

Weekly News Analysis

Isolation vs. Internationalism: Senate Debates Foreign Policy

By Joseph W. La Bine



THE PRESIDENT'S VISITING FIREMEN
The conference was secret, but someone spoke.

EDITOR'S NOTE—When opinions are expressed in these columns, they are those of the news analyst, and not necessarily of the newspaper.

Defense

In dealing with today's international situation the U. S. government has its choice of two methods. Any citizen may hold to one or the other method with equal righteousness:

- (1) Strict neutrality and isolation. Europe's affairs are no business of ours. We should have no arms secrets, no secret alliances; all U. S. activities should be strictly aboveboard because secrets are undemocratic and tend to create public doubt about the government.
- (2) The antithesis. In 1939 one hemisphere's problems are another's. If the institution of democracy is worth saving we must join other nations in aggressive combat against dictators. This need not mean war, but constitutes economic and military favoritism to one group of nations.

In post-World war history, not until the current winter have these two contrasting foreign policies found such ardent champions as to cause a marked rift in Washington. Champions of the latter (favoritism) are President Roosevelt and administration leaders. Opposed is practically every Republican senator and congressman, plus a formidable bloc of insurgent Democrats. That this difference of opinion is partly a reflection of political animosity is a foregone conclusion. Administration forces favor internationalism as expressed in Secretary of State Cordell Hull's reciprocal trade treaties; contrariwise is the traditional Republican tenet of high tariff walls and isolation.

This winter's foreign policy battle got its real start when a bombing plane crashed in California, bouncing out a representative of the French air ministry whose presence in the U. S. had previously been kept secret. The subsequent revelations: That President Roosevelt had approved sale of U. S.-made warplanes to France, though army secrets were being carefully guarded from all foreigners. A few days later the senate's military affairs committee constituted itself a body of visiting firemen (see photo) to call on the President and get the real facts about a rumored U. S.-French military alliance.

The secret President Roosevelt reputedly told his visitors was so choice that some anonymous committee member blurted to the press the minute the conference ended, which speaks the futility of any administration attempt at sharing its military secrets with congress. The alleged secret: That the U. S. is following a policy of selling arms to "independent states" as opposed to dictators; and that the U. S. will give Britain and France every assistance but troops in case of war; that the "frontiers of the United States are in France."

If a vote were taken, most people would sympathize with the President's foreign policy, i. e., to help Britain, France and China against Japan, Italy and Germany; to improve trade and political relations with South America, where dictators

states are attempting to gain sway. But for the President to speak openly of his purpose brings the situation into a shockingly sharp focus.

The net result will probably be open congressional revolt against secret alliances, against favoritism in military exports and even against the President's emergency defense program, which many legislators think is unjustified in view of the tax burden it would create.

Treasury

Depressions hatch pension plans and this winter's congress is deluged with panaceas to make the U. S. safe for old people. Believing most such plans (like Townsendism) to be impractical, the administration has offered congress its own ideas via proposed amendments to the social security law.

Biggest amendment is that calling for a start on old-age benefit payments in 1940 instead of 1942, annuities to be based not on payroll taxes actually paid out on wage rates. Hence the social security



TREASURY'S MORGENTHAU
Social security is costly.

board would simply make believe that benefit recipients had been paying taxes throughout their adult lives instead of a mere four years. Other proposals would (1) provide supplementary pensions for aged wives, (2) help widows and orphans of social security's insurees, and (3) enlarge the program to include farm laborers, seamen, servants and others.

Starting hearings on this program, the house ways and means committee was startled to learn that more social security would cost tremendously more money, so much in fact, that Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. was reported stroking his chin perplexedly. Morgenthau figures:

- (1) It would cost \$1,000,000,000 a year more than at present.
- (2) Social security's hoped-for 1980 reserve of \$47,000,000,000 would be cut to \$7,000,000,000, meaning that the U. S. must find from \$1,250,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 new annual taxes to continue financing the program.

If the above details bother the committee, still more trouble will hatch when California's Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart asks abolition of the present payroll tax and substitution of general revenue levies for a pay-as-you-go social security. Since the government must already levy extra taxes to pay interest on funds it is borrowing from social security's reserve fund, Mr. Gearhart's plan has attracted many congressmen who think it is fallacious to tax the public for borrowing funds the public has already been taxed for via social security.

Europe

After a nation wins so many victories as Nazi Germany has won in the past 12 months (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain) it can practically adopt a "peace" policy and continue to win concessions from weaker powers, who thereby gain the privilege of sighing with relief. In Germany's case a "peace" policy is the more practicable because the Reich must consolidate the past year's gains and pay temporary attention to repairing its internal structure.

How permanent Europe's "peace" will be is conjectural. But following Chancellor Hitler's half-threatening, half-conciliating speech before the Reichstag, most of the continent was able to settle back while the wisecracks drew a prediction from the hat. The prediction: That a peace era is dawning with Hitler at the reins, during which Italy will win territorial concessions from France, and Germany will regain her war-lost colonies. Moreover the Reich will probably wheedle a trade treaty out of Britain and—most dangerous of all to permanent peace—a military-economic peace with Russia. Point-by-point:

Russia. Thoroughly scared by the chance that Germany will dominate a Pan-Ukrainian movement in south Russia, the Soviet is ready to come to terms with Hitler. In exchange for surrendering his Ukrainian plans Der Fuehrer could tap Russia's endless supply of foodstuffs. The possibility is confirmed by Izvestia, Moscow-Communist organ: "Should Germany extend a hand to Russia, it will not remain floating in the air." The gravest consequences might result from such an alliance, for Russian resources and manpower, coupled with German ingenuity, could throw a dictator scare into the entire world.

Colonies. Most of Germany's former colonies are mandated to Britain. Hitler's speech demanded their return and the next day Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain told the house of commons he would not discuss colonies with Germany without "an agreed and ample measure of disarmament." This showed Mr. Chamberlain is nevertheless willing to return the colonies.

Trade. Hitler's speech declared the Reich "must export or die." Next day Robert Spear Hudson of the British overseas trade department said he believed "there is plenty of export trade to go around." More important was the announcement that German and British industrial representatives will soon meet at Dusseldorf.

Italy vs. France. Hitler promised to aid Italy in case of war, obviously referring to Mussolini's territorial claims against France. Since German-British relations are reaching an amicable stage, Britain would therefore not be prone to aid France against a German-Italian combination.

Public Works

Created in 1933, the public works administration pays 55 per cent of local-sponsored construction projects. Scheduled to expire in 1940, PWA still has \$1,500,000,000 in projects on file and would like to become a permanent agency to combat unemployment and centralize federal relief projects. Soon to be offered is an administration bill embodying this program. No special annual appropriation will be asked but congress will get data to show the necessity of creating a "permanent financial reservoir" of \$1,000,000,000 a year.

Transportation

With fairs on both east and west coasts this summer, U. S. railroads figured most vacationists would take in one or the other, might even take in both with a little incentive. Just announced by the Association of American Railroads is a "grand circle" fare plan which bids fair to boom 1939 passenger travel. The scheme: Beginning April 28, a person in any point in the country can travel to both New York and San Francisco expositions and back home at a total coach fare of \$90. First class fare is \$135, plus space.

Trend

How the wind is blowing . . .

TEMPTATION—To lure 4,000 hunger strikers "back home" from their protest against corn beef hash, California's San Quentin prison set out coffee—with cream and sugar.

REFUGEES—New York's Rep. Samuel Dickstein is drafting legislation to open Alaska to European refugees, a move recently suggested by German Jew-baiters.

MANGANESE—The price of Arkansas manganese, "starch for steel," has reached its highest point in years, thanks to European rearmament.

DRILL—"Squads right" is being omitted tentatively from new U. S. army drill regulations.

Bruckart's Washington Digest

Genuine Strain Being Placed Upon Administration Control of Senate

President's Appointments to Public Office Are Upsetting To Some of His Followers; Roper Virtually Forced Out As Secretary of Commerce to Make Room for Hopkins.

By WILLIAM BRUCKART
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WASHINGTON.—President Roosevelt's followers in the senate of the United States are finding it increasingly difficult these days to stay off of a hot seat. Indeed, if I read the signs rightly, they are getting rather restive and there is a genuine strain being placed upon the administration control in that body of congress. Whereas, it appeared a month ago that the anti-administration senators would break out of control only on major issues, it now seems that there is a real threat of danger to the President on minor, as well as major, questions.

The new developments have come, and are continuing to come, from what some believe to be an unwise course on the President's part in the matter of nominations to public office—appointments that must have approval of the senate. Whether the President is to blame, personally, for placing these distasteful names in the mouths of senators, or whether, as heretofore, the condition results from the activities of the "inner circle," the effect is the same. It is a very real problem for the administration advisors to ponder, and it is entirely possible that Mr. Roosevelt will get a slap in the face by senate rejection of some of the nominees for judgeships and other public offices. It is just possible that some senators will gag at swallowing several of the names. If that happens, what will be left Mr. Roosevelt's mastery of the senate thereafter will be meaningless.

Observers here in Washington heard many private remarks of a very uncomplimentary character last fall when Mr. Roosevelt named Gov. James V. Alford of Texas to a federal judgeship. It was so plainly political that some individuals who are very close to Mr. Roosevelt were disgusted. They did not speak out then, but they are bolder now.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Roosevelt named Floyd Roberts to a federal judgeship in Virginia. Now, apparently, Mr. Roberts is about as well equipped to be a judge as I would be—if we are to believe the public statements of Senators Carter Glass and Harry Byrd, both Democrats and both acquainted with the life and record of Judge Roberts.

Roper Virtually Forced Out As Secretary of Commerce

Subsequently, Daniel C. Roper was virtually forced out as secretary of commerce in order to make room for removal of Professional Reliever Harry Hopkins to a cabinet job. Hopkins thereby was taken out of the line of red hot fire about his spending policies. Homer S. Cummings quit as attorney general and Frank Murphy, Michigan's lame duck governor, was given the post.

Former Sen. James P. Pope who was licked in the Idaho Democratic primaries was named to the directorate of the Tennessee Valley authority from which Dr. Arthur Morgan was so unceremoniously dismissed. Rumor has it that former Sen. Fred H. Brown, lame duck New Hampshire Democrat, is to be given the juicy job of comptroller general of the United States as soon as it is evident that congress will not vote abolition of the general accounting office.

Rep. T. Alan Goldsborough of Maryland lately has been named a federal judge for the District of Columbia. It will be recalled that it was Mr. Goldsborough who invited President Roosevelt into Maryland last summer in the attempt to purge Sen. Millard Tydings from the Democratic ranks. In fact, it was at Denton, Md., Mr. Goldsborough's home town, that the President made his most vicious attack on Tydings and delivered his eulogy of praise for David J. Lewis in the senatorial primaries.

There have been other appointments mixed in here and there, some important, some just run-of-the-mine jobs, and they have not met unanimity. Even the selection of Professor Felix Frankfurter as a justice of the Supreme court of the United States did not arouse enthusiasm among the senators who voted approval of the nomination. I, personally, heard several senators remark that the Frankfurter appointment was so much better than that of Hugo Black, a year ago, that it was refreshing to vote for him. Yet, they added a qualification. Justice Frankfurter has

brains, a fine mind—but he is looked upon as the father of so much of the New Deal that his presence on the highest court appeared none too pleasing.

Nomination of Amlie of Wisconsin Creates Fuss

But all of these appointments now seem to have been only a build up to a climax. They were to be followed by an appointment that caught the senators in the ribs. It was the nomination of former Rep. Thomas F. Amlie, Wisconsin progressive and also a lame duck, to be a member of the interstate commerce commission. That nomination went to the senate without even the great progressive, Senator LaFollette, knowing about it, and there are those in the senate who believe that Senator LaFollette would have advised against it, had he been consulted.

There is a very real possibility—although not conclusive—that the senate will reject the Amlie appointment. The pressure against him is quite unusual. Even the legislature of his home state adopted a resolution, memorializing the senate in opposition to confirmation.

Whatever virtues Mr. Amlie may have, his qualifications to be a member of the interstate commerce commission cannot be numbered in that list. He knows nothing about transportation; he is not an economist, and if his record as a member of the house of representatives here is a proper criterion, he is as lacking in judicial characteristics—well, he simply does not have them. His work in the house was distinguished by the fact that he headed a conglomerate group which was attempting to "co-ordinate liberal thought" in the nation. But apparently the folks in Wisconsin rather doubted his value for they refused to select him as the progressive senatorial candidate—who, incidentally, was doomed for a licking anyway in the November election.

Appointments Upsetting to Followers of President

One never can tell what trades may be made within the great club known as the senate, but surely Mr. Amlie will be discussed fully before he is confirmed. And as I said above, he may not be approved at all. The appointment may be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

When Mr. Roosevelt began making appointments three or four months ago that were upsetting to some of his followers, they had to decide between their loyalty to him and their convictions. The bulk of them stood by him. He was the head of the Democratic party; party unity was, and is, essential, and they justified the votes in confirmation in various ways. The Hopkins and Murphy appointments were confirmed because it always has been the philosophy of senators that cabinet jobs are intimate associations with the President. He is entitled, therefore, to have whom he desires to sit with him at the cabinet session and to advise him when he seeks advice. I think there was an inclination to accept Mr. Murphy, too, because it was known he wanted to crush the sit-down strikes at their inception and was confronted with White House refusal of support. There were fewer votes against him for that reason than against Secretary Hopkins. On the other hand, Senator Vandenberg, the Michigan Republican, said he voted against the nomination because "the issues were the same as in Michigan's election last fall when Mr. Murphy was repudiated."

Congress Shows Disposition To Assert Independence

The proposition thus settles down to only one possible answer. Since the last election removed the rubber stamp from the hands of the New Dealers and the congress has shown a disposition to assert its independence of the unselected "inner circle," they are resorting to a new strategy. They can not always control congress but they have access to the appointive power vested in the hands of the President. They have this because they have the President's ear and they take pains to see that none of the practical politicians, like Vice President Garner, or Sen. Pat Harrison, or Speaker Bankhead, wield any influence.

Speaking of Sports

Brown Bomber Faces Lack of Real Brawlers

By ROBERT McSHANE

WHEN Shufflin' Joe Louis lowered the boom on heavyweight contender John Henry Lewis recently it merely gave added and unnecessary strength to the old adage that a good big man can always whip a good little man. Lewis, as you remember, gave away almost 20 pounds, weighing in at 180½. The champion scaled 200¼ pounds.

The fight was a sad commentary on the current heavyweight situation. Jack Dempsey's opinion of the fight, stated before it took place, was more accurate than complimentary. He stated that "It's better than no fight at all." That, too, is debatable.

When Referee Arthur Donovan stopped the brawl after 2 minutes and 29 seconds a new record was established for the dusky champion.



CHAMPION JOE LOUIS

Only once before has a heavyweight championship battle ended so swiftly. That was when Louis went into the ring and disposed of Max Schmeling in 2 minutes and 4 seconds. No fighter in the long history of pugilism ever has won two successive championship bouts in one round.

The fight should serve one purpose. It should calm down the cream puff contenders who are sure that Louis is a much over-rated fighter. Few, indeed, have claimed that Louis lacked a punch. But many of them are brave enough, or foolish enough, to admit that they have "solved" the problem of his boxing style, and are ready and anxious to end his ring supremacy.

Even Tony Galento, king of the stumblebums, seems to be losing his enthusiasm for a title bout. True, he continues to call the champ a bum, but his vocal delivery isn't as sincere as it once was.

John Henry thought he knew how to fight Louis. He thought he had perfected a style that would save him from the Brown Bomber's lethal punch. And John Henry is a clever fighter, ring-wise and with brains enough to know that he couldn't stand up and out-slug his dusky contemporary. Yet he lasted less than one round.

This was the first of four championship matches Promoter Mike Jacobs has planned for Louis in 1939. There are indications, however, that it will be increasingly difficult to find four men willing to risk their lives in the same ring with the Detroit lad. Joe Louis is unquestionably the greatest fighter this generation has seen. Donovan stated that Louis could have whipped the best fighter who ever lived that night.

Sport Shorts

WHEN baseball practice started at Indiana university recently, Coach Paul "Pooch" Harrell had on his roster four sons of former major league performers. They were Robert Woehr, Johnny Corriden, Vic Aldridge Jr., and Jimmy Middleton.



Max Baer

Max Baer, at present a hero in Hollywood horse operas, claims that he has forsaken the bright lights and will really train for his comeback . . . A crowd of 15,278 witnessed the Minnesota-Illinois basketball game at Minneapolis recently, setting a new conference record . . . Cincinnati was the only team in the major leagues last season to outdraw its population. There are 300,000 persons in the city, while 555,000 saw the Reds in action.

Football the Goat

THE fact that Big Ten football receipts in 1938 amounted to almost two millions of dollars has tended to focus attention on athletic departments of schools belonging to that conference.

It's only natural the veteran alarmist would view that fact with misgivings. Where, he mutters, does that money go? He, as a taxpayer, has a legitimate question, and one that should be answered for the future welfare of the game.

To begin with, football is frankly commercial. All college athletics at which gate admissions are charged are commercial. Anything that costs money to conduct is commercial. And it does cost money to promote and further college athletics.

Of them all football is the only sport to make any appreciable profit. Basketball, over a course of years, may hold its own, or even do a little better than that. Occasionally at a school some other sport may end up in the black as a result of some unusual local condition. But the rest of the intercollegiate program—track, swimming, wrestling, baseball, tennis, golf, etc.—is almost entirely dependent upon football receipts for maintenance.

The sports dependent on football for their existence are the ones that provide competition and healthful activity for the thousands of students who are not football players.

Many will answer this argument by saying that those sports would not be nearly as costly if they were conducted on strictly an intramural basis. This does not necessarily hold true. Golf courses, tennis courts, intramural football fields and baseball diamonds must be built and maintained for the benefit of the student body as a whole. In many schools football also supports the physical education program.

Commercialism is sometimes a welcome condition, even in scholastic circles. Especially if it results in a nation more physically fit.

Immortals

BASEBALL scribes of the nation in a recent triple play added the names of George Sisler, Eddie Collins and Wee Willie Keeler to the Cooperstown, N. Y., national shrine.

The addition of their names swelled to 19 the list of yesterday's heroes whose names will be immortalized in the Hall of Fame. Between five and ten more players will be named between now and the centennial celebration at Cooperstown, June 12.

Sisler, only 45, is one of the most active men in baseball as high commissioner of the semipro. He was with the St. Louis Browns from 1915 to 1927, with Washington in 1928, and the Boston Nationals until 1930.

In 1922 Sisler hit .420, and became the first player to win the official honor of "most valuable player in the American league." His lifetime batting average was .341.

Collins, 51, joined the Athletics back in 1906, fresh from college, staying with them until Connie Mack broke up his \$100,000 infield in 1914. Collins then went to the Chicago White Sox, remaining until 1920, the last two years as manager. Returning to Philadelphia in 1927, he stayed for three years. At present he is vice president and treasurer Eddie Collins of the Boston Red Sox. Collins, a second baseman, batted over .400 in three of the seven series in which he took part.

Keeler, author of the still-famous classic, "Hit 'em where they ain't," played with the Baltimore Orioles of the National league from 1894 to 1898, with Brooklyn from 1899 to 1902, the New York Highlanders from 1903 to 1906, and the New York Giants in 1910. He died in 1923.

Pitching Arms

DAZZY VANCE, former Brooklyn hurler whose feats are legendary, recently analyzed the epidemic of sore arms that has struck some of baseball's topnotch hurlers during the past year.

Discussing the situation with Kenesaw Mountain Landis, high commissioner of baseball, Vance admitted that back when he was playing ball there were no chipped bones in throwing arms.

"I believe," he told Landis, "sore arms are the result of pitchers trying to develop unorthodox deliveries to cope with heavy hitting, and their arms won't stand up to it."

Carl Hubbell started the unorthodox delivery trend just as Babe Ruth started the free swing style of American league hitters, Dazzy theorized.

"Back when I was pitching," he continued, "you could get by with a lot more—mud balls, spit balls and smelly balls—but now the umpires call for a new ball every time the old one gets a fly speck on it."

*Front row, left to right: Illinois' J. Hamilton Lewis, North Carolina's Robert B. Reynolds, Oklahoma's Josh Lee, New Hampshire's H. Styles Bridges, Vermont's Warren R. Austin, South Dakota's Chandler Gurney, Texas' Morris Sheppard (committee chairman), Colorado's Edwin C. Johnson, Utah's Elbert D. Thomas. Back row, left to right: Minnesota's Ernest Lundeen, Oregon's Rufus C. Holman, North Dakota's Gerald P. Nye, Missouri's Bennett Champ Clark, Alabama's Lister Hill, Indiana's Sherman Milton, Kentucky's M. M. Logan, and Wyoming's H. S. Schwartz.