

December 7, 1947

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Rep. Albert Gore

Good Morning, Friends:

Congress has missed the deadline ~~goal~~ set by Secretary Marshall for enactment of the emergency European aid bill. The Secretary set this date as December 1. I do not think the date is too important; that is, I do not think it is too important that we miss the date by a week or more, but it is important that Congress meet the urgent demands of the world situation more forthrightly than it is doing in this case. To begin with, President Truman asked the Congressional Committees to meet on November 10 in advance of the reconvening of the Congress on November 17 in order that the Committees could have the legislation ready for action by Congress. We have been in session now three full weeks and the enabling resolution has not yet passed both Houses. This is not to say that progress has not been made. The Senate finally passed the bill during the week by a vote of 83 to 6, and the House will probably pass the bill tomorrow or the next day. This, however, is only the enabling resolution. By Congressional parliamentary procedure, an appropriation cannot be made for most purposes until a resolution authorizing an appropriation for the purpose has been passed. So, what the Senate passed last Monday and what the House will pass tomorrow or the next day is a bill authorizing the making of an appropriation of a given amount of money for the purpose of aiding stricken countries of Europe.

After this is finally passed and the President signs the bill into law the Congress will then set about the passage of appropriation bills which ~~action~~ ^{to} ~~will~~ actually make the money available for the program. So you see, Congress will not only ^{have} ~~miss~~ the December 1 deadline for making funds available but will have demonstrated ^a cumbersome and unnecessarily slow manner of dealing with an urgent situation. This is not to say that Congress should not give the most

careful consideration to a measure of this importance. It deserves full consideration but after all, a month and a half is a long time to consider one problem and action upon it, and especially so when considered against the back drop of the world situation. (Here)

The onesided vote in the Senate -- 83-6 -- should not be interpreted to mean that the long-range Marshall plan, which will be considered in the regular session of Congress which begins in January, will have easy sailing. The opposition is holding back its full fire. Senator Taft ^{for instance,} voted for passage of the emergency aid bill but launched a rather broad-sided attack against the larger and much more important European recovery program, which is commonly referred to as the Marshall plan.

The argument against this emergency aid program was let off in the House by Representative Allen from Ill. He said that the program advocated by the Administration would lead the nation ~~into~~ the brink of economic collapse and charged that American help to European countries would ~~but~~ make those countries riper fruit in the eyes of Russia and thus, might result in the aid we extended being eventually used against us. And then Mr. Allen turned to the domestic ~~consequences~~ and said: (clig)

Representative Allen was answered by Congressman Eugene Cox of Georgia, who made a firey ~~spur~~ war like speech in which he said that Russia is waging everything but a shooting war against us. Mr. Cox recalled how we had joined hands with Russia in the defeat of a common enemy only to have Russia betray our confidence and friendship. He described the present world situation as a

deadly and mortal conflict and did not rule out the possibility of an eventual shooting war. At the same time, Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett gave additional emphasis to the mood of excitement by saying that he had recommended to President Truman that the American relief aid to France and Italy be stopped immediately if those countries fell under communist domination.

The tension was further heightened by our Army's publication of a report citing the large size of present Russian military forces.

Other speakers, however, were more temperate. Other speakers were less inflaming, less warlike. ^{But} No speaker supporting the bill, however, that I heard, failed to recognize the dangerous ^{existing} world situation ~~we face~~. It is not given to all people nor to all members of Congress to be experts in the field of foreign affairs. We in America have been pleased to go about our ^{own} business, earning our living as farmers, as businessmen, as carpenters, ~~as~~ lawyers, ~~as~~ housewives, as stenographers, living our lives as best we can, hoping to avoid ~~presenting~~ any interference with the ^{peaceful} pursuit of our ^{lives} ~~private~~ plans. But the speed of transportation and communication, the awful destructiveness and power that has been released by modern science, the preminent position of the United States in the sisterhood of nations and the determined revolutionary threat of international communism ~~are~~ forces upon all of us, and particulary upon every member of Congress, the necessity of giving ~~to~~ the most serious thought to the conditions of world affairs and, furthermore, ~~the~~ decisions upon the questions comind before the ^{the making of our} ~~the country~~ Congress must be reached in the light of these known circumstances.

of the Nation

all Plan Faces Hard Fight

Chief, Washington Bureau, *The Christian Science Monitor*

that sharp controversy is ahead, that strong leadership from both the White House and Congress will have to be forthcoming to keep the Marshall Plan from being defeated by indirection.

The reason the opposition is holding back is that it will find it much easier to argue against a \$16,000,000,000 four-year program than against a \$597,000,000 three-month program.

The strategy of the opposition will be to give lip-service to the objective of the Marshall Plan, but to try to so whittle the appropriations that the objective cannot be effectively attained.

It is, of course, entirely proper, entirely useful, that Congress should scrutinize closely all the appropriations embraced in the long-range Marshall Plan. They already have been screened many times by committees made up mostly of non-Government experts.

But it is just as indispensable that ERP appropriations should be cut only for valid reasons as it is that they should be accepted only for valid reasons. So when congressional committees begin casually reducing ERP figures, it is a fair

conclusion that the purpose behind such tactics is to destroy the Marshall Plan, not to make it work.

No layman can claim sufficient expertise to say exactly what the United States should contribute to the common recovery effort to western Europe, but there is a basic principle upon which that decision must rest. The basic principle is that unless the appropriation is sufficient enough to make recovery possible, then whatever is appropriated is a short-sighted waste—money thrown away through lack of vision to appropriate enough.

The decision which Congress is going to make is not whether there is going to be a Marshall Plan; the decision is whether Congress is going to authorize a Marshall Plan broad and daring enough to work. The decision is whether America is going to press on with the already large efforts to help western Europe recover from the war or whether Congress is going to stop midway by putting timid limitations upon these efforts and thereby virtually insure failure.

Thus far in the testing of congressional sentiment there appears to be substantial Democratic unity behind the European Recovery Program and substantial Republican disagreement. Against the proposal to cut the stopgap appropriation, the Democrats voted 3-to-1. Spurred on by Senator Robert M. Taft of Ohio, the Republicans turned in 20 votes for, 27 against reduction. This action represents the first break between Senator Taft and Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who is one of ERP's chief supporters, since Mr. Taft told correspondents on his western trip that there was going to be no foreign policy split between the two.

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By Richard L.
Staff Correspondent
The Christian Science Monitor

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Bellicose Warnings Issued in Congress To Support Europe Aid

By Richard L. Strout

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Powerful elements in Congress appear prepared to resort to war talk with Russia as a countermeasure against attacks on the stop-gap relief program.

As the House plunged into discussion of the pending \$590,000,000 emergency aid bill for France, Austria, Italy, and China, wild and bellicose words whirled from some of the membership. The emphasis appeared to be on fear rather than hope; defense rather than humanitarianism; war rather than peace.

Representative Eugene E. Cox (D) of Georgia, ranking minority member of the House Rules Committee, led off with the declaration that "Russia is waging everything but a shooting war against us."

Keynote Followed

Mr. Cox followed the keynote set Dec. 3 by the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representative Charles A. Eaton (D) of New Jersey, declaring that Russia could overrun western Europe "in 24 hours."

This, in turn, was accompanied by publication of an Army Department report citing the large size of present Russian military forces.

Testifying before the Senate secretary of State Robert A. Lovett, perhaps unconsciously, gave additional emphasis to the mood of excitement surrounding some of the speakers in declaring, in answer to a question, that he would recommend to President Truman that all American relief aid to France and Italy be stopped, if those countries fell under Communist domination.

sia" and thus result in the possibility that "aid might eventually be used against us."

"If we send the aid contemplated," Mr. Allen said, "it will reduce supplies in this country and increase prices. To avoid an increase in prices, the Administration recommends price controls and rationing. If we provide price controls and rationing, we restrict production by removing incentive. The restricted production will make it impossible to fulfill the commitments made to Europe in this bill, and will reduce the economic level of the United States to that of the countries this bill proposes to aid."

The aid plan, Mr. Allen said, "may change the whole history of the world for the next 100 years—a plan which may bankrupt this nation, or destroy it by exhausting our irreplaceable natural resources."

"If we pass this bill, we may commit ourselves—in the eyes of the world—to the so-called Marshall Plan. And, that plan may be the path from which there is no turning back."

It seemed plain to observers that the anti-aid forces, led by Mr. Allen, had little real hope of stopping the pending measure, but were directing their efforts against the larger, long-range measure, which has yet to be taken up.

Representative John M. Vorys (R) of Ohio explained the purposes of the bill in behalf of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He did not emphasize war talk and gave a quiet, effective presentation of the economic crisis.

Amount Reduced

considerably

Higher Pay Held Minor Labor Need

Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Atlantic City, N. J.

Management in the United States today must turn its attention to the noneconomic wants of employees and this, Alvin E. Dodd, President of the American Management Association says, will be the most important labor development in the future. Mr. Dodd spoke at a luncheon meeting of the 68th annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, where he received the Gantt Memorial gold medal for "distinguished achievement in industrial management as a service to the community."

"Employees, it is true, may use the considerable economic benefits they obtain from their work to satisfy their noneconomic needs," the New York Business Leader declared. "Yet higher wages on the job have no more brought industrial peace than higher allowances tie children more closely to their parents."

Satisfactions Needed

"I believe that the most important single development in the business of the future will be a share for employees in many of the work satisfactions now enjoyed largely or exclusively by those rather high up in management," he said.

"Management's social responsibility needs to be turned increasingly toward the satisfaction of noneconomic aims—status, prestige, integrity, understanding, and self-development."

The basic "work satisfaction" is security, declared Mr. Dodd. He recommended "participation by employees in group activity, participation by management in own development."

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FROM THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

For World Report
Issue of December 9, 1947
Volume 3, No. 24

It is clear enough by now that Europe's Communists are playing for keeps. They want complete control of the governments of France and Italy.

It seems that Moderate governments, like the present ones, are to be shoved out.

Governments of the right, probable successor to the moderates, are to signal the showdown fight between ^{the} left and right, the real moment of decision.

It is then that the danger of civil war will enter. *If they have their way*, Parliamentary debates, democratic processes will go out the window. Government bullets--if the Communists have their way--will be answered by bullets from guns in the hands of an aroused populace, continuing the fight that began in Russia in 1917.

seems to be now in France & Italy There is no longer much doubt that Moscow is calling the tune.

Strawbe Warsaw meeting last September, presided over by Stalin's handy man, Col. Gen. Zhdanov, ordered Dutch and Belgian Communists to lay low, mapped plan of action now in operation in France and Italy. Only the details are decided locally.

Italian Communists are known to have complete plans for taking over the Government by force. Indications are for action before spring.

French Communists are to hit hard when U.S. aid starts rolling in volume.

As it is, Communists in both countries have succeeded in damaging production, raising prices, and making earlier estimates of U.S. help out of date.

Communist target, it appears, is ^{the} U.S. aid ^{program} quite as much as French or Italian governments. If chaos governs these two countries, they can't very well take part in any Marshall Plan. Without France and Italy, the program falls flat.

→ The Collapse of Marshall Plan is ^{the} avowed Communist goal. *It's result* would come close to giving Moscow control of Europe. *Then U.S. presumably would be forced out, and left without a friendly base on the east of Europe.*

According to reports reading ^{the} war, Prospect is for continued violence and disorder throughout the winter in France and Italy. There may be lulls, temporary armistices, but no real peace.

The Real danger is the possibility of civil war, with outside help.

French and Italian moderates are fearful. Communists are confident.

Method behind the turmoil in Western Europe needs to be understood.

Communist technique is to test Government strength, prove to the public that only the Communists have power. Test can be a railroad strike, a cautious build-up for a general strike, a bold appeal to Army reservists to disobey Government orders, or even a sit-down strike in the chamber of the National Assembly.

Immediate aim is to show up Government's weakness, its inability to govern.

Issues are chosen by Communists to attract popular support: higher wages, lower prices, freedom of speech. Liberals, moderates are thus boxed in.

(over)

Government crackdown, through police and troops, then enables Communists to assume role of martyrs, to cry dictatorship, Fascists, Nazis, and so on.

Either way--Government appeasement, or Government crackdown--offers Communists a chance to attract popular support, and so to ride into power.

U.S. Congress is having to hurry to keep ahead of Europe's Communists.

Deadline for stopgap aid urged by Secretary Marshall was December 1.

Final action by Congress has missed that deadline. Relief depends on funds from Reconstruction Finance Corporation to buy coal and wheat now.

Situation at moment is that Italy is wholly out of dollars. France will be out the end of this month. But goods have to move now to arrive in time.

December coal needs, for example, are 67 cargoes for Italy, 145 for France. Delay means shipping bottlenecks. Even at best, it will be a tight squeeze.

Whole world is looking over President Truman's shoulder as he makes up the U.S. Budget. This goes to Congress in January, takes effect July 1 next.

Western Europe needs \$6 billion for the first full year of the recovery program, according to Secretary Marshall. That is on top of \$1½ billion required to carry the program from April 1, the scheduled start, through June 30.

Germany and Austria, in addition, will need upwards of \$1 billion.

Greece is sure to be down for something, perhaps half of the \$300 million allotted this year. Military expenses are going up in Greece. Trouble continues.

Palestine may have to be added to the U.S. list next summer. If fighting between Arabs and Jews spreads, the United Nations will be powerless to check it. Big powers may have to step in. That would mean U.S. troops and dollars.

Latin America, furthermore, would like some American loans, if not grants.

Japan and Korea are due to get close to \$1 billion for relief and control.

China, last but not least, is being put down for \$240 million, perhaps more. Any way you figure it, this adds up to more than \$8 billion.

In addition, advisers on air warfare are talking about new and urgent needs of the U.S. Air Force, now skeletonized. The talk is running into billions.

An old dilemma, with new horns, confronts the United States.

Aid Europe first, China last? Or cut dollars for Europe, send more to East?

During the war, the issue was similar: Defeat Hitler first, Japs last, or send equal force to each front? Issue seemed to be Eisenhower vs. MacArthur.

Complications make a decision even harder now than in the midst of war.

Fronts aren't limited to two major ones. There is trouble everywhere.

Economic recovery as U.S. aim, is all tangled up with anticommunism.

Domestic needs of U.S., submerged in war, now harass the planners.

Decision, though, is almost certain to go the same way it did in wartime.

U.S. aid for Europe where Communist pressure is strongest, where threat to Western civilization seems clearest, is to continue to have priority No. 1.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE--This survey is completed on succeeding pages inasmuch as "Worldgram" cannot possibly include all the important developments. To assist the busy reader, a series of brief paragraphs is printed in large type at the head of each Dispatch.