied and in trouble in Indo-China, and the United States preoccupied and divided and diplomatically paralyzed over Formosa and the debris of the Chiang regime.

The event which, it seems to me, clinched the argument was the prompt and violent reaction of Mr. Vishinsky to Secretary Acheson's Press Club speech. American critics of the speech have discounted its importance on the ground that it was mere wishful thinking to talk about a Chinese-Russian conflict in Manchuria and in the border-land. They have also said that the Secretary's words would never get through the Iron Curtain and could not, therefore, have any influence.

But Mr. Vishinsky would hardly have replied so publicly and so angrily if Mr. Acheson's charges had had no effect. Nor would he have advertised those charges if they had never been heard before. Mr. Vishinsky has not shown any such concern about Formosa. But when Mr. Acheson, after the President had renounced Formosa, moved diplomatically into the interior of China, Mr. Vishinsky was really aroused. For if America was going to get rid of Chiang, was not going to wage an undeclared war against China, and was going to resume its historic role as the champion of Chinese independence and integrity, then the Russian diplomatic policy was seriously threatened.

Mr. Vishinsky had to act and not merely to issue his angry disclaimer. His action was to induce Red China to intervene in Indo-China by recognizing Ho Chi-minh and thus to open an irreparable quarrel with the French government. This prevented the French recognition of Red China. It automatically prevented the admission of Red China into the United Nations, an event which would have established diplomatic relations indirectly between Red China and the United States. At the same time it diverted attention from northern China, where the decisive issues lie, and to the far south, where nothing effective or decisive for the Far East can be done.

WHAT the well intentioned but inexperienced Senators like Mr. Knowland and Mr. Smith, of New Jersey, have not, I believe, grasped is that the net result of their agitation is to paralyze American and non-Soviet diplomacy in the Far East. They think they are men of action, prepared to act boldly. But in fact they are, quite unwittingly, of course, running interference for Soviet diplomacy.

Nothing can suit the Kremlin better than that the non-Soviet powers should be divided, that all the Americans should withdraw from China, that America should spend its energies on Formosa rather than on Manchuria, that America should be identified with Chiang and all the symbols of corruption and extortion and reaction, that Congress and the Administration should remain in an angry deadlock in the whole field of foreign policy, that Mr. Acheson and the State Department should spend hours and hours, days and days, thinking about how to answer Mr. Knowland rather than about what to do next about Stalin.

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Warm Weather Trend

WASHINGTON.

WEATHER experts, who rarely register surprise at the whims of the elements, admit they are amazed at the persistent far-above-normal temperatures which have cloaked the eastern United States since March, 1948.

They are saying, too, that there's a fifty-year trend toward slightly warmer weather, not just in the East but over many areas of the whole Northern Hemisphere.

Wilson H. Ahlmann, a Swedish glaciologist, says we are in a period of "climatic amelioration," with average temperatures slowly inching upward.

In this country Jerome Namias, head of the Weather Bureau's extended forecast section, says: "No one can know for sure whether it will continue getting warmer as it has for the last fifty years. Excesses of temperature over the East have been tremendous for the last year, but maybe it's strictly temporary."

Two Theories

He says two theories have been advanced to support the contentions of those who say it's getting hotter:

1. G. S. Callendar, an English meteorologist, asserts there has been a slight increase in carbon dioxide in the air. This acts, he says, to prevent "outgoing radiation" of the sun's heat after it has struck the earth's surface. Thus the earth retains more heat

in something like the manner a hothouse will absorb and retain heat from the sun.

2. Something in the atmosphere has acted to bring steadily increasing amounts of "maritime air," warmer air overlying oceans, into and over the continents. Mr. Namias says that possibly the quality of the sun's radiation could provoke this.

Records

Here are the facts, as produced by Mr. Namias and Lilburn H. Seamon, of the Weather Bureau's climatology section.

The entire northeastern United States had its third warmest winter on record last year. The same section sweated its way through the hottest summer ever. New York City set a three-month record from June through August. Washington came up with all-time high temperatures for July. But go back to March, 1948. From March through September thermometers were above normal. October they went below, but only for a month. By November they were far above normal and they stayed there all through winter, spring and summer. September, 1949, was below normal. By October the thermometer was again above normal and stayed there the rest of 1949.

During the year New York City built up 1,550 degrees of temperature in excess of normal. This means that, on the average, each day last year was 4.3 degrees warmer than eighty-year-old records show it should have been.

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India Opposes Racial Bias

Ant Defense Cutlay Ought to Step, Peace Gesture

tions with Pakistan, the President said: "The grievous wound caused by recent events will take some time to heal. It is my government's policy to help in every way this process of healing."

He said he hoped that Pakistan would accept India's proposal for a declaration banning war.

The President said the economic situation in India was a matter for grave concern, and that the government's primary objective would be to raise the standard of living of the people.

He said he regretted the delay in raising standards, which was due to generations of colonial rule and partition.

The government is also considering the reorganization of government machinery to make it more efficient, and avoid waste, he said.

He said that the government was wedded to the Gandhian principle of peace and non-violence, both internally and externally, but had been faced with the "painful dilemma" during the last 2 1/2 years of having to maintain a big army.

The government will not take the risk of putting the country in jeopardy at a time when "evil forces are endangering its security both within and from outside," the President said.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru heatedly denied a statement that he was pro-Communist.

"I am not prepared to be anti-this and anti-that," he said angrily. "I may be soft to some and hard to others at times, but I dislike being pushed about or bullied."

"I represent Asia when I say we are not going to be pushed this way or that. We try our best not to be swept away by panic or fear. Some on the Anglo-American side call me Communist while some on the other side call me imperialist."

"This is the result of a sheer fear complex. Some people ask me: 'Are you this or are you that?' But I say: 'This is where I intend to be. Nowhere else'."

Nuns With Rolling Pins Help Drive Off Thieves

CERIGNOLA, Italy, Jan. 31 (U.P.).—Police said today that several hundred shouting children of the Monte Fornari orphanage, led by a nun brandishing a rolling pin, drove off three thieves who broke into the orphanage church during the night.

The three men had stuffed a sack with precious objects removed from the church when they were surprised while trying to leave through the orphanage courtyard. Nuns and children rushed into the courtyard shouting, "Stop thief!"

Police said the nuns waved rolling pins and cooking spits from the kitchen and reported that the three thieves fled after dropping their loot.

Miss Ethel Gabain Dies; Painter, Lithographer

LONDON, Jan. 31 (A.P.).—Miss Ethel Gabain, painter and lithographer, has died in her home here. She was the wife of John Copley, also an artist.

A frail little gray-haired woman, she was chosen in the last war as official painter of "women in wartime." She depicted steel mills, aircraft factories, lumber camps, canteens and the like.

She once started a painting titled "The Surgeon" by watching an operation in a London hospital. She went back every time there was a similar operation until she had finished the picture.

Her war-time paintings hang in the War Museum here. She was also known for theatrical portraits. Buyers of her work include the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Galleria Moderna in Rome and public libraries in New York and Boston.

Miss Gabain, part French, was born in Havre, daughter of the late Charles Edward Gabain. She was an associate of the Salon des Artistes Français.

Sir Ahmad al Jabir Assubah

CAIRO, Jan. 31 (U.P.).—The Sheik of Kuwait, reputedly the world's highest paid man, has died, according to reports from the local Kuwait colony.

Sir Ahmad al Jabir Assubah, ruler of the principality of Kuwait, was reported to have earned about \$12,000,000 a year in royalties paid from oil fields exploited by the British and Americans.

The sheik ruled 2,000 square miles with 100,000 subjects and had at least 37 wives and 4 sons, from whom his successor is to be chosen.

Mme. Saint-Saens Dies

Mme. Saint-Saens, widow of the famous French composer Camille Saint-Saens, died yesterday in Bordeaux at the age of ninety-four.

My attitude was dictated by the interests of the country, which demanded that the King be kept out of the brewing muds-linging debate at a time when it was still avoidable," M. Van Acker declared.

'Error'

He added that in the present struggle "neither the monarchy, dynasty or conduct of the Belgian Army are at stake. The error is not the capitulation of the Belgian Army but that the King wanted to stay in Belgium against the advice of his ministers and form a government which would not continue the fight."

He said the King is a man "of good intentions but who does not understand—who has never understood. Since the first day he has done everything to confuse the issue."

Justifying his change of attitude, M. Van Acker disclosed that shortly after the King's refusal to return, certain incriminating documents came to light, such as the King's interview with Hitler during the occupation. "Then it was too late," M. Van Acker said, adding that in July, 1945, he saw the King again and warned him that if he did not abdicate, a public debate would take place.

Nazi Satellite

Belgium would have emerged from the last war as a semi-satellite of Nazi Germany, M. Van Acker said, if it had not been for the Belgian government-in-exile and Belgian forces continuing the fight from Great Britain.

He "begged" the Social-Christian (Catholic) party to reconsider its attitude and scrap the proposed advisory plebiscite, saying "The King is a finished man, whatever the outcome."

In a blistering attack against the bill under discussion, M. Van Acker declared: "One does not vote about a King. The monarch is not the King of a clan, or of a party, or of a region. He is above all that. He is the father of all the Belgians... For a King to be criticized is not serious, but when one votes for him it is tantamount to judging him. He would not only be finished but the monarchical system is also threatened with the same fate."

Roosevelt Jr. Criticized In House for Absenteeism

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31.—Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt jr., Democrat-Liberal, of New York, was sharply criticized yesterday by Representative Clarence J. Brown, Republican, of Ohio, for absenteeism.

In a speech on the House floor Mr. Brown took Mr. Roosevelt to task for answering only sixty of the 129 rollcalls since the start of the session Jan. 3. "There is grave concern among friends of this young man over the fact that he isn't here as much as he should be," Mr. Brown said. He added:

"I'd like to say to all the members of the House that you simply can't learn the rules of this House in a nightclub in New York—you simply can't solve any of the great social and moral problems by nocturnal meditation on Fifty-Second Street. You've got to be right here to solve them."

Mr. Roosevelt was not present when Mr. Brown spoke.

Paris Am

Theaters

OPERA.—8:30: Roméo et Juliette, Septuor, Giselle.
 COMEDIE-FRANÇAISE (Salle Richelieu)—8:15: Cyrano de Bergerac
 COMEDIE-FRANÇAISE (Salle Luxembourg)—8:45: L'Homme de Cendres.
 OPERA-COMIQUE.—8:45: Madame Butterfly.
 AMBASSADEURS.—9: La Soif.
 ANTOINE.—9: Le Petit Café.
 CHATELET.—8:30: L'Auberge du Cheval Blanc.
 EDOUARD VII.—9: Un Tramway nommé Désir.
 GAITE-LYRIQUE.—8:30: Symphonie Portugaise.
 HUMOUR (American Club Theater).—9: Four in One.
 MICHODIERE.—9: L'Homme de Joie.
 MOGADOR.—8:30, Violettes impériales.
 NOUVEAUTES.—9: La Petite Hutte.
 STUDIO CH. ELYSEES.—6:30, 10: Nuit des Hommes.

Music-Halls

A.B.C.—8:45: Paris s'amuse.
 CASINO DE PARIS.—8:30: Exciting Paris
 FOLIES-BERGERE.—8:30: Féeries-Folies.
 LIDO.—Bravo
 TABARIN.—10: Rellets

Circus

MEDRANO.—9: Australian Air Aces.

Films

Abbreviation: (o. v.) original version (d.) dubbed

Opera Grands Boulevards

AGRICULTEURS.—The Third Man (o. v.)
 ASTOR.—Orange d'Ete.
 AUBERT-PALACE.—The Man on the Eiffel Tower (d.)
 CAMEO.—Hellzapoppin (o. v.)
 CINECRAN.—Branquignol
 CINEMONDE.—Rome Express.
 CINE OPERA.—Riz Amer (o. v.)
 CINEVOG.—Joan of Arc (d.)
 FRANÇAIS.—La Voyaguse Inattendue
 GAUMONT-THEATRE.—The Man on the Eiffel Tower (d.)
 HELDER.—Manéges.
 IMPERIAL.—Au Grand Balcon.
 MADELEINE.—Rendez vous de Juillet.
 MARIVAUX.—Millionnaires d'un jour.
 MAX LINDER.—La Voyaguse Inattendue.

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After Containment, What?

WASHINGTON.

SENATOR CONNALLY came out of the closed meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee last Tuesday and reported that Secretary Acheson had said that "the line Japan-Okinawa-Philippines was our line of defense, that on *this* (italics mine) line the United States had an impregnable defense in this area." The Secretary had also said that "in Southeast Asia, including Burma, India, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia about the most we can do is to encourage them and give them some aid under Point Four."

THESE statements of high policy mark a very great departure from the Truman Doctrine which Mr. Acheson, then the Under Secretary of State, had such a leading part in formulating nearly three years ago. His position on Tuesday was that the American line of defense is in the Pacific Ocean, but that on the line where Communism is pushing forward the most we can do is to encourage the non-Communists and give them some technical and financial aid.

This is a very long way from the 1947 "policy of firm containment, designed," as Mr. George Kennan described it in his celebrated paper, "to confront the Russians with unalterable counterforce at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and a stable world."

MR. ACHESON'S difficulty today in dealing with his Republican critics, with General MacArthur and Senator Knowland and the others, is that while they are still the true believers in the Truman Doctrine of firm containment, Mr. Acheson, confronted with the realities, has had to backslide. His trouble in Congress is that while teacher has changed his mind, the pupils still believe and repeat what he taught them. They have been oversold on a theory which, because it rested on a miscalculation of American military and economic power, has proved to be unworkable and is, in Asia at any rate, being scrapped by its authors.

AS a result a vacuum has opened up in our policy wherever the line of American defense does not coincide with the front line of the Communist advance. What is to be our policy in the areas beyond the lines of our own defense? We do not propose to make these areas impregnable. We do not wish to surrender them to the Soviet Union. What then do we do?

Is it not evident, that, as the policy of firm containment at the frontiers of Communism has broken down, a new policy is required for the areas which we cannot promise to defend and yet cannot afford to surrender?

THOUGH the problem of defining a policy of this kind may appear to be novel and at first thought insoluble, the problem has often been solved before. The classic solution for nations which wish to be independent but cannot be defended is neutrality. That will, I believe, be the solution sought by more and more of the nations of Asia and Europe which lie in the disputed and threatened borderland between the two giant powers—each capable of devastating their lands, neither capable of protecting them against devastation.

That should be, I believe, the solution we offer them in place of the "containment" which we now admit we cannot enforce. There is no other solution—once we realize that we have no decisive military power on the mainland inside Asia. Nor is there any other solution for Germany, for Austria, for Scandinavia, for eastern Europe, once we recognize the consequences of the Soviet achievement of the atomic bomb.

The only alternative to an indecisive war in which they can hope for no security against devastation from both sides is the progressive neutralization of a great buffer belt from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean.

THE policy of containment, which is one of military encirclement up to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, is a military and political impossibility. We cannot give adequate military support to all the nations around the circle. And they will not long stand there unsupported, undefended, but provocatively, on that circle. They cannot be the frontier posts of a military system which cannot insure their security in case of war. They must do something else. That something else is to disalign themselves, to disengage themselves no matter what their ideological sympathies, and to seek security in as much neutrality as the balance of power among the great nations enables them to maintain.

THIS is the way the world is going on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This is the way

India and Pakistan are going. It is the way all but the most unregenerate and reactionary Germans are going. It is the only way Tito and all the countries infected by Titoism can go without risking the utter disaster of civil war. It is the way Japan is bound to try to go, now that it is subject to atomic attack from Siberia. It is the way a wise and enlightened policy might induce Red China to go.

IT is the way we shall have to encourage them to go, once we recognize honestly what the limitations of our own military power mean.

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High Court Says U.S. Can Bar Foreigners as 'Security Risks'

Tribunal Votes 4-3 in Favor of the Government's Right to Exclude German War Bride as Ex-Spy

By the Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—The United States Supreme Court ruled today, 4 to 3, that the government has the right to exclude without a hearing war brides and other aliens who are deemed to be "poor security risks."

The court, dealing with the case of Mrs. Ellen Knauff, thirty-three, German-born wife of an American ex-soldier, ruled that she had been

properly denied admission to the United States on order of the Attorney General.

She married Kurt Knauff, now a civilian employee of the Army in Germany, in Frankfurt, on Feb. 28, 1948.

The government introduced a letter from Tom Clark, then Attorney General, saying that she was "formerly a paid agent of the Czechoslovakian government and reported on American personnel assigned to the Civil Censorship Division in Germany."

In appealing against a lower court ruling, Mrs. Knauff denied this and said that she had been the "victim of foul denunciation by a woman jealous of my husband."

In two other cases the court, also by a 4 to 3 ruling, upheld the right of the government to deport former aliens who lose their American citizenship.

Lost Citizenship

The first was the case of Otto Willumeit, former leader of the German-American Bund, who lost his citizenship in 1944 after being convicted of plotting to deliver military secrets to Germany and Japan.

When the government tried to deport him, Willumeit contended that he was a citizen at the time of his crime and therefore could not be deported.

The second case was that of Richard Eichelaub, a former New York restaurateur convicted in 1941 of conspiring to act as an agent for Germany without being registered as a foreign agent. His contention was similar to that of Willumeit.

Sabotage Attempt Foiled On Strasbourg Rail Line

Another act of sabotage on the Paris-Strasbourg railway line, the second in two days, was narrowly averted yesterday when two men who were trying to jam a signal board between the stations of Varennes and Dormans, near Epernay, were seen and put to flight.

A track inspector who saw what the men were doing from a grade crossing about 100 yards away ran up to them, but before he reached them they had fled. One turned back and tried to strangle the inspector.

French State Railway officials confirmed yesterday that the derailment of the Strasbourg-Paris express on Sunday, a few miles from the same spot, was due to sabotage. The rails had been unbolted from their ties over a distance of about fifteen yards. Five coaches, including two from Vienna and Prague, jumped the tracks, and three passengers were injured.

Press Luncheon Tomorrow

David Rousset, French writer who demanded recently the formation of an international commission to investigate conditions in Soviet forced-labor camps, will be the guest of honor and speaker at the weekly luncheon of the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris tomorrow at 1 p.m. at the Restaurant Griffon, 6 Rue d'Antin.

Gets Snowplow from Jersey City

of Campobasso, 120 miles northeast of Naples.

Dr. Gennaro Carnevale, Mayor of Capracotta, headed a large delegation from the town.

Mr. Gaito will show the Capracottans how to use the snowplow. Frequent snowfalls have made the streets and roads impassable.

Capracotta has been without a snowplow since the war, when the Nazis destroyed Capracotta's last mechanical snowplow.

The plow was bought through contributions from the people of Jersey City.

Cincinnati Flats Collapse

CINCINNATI, Jan. 16 (A.P.).—More than twenty persons had a miraculous escape when a block of twelve apartments in a Cincinnati suburb collapsed last night when high winds damaged a brick arch. Two persons were taken to a hospital suffering from shock after firemen rescued them by ladder from the fourth floor.

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LONNADE THEATER LOBBY

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

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Beyond the Limits of U.S. Power

IN the coming debate over U.S. policy it is important to realize that while American military power is supreme in the Pacific Ocean and its islands, the interior of Asia is beyond its reach. We have a grip upon the Pacific. But the continent of Asia we can touch only with the tips of our fingers.

Inside Asia we have never had a policy which depended upon American military power—to be more precise upon the infantry. Our support of the independence and integrity of China was based on the American Navy as against Japan and upon the balance of power in Europe as against the Russian Empire. We have never had what so many are now demanding—an Asiatic military policy. We have had only a Pacific Ocean policy. For the United States is not a great land power, and the Senators who talk as if they wished to intervene inside Asia should remember that they have provided an army of only ten divisions for all our responsibilities throughout the world.

THE confusion in Congress today cannot be cleared up until we recognize that the Asiatic mainland is beyond the limits of effective American military power. Therefore, in a military sense it has to be dealt with at arm's length. That, in the last analysis, was the reason why General Marshall, after careful examination of the Chinese military problem, refused to be drawn into a military intervention on behalf of Chiang. General Marshall was too good a soldier to commit his country to an enterprise that American military power was unprepared and unsuited to carry out to a successful conclusion.

His judgment on this vital issue cannot be challenged by Senators because they have talked with the Generalissimo and with General MacArthur. The Generalissimo is neither disinterested about American interests nor a successful military commander. General MacArthur's military experience in the Orient, though distinguished, has been confined to the islands: when American sea power was thrown back, he was defeated, and when American sea power was victorious, he could advance triumphantly.

AN American policy inside Asia cannot be constructed by men who do not understand or who refuse to recognize the unalterable limitations of American power. There is no chance whatever that the American people and the American Congress, including the Senators, will vote to conscript an army capable of deciding the issues on the ground inside Asia.

The only United States policy inside Asia that we can consider is one that does not involve American ground armies. Therefore, we must not dabble with the idea, which is at the root of the Formosa affair, that the island is to be developed as a staging area for an eventual invasion of China. That would be the worst conceivable policy—to commit ourselves to a military project that we never could and never would raise, the military power to carry out. For if we raised the armies necessary to decide the issue in China—assuming we could do that—the last thing we would do, unless we had taken leave of our senses, would be to sick those armies in China, making ourselves impotent elsewhere.

SINCE an American policy in Asia cannot be founded upon American military power inside Asia, on what can it be founded? The only answer, it seems to me, is: On alliances with those governments in Asia which are interested and willing to accept us as an ally. This

may sound like a strange way to put it, having got so used recently to the idea that the whole non-Soviet world looks to Washington. But I am persuaded that our position in Asia is not at all like what it is in western Europe among the old nations which feel sure enough of themselves to know that they can accept our support without in fact impairing their independence.

In Asia, independence is new and is precarious. The memory of the white man's imperialism is vivid, and our own color bars are an ever present reproach. The undemocratic and autocratic state is indigenous. American wealth, though wanted, is nevertheless feared. In Asia, therefore, we shall have to earn our alliances. We must not think that the only question is whether Congress will vote them, or that the peoples of Asia—in so far as they are articulate through their small elites—look exclusively or even confidently to Washington for their salvation.

I MYSELF believe that alliances and mutually useful partnerships can be formed but that the most promising approach is through the existing organs of international co-operation—namely, the Commonwealth, the Dutch Indonesian Union, the French Union (if it is not too late), the United Nations, the World Bank, the Monetary Fund, and the other economic, scientific and cultural organs of the United Nations. American economic and military support will be best received and will be politically most effective if they are filtered through these supra-national institutions.

THIS is a modest approach which recognizes what is the reality of the matter—that the United States is not now and is not destined in the foreseeable future to be a principal power inside Asia and that, therefore, we must not expect to lead the peoples of Asia but only to work with them in so far as we have large common purposes.

If we develop delusions of grandeur, as some among us have, and imagine that the American way of life, much as we like it, is to be the universal way of life, we shall find that pride goeth before a fall, and that the humiliation we have suffered in China is only the beginning of our troubles.

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Stratosphere Damp

CHICAGO.

A shell of water vapor about ten miles thick, extending between altitudes of eight and nineteen miles, has been found in the stratosphere by Dr. Earl W. Barrett and associates of the University of Chicago, by use of balloons carrying a new type of electronic device for measuring moisture. The stratosphere was supposed to be excessively dry, but the present exploration shows its very thin air is fully saturated with vapor. Airplanes, or rockets, passing through this belt would leave a trail of fog to mark their path, these scientists report in "The Journal of Meteorology." Such a layer of water vapor could have important effects on radiation reaching the earth from the sun, and radiations from the earth into space, and thus affect the weather.

tions of any kind to limit or reduce the production or affect the price of coal and other commodities, was the law under which the suits were filed. The act gives injured parties a right to double damages.

Charges of unfair labor practices by the UMW have previously been filed by many operators with the National Labor Relations Board. They contend that the short work week is "coercion" and have asked the NLRB to seek an injunction.

Not-Guilty Plea Is Recorded by '5%' Witness

Maragon to Face Trial in Federal Court Feb. 20 On 4 Perjury Counts

By the United Press

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—John Maragon, former member of the inner White House circle, pleaded not guilty today to charges that he lied under oath in the Senate's "five-per-center" investigation.

A slip of the tongue nearly resulted in a plea of guilty when he was called before Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts on the four-count perjury indictment.

The court clerk asked how he pleaded, and Maragon replied in a firm voice: "Guilty."

I Mean Not Guilty

He laughed nervously and stammered a correction: "I mean not guilty."

Judge Letts gave Maragon ten days in which to file special pleadings, and set the trial date for Feb. 20.

The onetime Kansas City boot-black long has been a mysterious Washington figure, claiming close friendship with many important personages in Congress and the Executive branch of the government.

The indictment, handed down Tuesday, accused Maragon of lying four times to the Senate investigators about his bank accounts and business activities. Conviction on all four counts could send him to Federal prison for forty years.

Party Uniforms Banned

ROME, Jan. 6 (A.P.).—A government decree prohibiting the public use of uniforms by political parties became effective Jan. 1, it was disclosed this week. The ban applies to all organizations and associations with the exception of sports teams and schools.

German Who Built Helicopter Gets 6-Mo. Suspended Term

By the United Press

FRANKFURT, Jan. 6.—Walter O. Galonska was given a six-month suspended sentence by the Western Allied High Commission district court here today for building a helicopter in his spare time.

The middle-aged flight engineer addressed a dramatic five-minute oration to the court immediately prior to sentencing, while his German defense counsel plucked at his sleeve and told him to sit down.

"Just ask for a mild sentence," the worried counsel hissed in a stage whisper.

But Galonska didn't hear him with his home-made hearing aid. "I didn't know I was committing a crime," he pleaded. "But

By the United Press
WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—The Economic Co-operation Administration announced today that fifteen American editors will leave here Sunday to visit London, Frankfurt, Rome and Paris to evaluate the Marshall plan. They will confer here Saturday with ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman before starting.

The ECA said that in Britain they will see Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps, Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, Foreign Office Minister of State Hector McNeil, and members of the British Industries Federation and Trades Union Congress. They will discuss dollar shortage, export problems and other current matters. Some will visit the Sheffield steel mills and Lancashire textile industries.

In Frankfurt they will see United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy, members of his cabinet, German officials and political leaders including Konrad Adenauer and Kurt Schumacher.

The ECA said "some members of the group will look into industrial operations in the Ruhr and others will inspect DP camps."

"In Italy they will inquire into unemployment, emigration, agrarian reform, fiscal system reforms, and financial stabilization. They will inspect recovery projects including the new main railroad station in Rome. . . Naples's drydock and petroleum dock, the main railroad station and other ERP works. . . They will inspect the new city of Cassino."

Members of Party

The editors will be granted an interview with the Pope. They will confer with Minister of the Treasury Pella, chairman of the ERP interministerial committee for reconstruction and ECA mission chief James D. Zellerbach as well as Italian labor and industrial leaders.

In the tour are: Forrest Seymour, of "The Des Moines Register and Tribune"; John Love, of "The Cleveland Press"; Willis McCardle, of "The San Francisco Chronicle"; Sevellon Brown 3d, of the Providence "Journal" and "Bulletin"; Carroll Binder, of "The Minneapolis Tribune"; Michael Bradshaw, of "The Toledo Blade"; M. H. Williams, of the Worcester, Mass., "Telegram and Gazette Post"; Edward Lindsay, of the Decatur, Ill., "Herald and Review"; John Harris Hutchinson, of "The Kansas News Herald"; Robert Bates, of the Meadville, Pa., "Tribune Republican"; Alvand Dunkleberger, of "The Nashville Banner"; C. B. Lartz, publisher, and William McDowell, editor, of the Sharon, Pa., "Herald"; G. Prescott Low, of the Quincy, Mass., "Patriot Ledger" and Samuel Miller, of the Allentown, Pa., "Call Chronicle."

I kept the Air Force informed of my project at all times."

Then Galonska sat down and nervously listened to Judge Herman Ergan pronounce the suspended sentence for breaking Military Government Law 23, which prohibits aeronautical research.

At his trial last month Galonska said he applied to the spidery helicopter, which looks like something out of the early Wright brothers' era, principles he learned while doing flight research in Russia. He said the helicopter would rise to 30,000 feet.

The only chance he had to test it, he said, was inside the garage where it was built.

"It rose so suddenly it cracked against the roof and I had to

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

'The Line of Fire'

WASHINGTON.

IN what is the most famous of all his great speeches, Churchill once said: "There are many who would hold an inquest in the House of Commons on the conduct of the governments—and of Parliaments, for they are in it too—during the years which led up to this catastrophe." He was speaking of "the colossal military disaster" of 1940 when France was defeated and Britain was driven off the Continent. We might all of us today, as we tear ourselves apart quarreling over our own disaster in China, remember Mr. Churchill's answer to the many who wanted to hold an inquest at that time.

Mr. Churchill's answer was that "of this I am quite sure, that if we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future." Is it too much to hope that Senator Knowland and Senator Taft and Senator Bridges and Senator Wherry might be willing to learn from the example of a man, who is so much greater than any of them, who was faced with a crisis so much more terrible than ours, who, moreover, had a record of consistency and of foresight unlike theirs which entitled him to say "I told you so" had he not been above such vulgar vanity?

THE action of the House in defeating the bill for Korean aid is the first, but by no means the last, practical illustration of how we shall lose the future if we pursue the quarrel between the past and the present. The issue in the Korean aid bill is whether the United States will honor a commitment made to the people of Southern Korea and in the presence of the United Nations. The question of honor is paramount. It cannot decently be submerged in the quarrel about Formosa or Chiang, or written down because we may have grave doubts as to whether we should ever have made the commitment at all.

If it is true, as Senator Knowland says, that "the Koreans in this case are just the innocent bystanders in the House. . . they got into the line of fire," it is time he paused to ask himself what else is going to happen if he keeps on firing on his line of fire.

IT is becoming more and more ominously clear what is going to happen. The United States is going to be prevented from playing any useful rôle in Asia. The Korean scuttle will teach the other weak peoples of Asia that American policy can be overturned at any time if by accident they happen to get in the line of fire of Congressional politics.

On the instability, the undependability, the irresponsibility of fluctuating Congressional majorities, no people can be expected to stake their future, no leaders can be expected to stake their careers and their lives. The damage which has been done to the moral credit of this country is incalculable but enormous, and it will take more than a reversal of this vote to repair it.

BUT there is worse to come. The real effect of the Formosan crusade is to isolate the United States in the Far East. For while Mr. Knowland has not persuaded the President to intervene in Formosa, he is still able to keep this country entangled with the remainders of Chiang's government. Tied to Chiang, we are now separated—as respects China and the Far East—from our most important and our only effective and influential allies, from Great Britain, from India, and Pakistan. We cannot have a concerted policy with them because they have broken with Chiang and we cannot break with him.

We cannot do anything for Chiang. But thanks to Senator Knowland and his friends, we can-

not do anything without Chiang. We cannot fight for Chiang. We cannot negotiate because of Chiang. The result is that to the accompaniment of heartbreaking cries for an "Asia policy," our policy is perforce to have no policy at all. It is not surprising that the Republican isolationists are in fact isolating the United States from Asia.

THAT is exactly what the Kremlin most wants—to push us out of the Far East so that we cannot influence or interfere with the consolidation of their empire. The fact that these Republican Senators make louder anti-Communist noises than anyone else will not obscure the actual results: that they have undermined our influence in Korea and, therefore, in other vulnerable regions—and that they are compelling us to go down, lashed to the mast of Chiang's rotten and sinking ship.

Of course, the Russians are exploiting this windfall to the limit, inciting the Chinese to create incidents which will keep us embroiled in China—and separated from our allies. The Russians know we cannot go to war about China, and so, thanks to the way the Senators have set it up for them, they are making it impossible for us to resort to diplomacy.

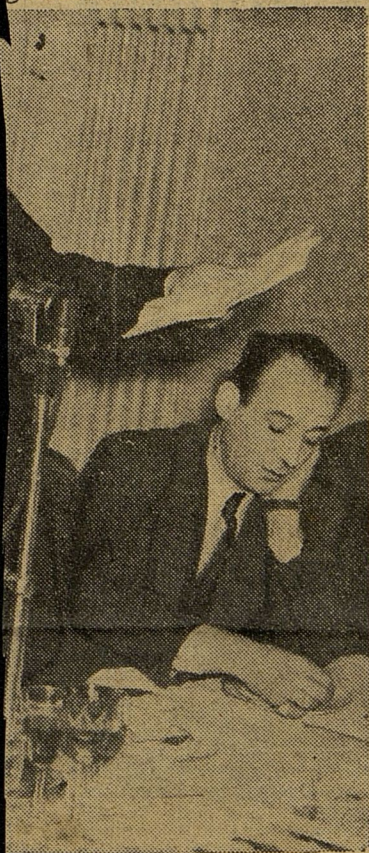
AND what is this destructive quarrel in Washington about? It is supposed to be about the past—about the reasons why American policy in China ended in disaster. But do we really suppose that we who are in the midst of it all, and can know only bits and pieces of the great story, can render the verdict of history? I do not believe we ought to overestimate our knowledge and our capacity for judging history so crudely and so grossly as all that.

FOR example, a colleague of mine, whose knowledge of the China story is considerable, writes that the "safer policy" in China would have been "to attempt in China, on an even larger scale, the same sort of operation we have now successfully completed in Greece." The difference in scale between Greece and China is, measured in population as one is to 58, and measured in area about as one is to 60. That is approximately the difference in scale as between a kitten and a tiger.

But the difference in scale is not the whole difference between Greece and China. There is this difference too: Greece's nearest important neighbor is Yugoslavia; China's nearest neighbor is the Soviet Union. The "operation we have now successfully completed" in Greece, assuming it is successfully completed, was successfully completed only when Tito quarreled with Russia and turned his back on Greece. A similar operation in China could hardly have been conducted by us without making it virtually certain that as we increased our intervention for Chiang, the Soviets would step up their intervention for Mao. With 4,000 miles of common frontier and a reserve of infantry incomparably greater than our own, what prospect would there have been of our completing the operation successfully?

That ought to suggest that General Marshall, who decided for intervention in Greece and against intervention in China, may have known what he was doing.

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conditional tense or a question mark or some other doubtful formula in order to publish, without confirmation from responsible authorities, that our frontiers in Indo-China were attacked by the regular army of a neighboring nation, nor to announce, as was done another time, that the troops which France had disarmed and interned in conformity with international law had been used by us against the armies of that same nation."

'Maneuvers Against Peace'

The President said that "such rumors are maneuvers against peace, maneuvers against France, maneuvers against understanding among people who ought to work together for the common good."

"Does any one think," the President asked, "that it is good to keep the nation in an atmosphere of inquietude and disorder?" He referred to "manifest exaggerations," such as weekly reports of "financial difficulties, internal discords, the prospect of strikes and the menaces of a government crisis," and said that this was in contrast to "most evident signs of our recovery."

"Who does not know, on the contrary," President Auriol asked, "that in a convalescent and fragile country it is necessary for everyone to do his task conscientiously so that our institutions function regularly and that the men who have been elected... may fill their mandate normally?"

The President said that "people ought to avoid exciting controversies, polemics and hates by news stories without foundation."

Auriol Gives a Banquet For Diplomatic Corps

President Vincent Auriol and Mme. Auriol gave a state banquet at the Elysee Palace last night in

Saar Premier Defends Link With France

Says It's Type of Sacrifice Europe Must Make If West 'Is Not to Perish'

By Don Cook

Special to the Herald Tribune

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SAARBRUECKEN, Jan. 26. — Saar Premier Johannes Hoffman said in an interview here today that the leasing of Saar heavy industry to France "is the kind of sacrifice that must apply in all Europe if the West is not to perish."

By proving through the industrial leases and other treaties that the Saar can get along with France "we will contribute to German-French understanding and in the long run benefit Germany as well," Mr. Hoffman said.

On the political aspect of the Saar problem the Premier said:

"What we want is the right to control our own law-making and our own administration. Then we shall have real autonomy. If our relations with France are properly regulated and the people see that they have their own government and that France is not trying by economic means to get political control of the Saar, then the Saarlanders will be satisfied. We favor working with the Germans as well, but only the Saar can decide the Saar's future."

Ready Answers

The Saar Premier is ready with answers to any questions on the historic problem of his strategic little border domain, which he obviously rules with a firm hand under the supervision of a French High Commissioner. Mr. Hoffman fled to Brazil in the Nazi days, and was installed as head of the Saarland government by the French in the early days of the occupation.

Few Saarlanders would bother to conceal a certain cynicism about the position in which they find themselves today and the policies which the facts of the position force upon them. Mr. Hoffman, like a certain majority of the Saar people, speaks with conviction about the Saar's future but with no particular liking for the facts.

The facts are that with the French in occupation control the Saar has no choice but to pursue a French policy. Economics is the basic consideration for the Saar government rather than the political aspects.

With Germany defeated, these facts dictate the leasing of Saar industry to France—though the debatable point for the Saar is whether in five or even ten years the Saar might not be better off economically tied to Germany.

Best Possible Bargain

To get the best possible bargain out of the position in which the government finds itself, Premier Hoffman plans to ask the French for three specific commitments when negotiations open on the industrial leases in Paris on Feb. 7. The French want leases of fifty years on the Saar coal mines, steel industry and railroads.

Mr. Hoffman said that as part of the lease treaties he will ask a French guaranty of priority for the Saar industry with French heavy industry; a guaranty of social rights for the workers, and a voice for Saar managers in the control of the industries.

Yugoslavia Begins Trial Of 8 as Bulgaria Spies

LONDON, Jan. 26 (A.P.).—Yugoslavia began the trial today of eight persons charged with spying and "diversionist activities" in behalf of Bulgaria, the official

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

1/28/50

The Misery of Asia

WASHINGTON.

FOR an understanding of the difference between the Communist and the American approach to Asia, there are two documents which seem to me particularly enlightening. The one is the celebrated address made by Stalin nearly four years ago in which he announced the fourth of the Soviet Union's five-year plans. The other is the report made last month by the United Nations Commission in the Middle East, of which Mr. Gordon Clapp is the chairman.

Both documents deal with the same fundamental situation, which Secretary Acheson described the other day by saying that "resignation is no longer the typical emotion of Asia. It has given way to a real sense of anger against the acceptance of misery and poverty as the normal condition of life."

ALTHOUGH Stalin was talking only about Russia, it is quite evident that he was addressing all the peoples of Asia. He was saying that Russia is an Asiatic country, that it too was feeble, miserable, underdeveloped and technologically backward. Yet in some "thirteen years" of revolutionary reconstruction, the Communists had brought about such a "transformation from an agrarian to an industrial country" that the Soviet Union was able to withstand—largely by its own efforts—the main mass of the mighty German Army.

We should merely be deluding ourselves if we refuse to recognize the tremendous force of this—the central theme of the Communist propaganda in Asia. Stalin developed the argument in his speech by pointing out that "the Soviet method radically differs from the capitalist method of industrialization" which "usually starts with light industry" and then requires "a long period of time, several decades" before "a gradual transfer of accumulated capital into heavy industry starts." But in Russia, he said, "the Communist party reversed the usual path of industrialization and began with the development of heavy industry. This was very hard but not impossible to achieve."

THE issue becomes clearly defined when we realize that Stalin does not pretend that Russian industry is as advanced as American or that the Russian standard of life is comparable with the American. What he does say is that by the Communist method a backward country like Russia has been transformed into a great industrial power much faster than it would have been under the normal capitalist method.

He was saying, and the effective Communists in Asia are all saying it now, that though the Communist method is hard, it is quick and dramatic. That is a formidable argument in Asia, especially when it is backed by the undeniable military achievements of the Red Army, and when it is addressed to people who have never known much of liberty as we experience it, and

nothing of democracy as we practice it.

THE Clapp report, though it deals specifically only with a few small Arab countries, contains the essential Western answer. It is a deeply considered and perfectly honest statement. Mr. Clapp does not deny that the development, which we can promote, is much slower and much less dramatic. What he says about the Arab countries would have to be said in general of all of Asia—that "the region is not ready, the projects are not ready, the people and governments are not ready for large-scale developments." In the Middle East, for example, he found that great projects for the development of international river valleys—such as the Jordan—must wait on international agreements that no one can now impose, and on international co-operation which the existing governments reject. In the face of these obstacles, and bearing in mind the technological backwardness of the people, Mr. Clapp concludes that the only useful way to begin is with certain small "pilot projects," each within the borders of a separate state, none requiring extraordinary administrative capacity or the large investment of capital.

The scale is small and the tempo is slow. In countries like India and Pakistan, which are more advanced than the Arab countries, the scale can be bigger and the tempo faster. But nevertheless the scale and tempo of development cannot be what it is in Russia. Why? Not because the Pakistanis and the Indians are technically more backward. Far from it. It is because the scale and tempo of the Soviet development require a dictatorship and a totalitarian discipline reaching down into every family and to every individual. A rapid industrialization of Asia could be carried out as it has been in Russia only by a government so powerful that it can compel the living generation to sacrifice its own hopes and advantages in order to build a powerful state in the next generation.

IN southern Asia the existing governments have been brought into being by men who fought for national independence by enlisting massive popular support. The crucial question now is whether, despite the enormous difficulties of popular government, they can make enough visible improvement in the popular condition of life to retain their popular support. As long as they are not fully authoritarian, as long as they depend primarily on popular support, they cannot make a rapid and dramatic transformation of their economic order. Yet if they do not obtain results rapidly enough, the popular discontent with the results of popular rule may cause the people to turn to the totalitarian system.

There, I believe, is the hard core of the issue between the Communist and the Western approach to the poverty and misery of Asia.

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Ban on French West Africa Is Lifted by ECA

Charge of Improper Use Of U.S. Machinery Is Found to Be Baseless

By William J. Humphreys

The Economic Co-operation Administration, which suspended procurement authorizations for French West Africa last November to investigate charges of improper use of American machinery, has found the complaints unfounded and lifted the suspension, it was learned last night.

Whether recovery operations had been delayed during the long ECA investigation, and if so to what extent, could not be immediately determined. But reliable sources said the suspension had been lifted Jan. 16, and that work in the overseas territory would be resumed with original objectives in mind.

ECA allocations for French West Africa total \$31,000,000 thus far. One-third of this sum has been designated for machinery, much of it road-building and irrigation equipment for the territory that covers 1,815,000 square miles.

The complaint against the French authorities was that inadequately trained personnel were handling the ECA machinery.

One of the most ambitious recovery projects in French West Africa is the irrigation of a 200,000-acre area between Timbuktu and Sedou. A French ten-year plan calls for this land to become rice-bearing. The food is to be used both for the native population and for metropolitan France.

Formosa

(Continued from Page 1)

They also strafed Tienho Airfield. Major General Chiang Ching-kuo, elder son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has arrived on Hainan for inspection of the island's defenses.

Two British ships were shelled off Amoy recently, it was learned today.

Agents said one was the coaster Cloverlock, which received some damage from several shells fired by a Nationalist gunboat in the vicinity of Amoy. The Cloverlock is due here tomorrow. There were no casualties.

Jardine Matheson Company, agents for the Wingsang, said the ship was shelled by Communist shore batteries in the same vicinity three days ago but was not hit. The Wingsang is at Keelung, Formosa. The Cloverlock is of about 300 tons, the Wingsang 3,500.

Red Expansion Predicted

TAIPEH, Jan. 27 (U.P.).—Military spokesman General Teng Wan-yl charged today that Chinese Communists were concentrating in southwest China for an invasion of China's neighbors in Asia and build-

Most of 100 W Believed at La

Military Governor Points Retreat to Hills Is a P

By the Associated Press

JAKARTA, Jan. 27.—The gang of "Turk" Westerling's outlaws which Indonesian government forces engaged in a gun battle in the center of Jakarta, yesterday was part of a group of 100, most of whom are still at large in the city, the Military Governor revealed today.

He said the 100 were a vanguard of 2,000 outlaws from the Bandoeng area, bent on taking over the capital in the same way as they occupied part of Bandoeng on Monday. They later evacuated Bandoeng.

The larger group was intercepted on Tuesday at Tjiandur by Indonesian troops, thus preventing a full-scale attack on Jakarta.

The Military Governor said that failure of the plans for entering and taking over the capital did not mean that Westerling's bands will halt their action. He did not directly predict future big-scale attacks, but he pointed to a statement from outside sources that the Westerling withdrawal into the mountains was only a preliminary to larger assaults.

According to the Military Governor, questioning of eight of Westerling's men taken yesterday in Jakarta disclosed that they were all deserters from Dutch paratroop and commando forces and "victims of Dutch incitement."

He said the deserters gave the name of a Dutch major who escaped yesterday from the hideout. According to the Military Governor, when asked why they fought against Indonesian Army troops and the Netherlands colonial

U.S. Editors, Writers Due In Paris on Trip

TWA Sponsors 2-Week Tour of Europe for Holy Year Travel Study

Thirty-five American writers and editors will arrive in Paris Monday by plane on the first leg of a two-week tour of Europe.

From Paris, the group will proceed to Milan and Rome and return to the United States by way of Madrid and Lisbon. A reception for the group will be given at Orly Field by the French National Tourist Bureau.

Purpose of the tour is to give the editors and writers a firsthand view of Holy Year developments and of general tourist conditions in France. According to Trans World Airline, which is

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

Mao and Titoism

WASHINGTON.

ON the future of Communism in China there seems to be nothing in the official writings and pronouncements which can be regarded as the blueprint of a plan. Careful students of Communist literature whom I have consulted can produce texts which show that beginning with Lenin nearly thirty years ago, the Communist leaders have been deeply interested and active in promoting the revolution in Asia and in making Communists the leaders of that revolution. But these texts throw no light whatever on what is to happen, as in China now, when the revolution is victorious under the leadership of convinced Communists like Mao Tse-tung. The question of how a Communist government will proceed to transform China, which is certainly not now a Communist society, is of enormous consequence for China, and indeed for all of Asia. But there is, it is reasonably certain, no explicit answer to that question now available.

WHAT we know, however, is the story of how the Russian Communists transformed Russia. Is this to be the model and pattern for China? It seems most improbable that it can be. It is unlikely, I should imagine, that Mao Tse-tung thinks that the Russian model can be imitated in China during his lifetime.

The Russian model for transforming a backward society was described by Stalin himself in February, 1946, in an address, which, on this subject, is the classic Communist text. Stalin was explaining how Russia had been transformed from "an agrarian into an industrial country" in "only some thirteen years." This could not have been done, he said, without the collectivization of agriculture, without changing "from a small-scale peasant economy to a large-scale agricultural economy." This had to be done, he said, in order "to eliminate the age-old backwardness of our agriculture in so short a period of time."

And then Stalin added: "It cannot be said that the party's policy did not meet with resistance in this respect. Not only backward people, who always resist everything new, but also many others of the party systematically held back the party and tried in all sorts of ways to drag it on to the usual capitalist line of development."

THIS resistance was crushed and overcome in Russia by the power of the Soviet state. Without that Russia could not have been transformed rapidly into a Communist society.

That defines rather sharply and clearly the problem which confronts Mao Tse-tung. There is no doubt that his popular support rests on the peasants who, on his urging and with his help, have expropriated the landlords and driven out the money lenders. That is the Chinese revolution as of today. But we know on the authority of Stalin himself that this is not the Communist revolution. If Russia is the prototype, then the real Communist revolution lies ahead of Mao Tse-tung, and it will turn upon whether he can and will use the power of the state to force the

peasants, who have seized the land from the landlords, to enter into collective farms under Communist government control.

* * *

UNLESS Mao does that, the evolution of China will be radically different from the evolution of Russia. For China is overwhelmingly a rural society. And if that society is composed of peasants on small holdings, not of collective farms dominated by the Communist state, then China will not be a Communist society whatever the personal doctrine of its leaders.

The question then is whether Mao can do to Chinese agriculture what Stalin did to Russian. The answer depends on whether the Chinese central government has, or is likely to acquire, the overwhelming political power which the Soviet state did acquire. We cannot know. But we have good reasons, not wishful reasons, for thinking that the organization of an all-powerful state in China will be ever so much more difficult than it was in Russia. For one thing, Czarist Russia was a powerful state before the Communists captured that state. China has not been a powerful state for centuries, and even the rudiments of the communications and the administrative machinery of a strong central government do not exist in China.

* * *

YET the real Communist revolution in a backward rural society requires a well-nigh omnipotent central government. If that does not exist, if the central government does not feel itself strong enough to impose Communism on the great mass of peasants, the result is—not Stalinist Communism but—Titoism.

For Titoism is in its essence the refusal or incapacity of Communists when they achieve power to impose Communism on the peasantry. In that sense, and it is a most important sense as Stalin and the Cominform have made it very clear, Titoism is the greatest disappointment and setback which Communism has suffered since first it triumphed in Russia. For Titoism shows that revolutions led by Communists in backward countries do not tend to develop on the Russian model. It is not improbable therefore that just as Russia did not develop on the Marxist model, so China will not develop on the Lenin-Stalin model. It will develop in some other way—very probably in a way that not even Mao himself can now foresee.

* * *

NATURALLY we cannot foresee it either, and if the reader feels that all this is speculative and leads to no clear and practical conclusion on which we can act immediately, I can say only that he is quite right. But it cannot be a bad thing to begin to try to understand a historical development which, as a matter of fact, we shall not be able to understand fully for a very long time to come.

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to Political Prisoners

ical prisoners, and it centered in the state sanatorium at Brno. According to the paper, the underground helped the prisoners to freedom after they feigned insanity in prison in order to be transferred to the sanatorium.

The trial was the biggest reported in the Czech press this year.

Meanwhile, informed sources said today that in a surprise sweep, Czechoslovak security police last week rounded up between fifty and sixty small business men, mostly owners of small but exclusive restaurants.

The business men, seized last Wednesday, were tried in a group and sentenced to two years in labor camps at Kladno, near Prague; Jachymov, center of the Czech uranium area near the German border, and Pradubice, in Bohemia, the sources said.

The arrests apparently were part of the Czech Trijini Boj (class warfare) plan, which reached a climax last October when some 10,000 persons were arrested.

Czechs Admit Coal Output Is Below Goal

Paper Says Absenteeism By 'Slackers,' Ill Miners Is Primarily to Blame

By the Associated Press

PRAGUE, Feb. 2.—The newspaper "Prace" admitted today that coal production has fallen far below expectation because of widespread absenteeism.

It said output was particularly bad during January—the first month of the second year of the "Gottwald Five-Year Plan," heralded by the government as being the "final blow to internal reaction."

"Prace," organ of the Czech trade unions, said that production of anthracite coal during the month "was not satisfactory and was below plan, while the production of bituminous coal surpassed the plan only by a very little."

"Prace" attributed the "great decline in production" mostly to the "still considerably high percentage of missed shifts, some by slackers and some by really sick miners."

Government leaders have been campaigning to wipe out absenteeism in the mines, even threatening to do away with some of the many privileges previously given to miners to lure more men into the pits.

Romulo Calls

(Continued from Page 1)

though "a terrible weapon, can be used lawfully in a just war."

Vatican Comment

ROME, Feb. 2 (A.P.).—The Vatican newspaper, "L'Osservatore Romano," said today that the hydrogen bomb means that the cold war "is sliding irresistibly toward waged war."

Yukon Search Continues

WHITE HORSE, Yukon Territory, Feb. 2 (A.P.).—Planes searching for a United States Air Force four-engined transport plane reported missing Monday over Alaska with forty-four people on board, spotted today wisps of smoke in a desolate area eighty miles southeast of here.

Coal Truce

(Continued from Page 1)

tions. They called a conference, however, to decide on their answer to Mr. Truman.

of the Northern and Western operators, said: "It is apparent that the union representatives have not changed their position during these many months and that they even still cling to their desire to control production and to decree how many days mines must work regardless of market demand.

"Therefore it is useless to continue negotiations, as such a course would only serve to mislead the public and our employees."

He thereupon announced the decision to accept the Truman proposal and prepare the mines for normal output.

About 100,000 miners are now on strike; the other 300,000 are working three days a week. Mr. Love said Mr. Truman has been advised the owners are ready to "operate to the fullest extent possible to avoid further inconvenience to the public and to relieve present distress of the mine workers."

Miss Truman on Records

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 (A.P.).—Margaret Truman has signed a long term contract to make recordings for RCA Victor records and will begin at the end of her concert tour.

Paris Am

Theaters

OPERA.—9: La Damnation de Faust.
OPERA-COMIQUE.—8:30: Jeux, La Précaution Inutile, Casse-Noisette.
COMEDIE-FRANCAISE (Salle Richelieu).—9: La Parisienne, Le Plaisir de Rompre.
COMEDIE-FRANCAISE (Salle Luxembourg).—8:45: Jeanne la Folle.
AMBASSADEURS.—9: La Soif.
ANTOINE.—9: Le Petit Café.
CHATELET.—8:30: L'Auberge du Cheval Blanc.
EDOUARD VII.—9: Un Tramway nommé Désir.
GAITE-LYRIQUE.—8:30: Symphonie Portugaise.
HUMOUR (American Club Theater).—9: Four in One.
MARNY.—8:45: La Surprise de l'Amour, Les Fourberies de Scapin.
MICHODIERE.—9: L'Homme de Jolie.
NOUVEAUTES.—9: La Petite Hutte.
STUDIO CH. ELYSEES.—6:30, 10: Nuit des Hommes.

Music-Halls

A.B.C.—3, 8:45: Paris s'amuse.
CASINO DE PARIS.—8:30: Exciting Paris
FOLIES-BERGERE.—8:30: Féeries-Folies.
LIDO.—Bravo
MAYOL.—3, 9: Nu...look.
TABARIN.—10: Reflets.

Films

Abbreviation: (o.v.) original version
(d) dubbed

Opera-Grands Boulevards

AGRICULTEURS.—The Third Man (o.v.)
ASTOR.—Orange d'Été.
AUBERT-PALACE.—The Man on the Eiffel Tower (d)
CAMEO.—Un Yankee à la Cour du Roi Arthur (o.v.)
CINECRAN.—Au delà des Grilles.
CINEMONDE.—Bud Abbott and Lou Costello meet the Killer (d.).
CINE OPERA.—Riz Amer (o.v.)
CINEVOC.—

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

Mr. Churchill and Me-Tooism

WASHINGTON.

THE Conservatives in Britain have been having an argument within their own ranks about "me-tooism" rather like that among our own Republicans. Though comparisons can be very misleading, since Britain's economic condition is so very different from America's, the Conservatives had to decide, as do the Republicans, where they should draw the line on which to fight the election.

IF I HAVE understood Mr. Churchill's speech and the Conservative platform, they are drawing the line between the welfare state and the socialist state. They do not, as do many Republicans, identify the welfare state with the socialist state. On the contrary, they distinguish as sharply as they can between them. Thus they stand for government action to maintain full employment, and to support the purchasing power of the poor, and they promise to preserve, but with some modifications, the social services. What they oppose are not these, the essential elements of the welfare state, but the nationalization of industries, bulk government buying and certain other government controls and arrangements which have to do with the socialist rather than the capitalist method of producing wealth.

The issue, as the Conservatives hope to define it, is between the welfare state based on an economy of free, or at least freer, enterprise on the one hand, and on the other, the welfare state based on a planned, government-owned or managed, socialist economy. No doubt the Conservatives would trim the welfare state to what they believe to be the necessities of production, and to the deficit in the British economy. But they do not attack the welfare state in principle. They do not say it is incompatible with a free economy. They do not say that the welfare state is socialism.

* * *

WE SEE at work here a force which is almost certainly the secret of British and American success in operating free institutions through governments by parties. It is the force which draws the two parties closer and closer together as they face the voters—until when election day arrives, it often seems as if on measures and principles the choice is between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

That happens because in a sound democracy the central mass of the voters who decide the result are not doctrinaires and ideologues but moderate and pragmatically-minded men and women. Without these middle people, who hold the

balance of power, democracy is unworkable, as we can readily see in all the countries where the middle people do not exist. For a nation, divided irreconcilably on "principle," each party believing it is pure white and the other pitch black, cannot govern itself. The sharp division of parties will first paralyze the government, and then when conditions become bad enough, men will feel they must achieve by violence what they cannot achieve by the normal processes of law.

* * *

THE FORCE exerted by the middle people results in what the extremists call me-tooism. But that is only a derogatory epithet for what is in truth the proudest and noblest achievement of democracy—namely that the solidarity of the people in a free society is stronger than their division into parties, their separation into sects, the diversities of class and of locality; and that their capacity to find common ground is stronger than all the many interests which divide them.

As long as this solidarity exists—as it does in Great Britain and the United States—it will never be good politics to draw the issues so sharply that they are irreconcilable. That is annoying to the doctrinaires, irritating to the fanatics, and disappointing to the sentimentalists. But that is how free societies survive through storm and stress. They never allow their differences to divide them, their debates to become battles, and they push their leaders on to that common ground where all can live together in the same community.

* * *

THERE is nothing unprincipled in a refusal to let a nation become divided on principles propounded by its extremists. Devotion to the principle of solidarity, of the national unity, and of neighborly respect and deference each man for his fellows, is a greater principle than any which any political party can think up in order to call attention to itself, than any movement be it of the Right or the Left can propound for the alleged salvation of mankind.

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TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

U.S. and Asia

LONDON.

AN American traveling in southern Asia must feel, I think, how quickly he is expected to make up his mind about things which are new and strange to him. For only a very few far-sighted men can have anticipated even dimly that after the war the United States would find itself called upon to play so important a role from Turkey to Indonesia. Certainly few of us expected it.

For half a century and until about two years ago it was the accepted view that the sphere of American interest in Asia was in the Pacific and north of the Equator—that American vital interests in the Far East had to do with China, Japan and the Philippines. In all the rest of Asia, except, of course, the Russian part of it, the British Commonwealth and Empire was the predominant power, enveloping and protecting the French, the Dutch and the small remnants of the Portuguese Empires in Asia.

* * *

During the second World War, this broad division of influence and interest persisted. Roosevelt took the lead in the Near East, which, for military as well as diplomatic purposes, included the Balkans and North Africa to the borders of Tunis. But two unanticipated developments have altered this division of responsibility. The one was the liquidation of the British Empire in Asia, which brought in its train the liquidation of the Dutch Empire and, it is certain, the French and the Portuguese Empires as well. The other unforeseen development was the failure of the American hope that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang would unify China after the Japanese evacuated it.

This radical change in the political order of Asia was long in the making. But it was consummated in two brief years—in the period between Mr. Bevin's insistence that Britain could no longer carry on in Greece and the flight of Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland of China.

The combined effect has been to break the established connections between the Atlantic community and that vast region of the globe where live about two-thirds of the human race.

* * *

It is only in China, however, that a new power has established itself which intends to achieve its destiny in alliance with the Soviet Union and apart from the community of Atlantic nations. The destiny of southern Asia, from Indonesia to Turkey and Egypt, is still undetermined.

The question is whether in this region, where the Western influence has so long been predominantly British, the United States—which is powerful but not omnipotent, rich but not inexhaustibly rich, influential but uninformed and uneducated in Asia—whether the United States can play a beneficent and effective part.

* * *

Can the United States help to find new connections based not upon empire but on the principle of equality, now that the old imperial connections between Asia and the Atlantic community have been destroyed? The one certainly in this formidable undertaking is that no new connections can be formed which will endure if the Americans appear in Asia as the heirs and successors of the old empires. The problem is complicated for us by the fact that the very same nations which in Europe are the leading democracies, and our close allies, have been, east of Suez, the empires against which all of Asia is in rebellion.

In this confusing duality our surest guide is a firm remembrance, whatever the cynical and the worldly wise may say, that the United States were themselves colonies that rebelled, and a firm attachment to our own traditions, even prejudices, against colonialism and imperialism.

We can and should, of course, learn from all who have had a longer experience in these parts of the world. But in so far as America is to work with the living forces of Asia, it must do so by direct contact and not through intermediaries.

* * *

We shall make mistakes. But they will be less costly if we make them ourselves than if we make them through our allies in Europe. Let us hope that we shall not be

misunderstood in Europe, indeed that the wiser Europeans will see that if good relations are to exist between Asia and the West, the best hope lies in the fact that America is the first world power which is not an empire and that it has no imperial past to be forgotten. That may make it possible to work out a new system of connections.

Until we became entangled with Chiang Kai-shek in dealings alien to the American tradition, the non-imperialist power of the United States was the source of our prestige and influence in China. We must now discourage completely all those at home and abroad who, with more zeal than insight, would have us repeat elsewhere, particularly in India, the lamentable story of our last years in China.

* * *

It will help to clarify our own approach if we recognize that the regions of Asia which are most vulnerable to Communist domination are those which were conquered and occupied by Japan. The fact of the matter is that though Japan was defeated by the United States, China and all of southeast Asia were defeated by Japan. They were not liberated or reconquered by their original rulers. These countries were merely evacuated after the Japanese Emperor surrendered unconditionally to General MacArthur. When the Japanese went out of China, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Indonesia, there were left behind governments which had lost authority and prestige. Among the people there were left the arms abandoned by the Japanese. There were also the arms furnished by us to the guerrillas in order to fight the Japanese. And there was left the ineradicable belief that the Japanese, though they had been brutal masters, were nevertheless Asiatics who had fought brilliantly with the cry of Asia for the Asiatics.

Neither the local Communists nor the Soviet agents have undermined the social order in these countries. They are exploiting the disorder which remained after the Japanese had destroyed the prestige and the power of the old order. Where the Japanese did not enter, where the war did not undermine the social system and the government, Communism is as yet a nuisance and a provocation rather than a threat. Turkey, a successful neutral, Pakistan and India, which were successfully defended, are today the least vulnerable countries in Asia. They have their grave problems and difficulties. But Communism is not their main problem nor even a very important problem. It is from them and with them and through them, primarily, that a new order of connections between East and West may, one may hope, be formed.

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Labor government was defeated in the recent election, and Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo, chief of the Mexican delegation to the UN, who presumably would have the original advantage of twenty Latin-American votes.

Christoforos II Assails Pope's Action on Reds

Patriarch Says Threat Of Excommunication Is 'Provocative Action'

By the United Press

ALEXANDRIA, Dec. 16.—Christoforos II, Pope and Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church of Alexandria, yesterday criticized the Roman Catholic Church's attitude toward eastern European governments, and described its threat of excommunication of Communist Catholics as "provocative action."

In an interview, Christoforos refused to discuss his attitude toward Communism because "I do not meddle with Russian politics."

The interview was in the form of questions and answers. Christoforos heads one of the largest communities of Orthodox Christians outside the Soviet Union. He has occupied the throne of the Alexandria patriarchate, which commands the entire African Continent, for eleven years.

"What are Your Beatitude's views concerning the Pope's decree denying holy sacraments to Communists?" he was asked. "Do you think it could check Communism among Roman Catholics or force Catholic Communists to break away from the Church?"

"In my opinion," he said, "the measures taken by the Papal Church in this connection are forced solutions. Of course the Church has to save its children, but it should not take such provocative action."

"What is Your Beatitude's attitude toward the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the Communist governments in eastern Europe?"

"My answer to the previous question applies to this one as well," he replied.

French Reveal

(Continued from Page 1)

expenditure. The 280 billion represented 18 per cent of the total estimated expenditure for 1950, whereas the United States was spending a third of its budget for military purposes, Great Britain 23 per cent, Italy 19.5 per cent, Russia 19 per cent and Holland 19 per cent.

New construction will account for 69,030,000,000 francs of the 280 billion and of this amount, 48 billion francs will go into construction of airplanes. M. Plevin emphasized that there was no lagging in French construction because of the military arms and equipment which France is scheduled to receive from the United States as one of the Atlantic pact powers. This year's construction total, he said, was 69,030,000,000 francs.

ETOILE.—8:45: Yves Montand.
FOLIES-BERGERE.—8:30: Féeries-Folies.
LIDO Bravo
MAYOL.—3 9: Nu... Look.
TABARIN.—10: Reflets.

CIRCUS

MEDRANO.—3, 9: Les Craddock.

FILMS

Abbreviation: (o.v.) original version (d.) dubbed.

OPERA-GRANDS BOULEVARDS

AGRICULTEURS.—The Window (o.v.).
ASTOR.—Desperate Journey (d.)
AUBERTI PALACE.—Au-dela des Grilles.
CAMEO.—Suzanne et ses Brigands.
CINECRAN.—L'Héroïque M. Boniface.
CINEMONDE.—L'Escadrille des Aigles (d.)
CINE-OPERA.—Carnegie Hall (o.v.).
CINEVOG.—The Window (d.).
FRANÇAIS.—Branquignol.
HELDER.—Le Roi
IMPERIAL.—Le Bout de la Route.
MADELEINE.—The Third Man (o.v.)
MARIVAUX.—Au Grand Balcon.
MAX LINDER.—Branquignol.
OLYMPIA.—Occupe-toi d'Amélie.
PALACE.—Saigon (d.)
PARAMOUNT.—Maya.
PLAZA.—Desperate Journey (d.)
RADIO CINE OPERA.—Bad Boy (d.).
REX.—La Dernière Charge (d.)
ROYAL HAUSSMANN (3 cinemas).—Jour de Fête
Homme Invisible contre Gestapo (d.). Entente Cordiale.
VIVIENNE.—Le Roi

ETOILE-CHAMPS-ELYSEES

AVENUE.—Joan of Arc (o.v.).
BALZAC.—Le Roi
BIARRITZ.—The Third Man (o.v.).
BROADWAY.—Passport to Pimlico.
COLISEE.—Au-dela des Grilles.
ELYSEES CINEMA.—Maya.

Tirana on Nov. 29, which is celebrated by the Albanian Communists as Independence Day. It is reported that the dominant figure at the ceremony was Major General Mehmet Shehu, Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior, whose power is known to have greatly increased since he began a brutal purge of pro-Tito elements in the Albanian Communist party more than a year ago.

Since Nov. 16 the decrees of the Council of Ministers in Tirana, normally signed by General Hoxha as chief of state, have been signed by one or another of the Vice-Premiers. A query made by a foreign envoy in Albania as to the absence of General Hoxha on Independence Day, brought an informal reply from an official of the Tirana Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he was traveling incognito abroad.

During this incognito travels, Tirana and Moscow announced on Nov. 26 that he was promoted from the rank of colonel general to general of the army.

U.S. and Britain Stalled In Writing Arms Pact

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16 (U.P.).—The State Department confirmed today that Britain has raised some basic questions concerning terms under which American military aid will go to North Atlantic treaty powers.

Department spokesman Michael J. McDermott acknowledged that Britain and the United States have not yet started to negotiate the bilateral treaty required before arms aid can go to Britain.

U.S. Protestants Form Unification Conference

Special to the Herald Tribune

GREENWICH, Conn., Dec. 16.—A permanent body aimed at eventual organic unity of the Protestant Church in the United States was formed today at the conclusion of a three-day conference on church union.

Delegates from denominations with 14,000,000 to 16,000,000 members joined in summoning the balance of America's 47,000,000 Protestants to work for "an organic union." The new continuing body was named "The Conference on Church Union."

Paris Am

THEATERS

COMEDIE-FRANÇAISE (Salle Richelieu).
9: La Parisienne, Veuve, Le Plaisir de Rompré.
COMEDIE-FRANÇAISE (Salle Luxembourg).—8:45: Jeanne la Folle.
AMBASSADEURS.—9 La Soif
ANTOINE.—9 Le Petit Café.
CHATELET.—8:30: L'Auberge du Cheval Blanc.
EDOUARD VII.—9: Un Tramway nommé Désir.
GAITE-LYRIQUE.—8:30: Symphonie Portugaise.
HUMOUR (American Club Theater).—9: Three in One.
MARIGNY.—8:45: Le Bossu.
MICHODIERE.—9: L'Homme de Jole.
MOGADOR.—8:30: Violettes Impériales.
NOUVEAUTES.—9: La Petite Hutte.
ŒUVRE.—9: Un Homme de Dieu.
STUDIO CH. ELYSEES.—9: Un Inspecteur vous Demande.

MUSIC-HALLS

A.B.C.—3, 8:45: Paris s'amuse (Mistinguett).
CASINO DE PARIS.—8:30: Exciting Paris

TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

The Opened Door

THE French offer to Germany, made just as the Foreign Ministers were about to meet in London, is a radically new and unexpected event. Though the idea and the terms of the proposal have been studied and discussed for a long time, and are not in the least mysterious, the action of the French government in reaching the historic decision to make the offer was, as it had to be, a very closely guarded state secret.

Therefore Mr. Acheson, quite evidently Mr. Bevin also, are not prepared for what is a very different Europe than the one they gathered in London to discuss.

* * *

MR. ACHESON came to Europe in a state of mind and with a policy, if it can be called a policy, which was dreary and grimly discouraging. Every window seemed to be shut. All the shades had been pulled down. All the doors were bolted. And inside that dark and stuffy room the three Foreign Ministers were to feel their way around in circles, making tremendous efforts to decide whether to study the question or whether they should decide to create another committee to study the questions which had been studied and had been found insoluble. The French government has suddenly opened the door to the real world outside. Through the door there is coming a breeze which is blowing about and messing up the neat files of bureaucratic papers, and there is coming light which is startling and dazzling to the inmates of the room.

* * *

THE problems of the Atlantic community as they were posed before the French action were insoluble. The growing knowledge all over Western Europe that they were insoluble was producing, naturally enough and inevitably, a mood of defeatism and of escapism—of each nation for itself, and then in the most exposed areas of each person for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.

The problems of the Atlantic community had become insoluble because the three Western governments had no view of Germany which the Germans, apart from a few time-serving place hunters, could possibly share. Western policy for Germany consisted in proposing to admit the Western part of Germany to second-class membership in the Atlantic community. The Germans were to accept partition. They were to accept inferior status in the councils of the West. They were to accept total insecurity in that the front defenses of the West were to be located between the Elbe and the Rhine. And they were to be offered a choice between disarmament on the one hand, and, on the other hand, rearmament of the German

infantry under the command of British, French and American generals.

This absurd conception of Germany was an attempt to contain the Soviet Union by using Germany, and then to contain Germany by the occupation and the statutes and the controls. The main container both of Russia and of Germany was to be the French Army which, unfortunately for the planners of this caricature of a policy, was unable to be both in Indo-China and in Europe at the same time.

* * *

THE French decision to offer Germany not only peace and equality but an intimate partnership does not solve the insoluble problems which the Foreign Ministers were struggling with. It transcends those problems, it passes over and beyond them, by creating a wholly new European situation. A Franco-German partnership would at once give France and Germany a formidable and probably a decisive influence in all continental European questions. Internally and externally the security of both countries would at once be fortified. Each would have less to fear—namely the enmity or the treachery of the other. Both would have much more to hope for in a common use of their immense resources. Both would have restored to them a thing which to older nations is as important as bread and security, namely the conviction that they have a historic mission to perform in the world.

The Franco-German partnership would become the nucleus of a European system. There are many in the West who hope and believe, as all the Russians apparently fear, that the Franco-German partnership would become the nucleus of a West European system. That is, I think, impossible. The Franco-German partnership will break up and fail or it will be the nucleus of a European system. It can never be merely West European, because Germany can never relinquish her national unity nor her organic connections with Eastern Europe.

The Franco-German partnership, if it is consummated, will strengthen, not replace, the German movement to end the partition of Germany and the European movement to end the division of Europe.

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TODAY and TOMORROW

By Walter Lippmann

The Diplomatic Revolution

FOR the meaning of the London discussions about Germany we take you now, as the radio announcers say, to Germany. For the day is past when the Foreign Ministers of the occupying powers could meet, could discuss Germany with no Germans present, and could then lay down the law for Germany. The communique from London still uses some of the language of the past. But this is a formality. The communique announced no new decisions, but not because new decisions are not in the making. New decisions are in the making. But they can no longer be made except after negotiation with the Germans.

For that reason Dr. Adenauer felt able to treat the communique as a mere preliminary to negotiations with his government, and to announce confidently that he expected "rapid and great concessions" which would give Germany "complete freedom of action."

* * *

DR. ADENAUER'S confidence. His ability to speak in this way, represents his estimate of the Allied position in Germany. It would seem to be a reasonably accurate estimate. Although the three Foreign Ministers said in their communique that "in the present situation of Europe the supreme authority must remain in the hands of the Allied powers." Dr. Adenauer is acting on the assumption that the Allies can no longer exercise supreme authority without consulting him and indeed without his consent.

The position is one, as Dr. Adenauer knows only too well, where the Western Allies can retain the "supreme authority" only if they do not exercise it against the will of the German government. They must avoid any downright test of their authority. They can issue no orders unless they know the orders will be obeyed. For if the German government decided to disobey an order, the Western powers would not face the consequences of enforcing it, even if they had the power to enforce it.

All this is the natural and logical consequence of the Allied decision in 1948 to establish a West German government.

* * *

THE French, who were the last to agree, and then most reluctantly, have been the first to recognize the results. In 1948 they opposed—and had to be overridden—the London agreements for the establishment of a German government because they knew this meant the liquidation of Allied control and the revival of the political power of Germany. The British and Americans shook their heads about the poor neurotic French and their obsession about Germany. But as a matter of fact the poor neurotic French with

their obsession about Germany had seen with icy clarity where the London agreements would lead. In 1950 they have seen so clearly where they led that they have decided that France must be the ally and partner of a revived and independent Germany.

The French have never had the illusion, which has distorted so much British and American thinking, that a free Germany could or would be a useful and reliable auxiliary of the English-speaking nations. The French have realized always that Germany, despite her defeat, is not only the strongest continental nation but also that in European affairs, Germany, as she recovers from the war, is a greater power than Britain. It follows that the vital interests of French security require not merely assurance that Germany will not again attack France but something far bigger than that—an assurance that in the coming settlement of Europe German and French policy shall run in partnership.

* * *

THE Allied communique recognizes that the "peaceful re-unification of Germany" is the "ultimate object of their policy." It is clearly the ultimate and the paramount object of German policy. Now the peaceful re-unification of Germany can be achieved only by diplomacy, and as a matter of fact and in the last analysis only by diplomatic arrangements in which the West Germans, the East Germans and the Russians are all of them principals.

The greatest danger to the free world has been that Western Germany, having recovered its freedom and with its power and influence restored, would turn to the East and achieve the re-unification of Germany at the expense of the West. The French offer to Germany is the best and indeed the only constructive alternative. The French have, so to speak, proposed to reverse Rapallo—that is to say, to give the Germans a true Western alliance as a basis for their negotiations with the East. If the policy is realized, the French would go with the Germans into the settlement which ends the partition of Germany and its corollary and consequence, the division of Europe.

* * *

THE negotiating power of this Franco-German partnership, especially if it has—as it will—the support of virtually all of the Atlantic community, will be very great indeed. It should permit Mr. Acheson to take the view that the leadership in a European settlement can then be primarily and predominantly not Anglo-American—and therefore non-European—but Franco-German and therefore truly European.

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WASHINGTON, May 19 (A.P.).—Representative Isidore Dollinger, Democrat, of New York, called today for action "before it is too late" on the proposed investigation of the revival of Nazism in Germany.

Mr. Dollinger is one of the fifteen members of the House who sponsored a resolution asking for such an inquiry.

Forces of U.S. Demonstrate in Europe Today

Army, Navy, Air Force Celebrate on Keynote Of Defense Teamwork

By the United Press

FRANKFURT, May 19.—The United States Army, Air Force and Navy will celebrate their first combined Armed Forces Day tomorrow from the North Sea to the Adriatic on a keynote of teamwork and unity.

With more than 85,000 troops taking part in the greatest show of military might since the war, from Bremerhaven in the north to Trieste in the south, the armed forces will parade their greatest force in Berlin just eight days before a long-advertised Communist rally in the city.

American High Commissioner John J. McCloy, European Command Chief General Thomas T. Handy and chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Forces in Germany will review a parade at Berlin's Tempelhof Airfield in day-long ceremonies.

'Teamed for Defense'

All commanders hailed the slogan for Armed Forces Day—"teamed for defense."

"Here in the European Command the Army, the Air Force and the Navy are very definitely teamed for defense," General Handy said. "In training exercises and in the manifold duties of the occupation they work together as a well-trained team toward a common goal—to insure peace and freedom in Germany. The three services stand together here as a bulwark against the forces of aggression."

Lt. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner, Army Commander, Rear Admiral John Wolkes, Navy Commander, Lieutenant General John K. Cannon, Air Forces Commander, and Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes, American Commander in Austria, issued similar statements.

Graham Baker, 62, Dies; Film Writer, Producer

High Commission Announcement

The first charge alleged that the defendants in the last two years had agreed to eliminate competition in the sale of abrasives. It held that they had fixed prices in the domestic and export markets.

The High Commission announcement said: "The second charge alleges that the defendants, representing German manufacturers of abrasives, joined a cartel agreement with French abrasive manufacturers and were negotiating a similar cartel with Italian manufacturers."

"Through these means all price competition between the German and the foreign manufacturers was eliminated, uniform prices for all export sales were established, and spheres of influence were fixed."

The Italian and French manufacturers were not named in the charge.

Sex Perverts In U.S. Service Put at 3,750

Wherry Gives Estimate Of Capital Police to a Senate Subcommittee

By the United Press

WASHINGTON, May 19.—Senate Republican leader Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, said today that Washington police estimate there are 3,750 sex perverts in the government here, ranging from high-ranking officials to minor functionaries.

In a formal report to a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Wherry said police authorities testified that 300 to 400 State Department employees are suspected of being homosexual.

The Senator also said that Washington police reported they have uncovered "what purported to be a plan of the Communists to sabotage and damage" Washington in case of war with Russia, that a Communist fifth column "is using sexual degenerates for subversive purposes and that "there are 1,000 bad security risks" in Washington.

No Details on Sabotage

The report gave no details on the purported plot to sabotage Washington.

Senator Wherry also disclosed a letter from Dr. R. H. Felix, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, who said there is no evidence that the rate of sex perversion is higher among Federal government employees than other persons.

He said a survey indicated that perhaps as many as 4 per cent of the national male population were "confirmed homosexuals."

That is no reason for the government to employ them, the Senator commented.

Civil Service Commission figures

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

A Bad Setback

The position of the Western powers has been seriously undermined in Germany as the new discussions with the Soviet Union are about to begin. It is possible that the Ruhr industrialists, the masters of the coal and steel combines and cartels, have succeeded in frustrating the Schuman Plan. If they have done that, these great private monopolists who have so long dominated the industrial life of Europe will be able to play a principal part in any German settlement.

The history of German-Russian relations for 150 years under the Emperors, the Communists, and the Nazis shows that while Germany is a difficult country to Russify or to Sovietize, there is always a good chance that Russia can come to terms with a reactionary Germany. The breakdown of the Schuman Plan, which can be averted only by heroic measures, would mean that behind the facade of Western German democracy the effective power to negotiate arrangements would lie in those powerful, quite unscrupulous monopolies which have no reason to like or to be loyal to the Western democratic society.

The Schuman Plan bears the name of the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, who proposed it last spring. The negotiations to draft a treaty to carry out the plan have been carried on since last May by delegates of the six governments—France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg. The principal negotiators have been M. Jean Monnet for France and Mr. Walter Hallstein for West Germany.

The object of the Schuman Plan is to create in these six countries a single free and competitive market for coal and steel—a market, as M. Monnet has described it, where all consumers can have access to coal and steel on equal terms, without monopolistic discrimination and subject only to differentials in the cost of transportation. This proposal has had the enthusiastic, indeed the passionate, support of disinterested and informed men here and abroad. They believe it holds the first convincing promise of a Franco-German reconciliation and with that the promise that the dead hand of monopoly, and restriction will begin to be lifted from the industrial practices of Western Europe.

By January of this year the draft of the treaty had been completed and agreed to except for the two articles which we shall come to in a moment. The treaty as it stands now deals substantially with the complex political, legal, and technical questions that arise in this new and unprecedented project of a single free open market for steel and coal in Western Europe.

The two articles which have not been completed have to do with the problem of monopoly. On these two articles the Schuman Plan may founder. For without them there would come only a giant monopoly instead of free and competitive enterprise within the wider European market. One of these articles is designed to prevent cartelization. The other is designed to prevent the formation of the vertical and horizontal combines which have been so characteristic of the Ruhr industries.

It stands to reason that if there is to be a single free market in the six countries, then the German monopolies of the Ruhr must be broken up—in the language of the occupation statute they must be

“deconcentrated.” Otherwise, the free market will simply mean the complete and the unopposed domination of that market by the German monopolies.

The occupation statute calls for the deconcentration of the German monopolies. As a matter of law, the three occupying powers could impose the deconcentration on the Ruhr monopolies. But such an imposed solution is no longer possible or desirable. The Germans would resent it and in their resentment they would certainly refuse to vote for the Schuman Plan, which cannot come into existence except by their free and equal consent. For these reasons the fulfillment of the deconcentration policy of the occupation statute has not been imposed but has been made a matter of negotiation at Dusseldorf—actually between Mr. McCloy and the Germans.

The authors of the treaty for the Schuman Plan have acted on the hope that the Dusseldorf negotiations would succeed, that the Germans would be induced to agree voluntarily to a plan of deconcentration, and that then the Schuman treaty would perpetuate as the general law of European industry the principles of a free market.

What has happened is that the German industrialists have felt themselves strong enough to reject deconcentration and the creation of an open market. It may not be a mere coincidence that they have precipitated the showdown on the eve of the meeting of the four powers. In any event they have waged a violent, elaborate and expensive campaign against the basic conception of the Schuman plan. They have won the support in other countries of those vested interests, of those private collectivists who are so habituated to restrictive practices and monopolistic purposes that the very idea of a free economy seems to them intolerable. They have set in motion a wave of reaction against the kind of progressive and competitive economy which the Schuman plan envisages.

This rebellion of the reactionary monopolists in Germany has been aided and abetted from this country. Indirectly, and no doubt unwittingly, this has been done in the first instance by the naive military men who have so foolishly believed, and so curiously persuaded Mr. Acheson to believe, that German divisions could be raised before Germany had recovered her sovereignty—that West Germany could be at one and the same time a military satellite of the United States and also a loyal and willing ally.

The rebellion of the Ruhr industrialists has been openly aided and abetted by a bevy of American lawyers, headed by the former Secretary of War, who—believe it or not—has actually gone to Germany to argue their case before his own former subordinate in the War Department, the present United States High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy. The monumental impropriety of this performance has cast the utmost doubt on the good faith of American policy in Germany—on the declared policy of full and enthusiastic support of the Schuman plan.

For how—without a renewed and unequivocal restatement of our policy—are we now to persuade the people of Europe that the former Secretary of War—under whom the occupation of Germany was instituted—is now so private a person that he can appear in Germany at this critical moment and that his appearance has no significance?

Continents Paraded at Altman's

Harel, the peasant woman who originated the delicacy. Today a statue honoring her stands in the marketplace of the Normandy village. Camembert, as well as Gruyere, is available at Altman's counter. Buyer Robert Moyer suggests you try it with apple or pear slices for dessert.

BOSWELL'S CHOICE—One has only to read a few days' recordings in Boswell's diary to note that Cheddar and Stilton were his favorites in cheese, especially when consumed with crackers and ale. Cheddar is so named for the quaint old village near Bristol, where it was first manufactured by Joseph Harding, a farmer. His method of manufacture became the model for cheese-making here in America. New York State Cheddar—sharp and tangy—is sold for \$1 a pound. The Wisconsin type retails for \$1.05. Canadian Cheddar is listed at 89 cents. Truth to tell, there seems little difference to us except for a slight extra tang to our own state's product.

ITALIAN VINTAGE—From Italy there is the Provolone in its long rope-net casing selling for \$1.15 a pound. Or maybe you'll take the small rounds called Boccini at 89 cents. Wrapped in attractive red and blue foil is a five-pound flat round of Bel Lago at \$1.45 a pound. This cheese is similar to Port du Salut in taste and texture, according to Anthony Cordato, who mans the shop. Italian Taleggio, at \$1.59, is a soft, runny cheese, a bit like Camembert. Mild, creamy and white is the Bel Paese.

FOR APPETIZER—Norway's Nokkelost is a favorite for its caraway and cloves intermingled with a biting cheese flavor. In small packages, there are several Norwegian and Swedish cheeses for use with fruit or crackers. In tubes for convenient spreading is the Duchess brand of cheese blended with brandy and wines. The same mixtures can be purchased in gift pottery crocks and tiny casseroles.

FROM THE OLD SOUTH—Coming to our office today were specialties of Virginia smoked bacon, pure fresh pork sausage and a hickory smoked ham. One hundred and twelve years ago, Albert Jordan started curing and selling hams. His formula was so well liked that he finally set up a small business in Smithfield, near Norfolk, in the county of the same name. The concern now buys hams from thirteen different counties and smokes them in an up-to-date smoke house located outside Rich-


mond. About 25,000 hams at a time are hung under the galvanized tin roof while smoke from burning hickory and apple works to give the products their good smoked flavor.

But before these hams are smoked, they are put down in brine. The salt is washed off and the hams are liberally coated with black pepper. Then they are stacked in piles four deep for further curing. Finally they are hung for the smoking operation and for the heat from the roof to do its job shrinking and processing. The pepper is credited with contributing to the unique flavor.

The bacon is sold in two layers in a flat cardboard box. You will like its smokyness and its thicker-than-average long slice. The sausage is of pure fresh pork, we are told, and seems to be not too highly seasoned for most people's taste, judging by our test-tasters in the Home Institute kitchens. The pork is sold in this area in a pound round ready to form into patties or to cook in the loaf.

At Vendome's, 415 Madison Avenue, you may buy these hams cooked. A pound retails for \$1.95 and the usual size is a twelve-pound ham. Bloomingdale's has the bacon only for 98 cents a pound package. Macy's has the Jordan hams, uncooked, whole or a half, at \$1.29 a pound. The whole hams are from twelve to fourteen pounds. E. Josephs at Washington Market reports that he carries both the sausage roll and the bacon.

SMOKED AND CANNED—New to the line of Ferris hickory smoked ham, a product sold in the United States since 1836, is the ham in a can, as processed and sold by Stahl-Meyer, Inc., of New York. In our testing kitchen we found the ham to be boneless and ready to serve. There is no skin, it having been removed in the pre-cooking. Smoky in flavor, tender and well trimmed of fat, this ham can be a boon to hostesses or small families who do not care to buy a large ham. One may serve it cold or baked—heating it only long enough to warm through. Coming in three sizes, it suits almost any family need; the hams come in 4¾, 6½ and eight pounds. The tins need to be refrigerated according to processor's directions on the label. Bloomingdale's carries the 4¾-pound size at \$5.98 and the 6½ size at \$7.79. Abraham & Straus in Brooklyn also has the small size.



perfect figures...

machine-made *at home!*

Says Bernice Peck, Health and Beauty Editor

IN MARCH ISSUE OF

MADEMOISELLE

The Magazine for Smart Young Women

Tuesday March 6, 1951 13

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

The Walkout of the Labor Leaders

What has made the labor leaders so furiously angry is the realization that prices are not being frozen but that they—Mr. Green, Mr. Murray, Mr. Reuther and the others—are going to be held personally responsible for freezing the wages of union workers.

This is the heart of their grievance: That they have been caught in a kind of squeeze. They will be expected for patriotic reasons to enforce the wage ceilings on their own followers while no one will be able to enforce the price ceilings. They see themselves assigned the job of stabilizing union labor—and being pilloried before the public if they do not prevent strikes and wage increases—while nobody is in fact stabilizing the cost of living in the 200,000 stores where wage earners and others go shopping.

* * *

"At a time when fixed formulas are being applied to wages," says the statement of the United Labor Policy Committee, "business is being allowed to write its own ceiling prices. Wages are frozen. Nothing else in the economy has been frozen." Speaking very broadly, and forgetting Mr. John Snyder's frozen interest rates, what the statement says is, if not literally accurate, substantially true. But why is it true?

The statement says that Mr. Wilson has "absolutely no desire . . . to give labor a real voice in the formulation of defense policy" and it implies that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Johnston intend to favor business, and particularly big business, as against the wage earners. If, the statement seems to be saying, labor had a real voice, it would prevent this favoritism. Happily this accusation was made in hot blood. Fortunately it was made by men so angry that they did not stop to weigh their words. Had they made the accusation in cold blood, it would be very grave indeed. It would then be tantamount to a confirmation by these labor leaders, who are deeply anti-Communist, of the Communist charge that rearmament is being done for the sake of the profits of big business.

The labor leaders know perfectly well that there is nothing in that charge. They know too that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Johnston would be the happiest men in Washington, instead of being doomed to recline on a bed of nails, if some one, any one, would show them how to freeze prices and keep them frozen. The idea that those two gentlemen want to freeze wages and that they do not want to freeze anything else might seem plausible to the editor of the "Daily Worker" but it cannot be what Messrs. Green, Murray, Reuther, Carey and the others really believe.

* * *

It must be obvious to them, as

it is to any one who looks at the situation, that the wages and prices which do actually get frozen are those which are already organized and under the firm control of some one who can be named, can be called to account, if necessary can be arrested, fined, and jailed. No one is able to freeze all wages. No one is able to freeze the wages of unorganized workers. The wages which can be frozen, until the inflationary pressure becomes so great that there is a rebellion, are precisely the wages which the labor leaders help to fix by collective contracts. In so far as "wages are frozen," it is because they are organized collectively and are under central control.

And, likewise, in so far as prices are frozen, they are prices of big corporations which, like the big unions, are in visible control of most of the supply that comes to market. But when you reach the great anonymous mass of the small producers, the middle men, and the retail shopkeepers, prices do not stay frozen because they are not under any organized control.

* * *

The quarrel between the labor leaders and the Truman administration has broken out over the attempt to avoid the consequences of inflation, and the political pains of a policy of disinflation, by fixing wages and prices. The labor leaders complain that only their wages are being fixed. The Truman administration can only reply that it will soon get around to fixing everything else. At bottom they are quarreling over a failure to do what cannot be done.

The labor leaders and the Administration would do better to ask themselves whether there is any chance of stabilizing wages and prices by the decrees, the orders, the directives which they are quarreling about, unless the inflationary pressure is effectively reduced.

The explosion of the labor leaders is the product of that inflationary pressure. They have vented their wrath on Mr. Wilson—have made him the scapegoat—as if he were eccentric enough to wish to fail to stabilize prices. But the only important thing that can be held against Mr. Wilson is that, like the labor leaders, he seemed to accept the notion that prices could be frozen by decree, without taking any serious measures to stop the inflation.

It would have been wiser if the stabilizers, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Johnston and Mr. DiSalle, had told the President that they could only fail, and land him and themselves in endless trouble, unless first, or at least simultaneously, he did something effective to stabilize the monetary demand and reduce the inflationary pressure.

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Calculations of Power

No one can have been writing for newspapers a long time without being fully aware of how much safer it is to prophesy disaster than to venture to express a hope. It is safe to be gloomy. If one prophesies disaster and it happens, one has been a true prophet. And if it does not happen, one is readily forgiven and may even suggest that but for the warning the disaster would have happened.

Nevertheless there is a difference between being realistic and being pessimistic. Even in this unhappy century pessimists have now and then been responsible for some very costly mistakes. Thus, if it is true, as in fact it is, that before both of the great wars we have been complacently optimistic and unprepared to fight, it is also true that at the climax of both wars we were rigidly pessimistic, refused to believe in victory when it was already in sight and were almost deliberately unprepared for the victory when it came. Perhaps the gravest miscalculation of this kind during the second world war was our inability to realize how near to defeat Japan was in the winter of 1944-'45. Almost every avoidable mistake that was made at Yalta was due to a miscalculated pessimism about the course of the war.

There is, I think, strong reason to believe that we are approaching one of the crises of our relations with the Soviet Union and that—though it may be considered heretical to admit it—on the issue of whether there is to be war or peace the balance of forces is very considerably in our favor. The Soviet government knows that if it came to war, its principal antagonist would be the United States. It knows that North America is for all practical purposes at the present time a base which cannot be conquered or destroyed, yet from it immensely destructive blows can be launched against the heart of the Russian empire. Though Russia were able to survive these blows, though the Red Army were able to seize hostages and to obtain compensation in Europe, the fact would remain that North America could not be defeated. Therefore we in North America would decide how long the war should continue.

The problem of our diplomacy is to use but not to abuse this fundamental advantage. The advantage in our favor can be abused, and it can be squandered, if we misunderstand the nature of our power and miscalculate the balance of forces between the Soviet Union and the Atlantic community. The power we possess is the power to deter. That is a great power—provided that we do not forget that the power to deter is a limited power. It is by no means an unlimited and an absolute power, far from it. It is not the power to compel. If we were to mistake it for the power to compel, it could and it probably would cease to be deterrent.

We have the power to cause great destruction within the Soviet Union and its satellites. Were we to allow the Russians to think that this power of ours would be used to support a policy of ultimatum and of unconditional surrender in the

whole vast military effort would cease to be a deterrent against military aggression. For the power to deter can be effective only if the nation at which it is directed has been convinced that it will not be struck if it refrains from striking. If the adversary is allowed to believe that our striking power would probably be used in an attempt to destroy it—that our striking power is aimed not at what the U. S. S. R. may do but at what the U. S. S. R. is—then there is no reason to believe that the U. S. S. R. would long be deterred by our armaments. There is every reason to think that it would be provoked. For then it would in fact have nothing to gain by agreement and it would have nothing to lose by aggression. If capital punishment were the penalty for all crimes, burglars and swindlers would think that their best chance to escape was by murdering their victims and all the witnesses.

In other words, the power to deter can be regarded as effective against the Soviet Union only if there is a clear alternative to war. That alternative must necessarily be negotiated settlements in which the survival of the Soviet government and the security of Russia are not at stake. The power to deter rests on the major premise that the terms of settlement will not be unconditional surrender. The power to deter is the military complement of the doctrine that the co-existence of unfriendly regimes is possible and that their co-existence can be made tolerable.

We must raise no false expectations. The doctrine of co-existence does not contemplate a settlement which ends the conflict. It does not contemplate the kind of peace which now prevails within the Atlantic community—a peace in which war among its members has in fact been renounced and outlawed. The doctrine of co-existence contemplates *modus vivendi*. It is in its essentials an armistice which is arranged without a war.

The critical question in any armistice is how much territory is to remain under the military control of the two opposing forces. That is the paramount question at issue between Russia and the West which must be settled by agreement or by war. How much of Europe beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union is to continue to be occupied by the Red Army? That is the question on which there is going to be a showdown. The question we are dealing with is not what Marx or Lenin taught, not what Stalin and Molotov believe, not what Communists everywhere hope and conspire to do. These are great questions which may trouble mankind for decades to come. But they belong to the unending struggle of rival orders of society and they are not soluble either by war or by diplomacy.

The crucial question which will have to be solved either by war or by negotiation is where the Red Army is to be, whether it is to continue to remain in the heart of Europe, 500 miles west of the boundaries of Russia, or whether there are conditions which are acceptable to the Soviet Union, to Europe and to all the West on which the occupation and the partition of Europe can be ended peaceably.

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

The Big Spotlight

One thing we have seen in the past few weeks is that the public cannot keep itself steamed up over more than one emergency at a time. Moreover, it is impossible for most of us to stay permanently, or even for very long, fixed on any subject at a high pitch of passionate interest. There has to be a letdown and a change, and those who could not go off to Key West or to California have had time out from disaster and doomsday thanks to Sen. Fulbright and to Sen. Kefauver.

They have not found relief because there is anything funny or pleasant about what the Fulbright and Kefauver committees are disclosing. The relief comes from the change. The emotion which was generated after the Korean affair could not be sustained. It had to break down into some sort of isolationist reaction, or to break out into some frenzied gamble, or be let down and rested.

This raises the question, which General of the Army Marshall was worrying about not long ago, of how great policies and causes are to be carried forward, when the original excitement, when the first heat and glare of popular emotion, subside and a new fascinator walks into the spotlight at the center of the stage. It is not easy for men who have gotten used to acting before great audiences, encouraged by the applause and frightened by the boos, to find themselves alone with the issue before them, and compelled to discuss it and to deal with it as a measure for which they will later be held to account.

Thus, as soon as the big spotlight turned away from rearmament and the international crisis, the Congress, with no serious objection from the people, took to dawdling about insignificant trifles in measures which it will in the end enact. Likewise, when the big spotlight turns away, as it soon may, from the R. F. C. and the racketeers, it will not be easy to maintain that high level of righteous indignation which — when the television set is on — seems capable of cleansing the Augean stables once and for all.

But as a matter of fact these great bursts of public excitement, which some say are so highly educative, do not sustain great policies and causes. The business of a democracy cannot be conducted successfully if public men come to depend on spasms of passionate popular feeling. The spasms do not last long enough. And besides they lead to foolishness which then causes a revulsion and a relapse. The business of

democracy, requires the formulation of policies, which will still seem reasonable and still be convincing when the reasonable and informed members of the country examine them in cold blood.

The high fervor of last Summer was bound to subside. Since then the popular support of an expensive and painful military effort has depended upon the formulation of a military policy which carried conviction to the reasonable people of this country. If they have not accepted outright and without question all the recommendations of the Pentagon and of the Administration, it is because they have a shrewd suspicion that everybody has been tending to ask for everything he would like in his dream world to have, and that no strong mind and character was stopping to ask whether everything that everybody wanted was vital to the security and the interests of the United States.

The problem of sustaining the military effort—even when the glare and heat of publicity are off it—is not really too difficult. It calls for a rational policy which takes account of our geographical position, our technological superiority and our shortage of manpower. If there is a popular revulsion and relapse of the kind that Gen. Marshall fears, it will be because the military establishment has yielded to temptation and has made immoderate demands.

But in the kind of thing that Sen. Fulbright and Sen. Kefauver are dealing with there is no such thing as even a temporary solution. They are engaged in the unending struggle to keep honor above dishonor, honesty above dishonesty, propriety and decorum above looseness and cheapness. In that struggle there can be no such thing as a final victory for good over evil. For even the good, as we know only too well, can be tempted and they may yield.

What matters in the struggle is the prevailing standard of honor and honesty and decorum. At any particular time the balance is determined by the pattern and image and ideal which are made fashionable and authoritative by the acts and the example of those who are in high places and in the public eye. If the standard is high, then men will come forward for the battle. They will be encouraged, induced, incited to enter the fight against evil and for the good. And if the standard is low and shoddy, they will be discouraged and repelled and repressed. Their moral fervor will seem tiresome. Their ideals will seem silly. And only those who know where their bread is buttered, will seem to make much sense.

the Governor

March 21, 1951

GNED

es from five to ten years the maximum sentence for persons convicted of bribery attempting to bribe participants in or professional sports contests.

s permanent fifteen-member board of s of State University, to be appointed verner in place of present temporary

es public school courses in American to include teaching of principles of ment proclaimed in Declaration of Inde ce and established in Constitution.

s to July 1, 1952, teacher-shortage emer- period during which retired teachers may to active service.

izes Governor to extend period of enlist- of organized militia for not more than onths after end of declared period of ncy.

s to villages of 5,000 or more population on applying to first-class villages for 1 per cent tax on gross income of utilities.

enalty for taking deer prior to or after eason at \$100 plus \$400 for first deer and additional \$100 for each succeeding en.

s that fur-bearing animals raised in cap- under license may be disposed of alive pagation, exhibition, scientific or edu- purposes, or killed and pelted at any

TOED

have required Motor Vehicle Commis- to suspend junior operator's license onsent of parents or guardian is with-

have removed ban against county funds eposited in bank of which County Treas- as officer, director or stockholder.

Overpaid Taxes Year as a Blind

the securities to the rightful own- ers. He said he repaid the loans by repeating the system with other stocks at other banks.

"I used the money for fast liv- ing and to keep up appearances," Ridley said.

Mr. McMahon said Ridley bor- rowed the money from three banks in Detroit, two in Chicago and "at least six others" in Grand Rapids and other Michigan cities.

The investigation began when Mrs. McMahon reported that her records did not agree with those of the brokerage firm of Blair Rollins and Company. Ridley is married and has three children. He was a member of several clubs and other social organizations in Grand Rapids. The broker said he made between \$23,000 and \$25,000 yearly in salary and commissions for the last ten years.

Blair Rollins, head of the brok- erage firm, from which Ridley re- signed last month, said, "arrange- ments have been made for the continuance of the services of the company to all customers" who previously were served by Ridley.

Automatic Increase In Rents Ruled Out

Rifkind Assails Immigration Bill as Biased

Tells Congress Group It Is
Destructive of American
Civil Liberties Tradition

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)

—Former Federal District Judge Simon H. Rifkind, of New York expressed opposition today to pro- posed revision of United States immigration laws on the ground it is "restrictive and racially discrim- inatory."

Mr. Rifkind, who recently re- signed his judgeship because he said he could not live on his \$15,- 000-a-year salary, testified before a Senate-House Judiciary subcom- mittee on immigration in behalf of major Jewish organizations.

The committee is considering several bills that would revise broadly the nation's traditional immigration policy.

Mr. Rifkind called for a revision based on "the principles of hu- manitarianism and equal rights." He said the proposed legislation is not only discriminatory but also "destructive of the cherished American tradition of civil liber- ties."

Asks Bias Free Bill

He said the bill sponsored by Sen. Pat McCarran, D., Nev., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, contrasted "sharply" with principles under which the Jewish organizations think immi- gration legislation should be drawn.

A better bill, he said, would be free from racial bars, provide flex- ible utilization of quotas, free from sex discriminations and include the same quota preference to par- ents of resident aliens as that now extended to wives and children of such aliens.

The McCarran proposal, he said, would eliminate "perhaps 75 per cent our quota immigration."

He said he was also opposed to a section of the McCarran bill which "arbitrarily assigns 30 per cent of all quotas exclusively to parents of adult American citizens, 20 per cent exclusively to spouses and children of alien residents and 50 per cent to needed scientists and technicians."

"Very few immigrants," he said, "are ordinarily found in those three categories."

Calls Bill "Restrictive"

He described himself as also critical of the McCarran proposal for its "restrictive" provisions in regard to quotas. "Many quotas," he said, "are unused for