

The Oregon Statesman

"No Favor Sways Us, No Fear Shall Awe"
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New France in the Old World

Once again France attempts the reverse-pyramid trick in setting up a new government. No party has a majority of members of the national assembly (the communists have more members than any other single party, MRP next). The man chosen to lead the cabinet is Andre Marie, a radical socialist. This party (neither radical nor socialist) was in prewar days one of the strongest in France; now is definitely in eclipse. Like Ramadier, socialist, and Robert Schuman, MRP, Marie has formed a coalition government, and leaves the communists unrepresented. The assembly has given the new ministry a vote of confidence, so it is off on the perilous sea of French politics where waves are choppy and wind squalls frequent.

Once again Vincent Auriol, president of the republic, has succeeded in his efforts at compromise. He is skilled at that by this time, for he was the resourceful intermediary in the conflicts of the first and second constituent assemblies, the last of which produced a constitution which the people adopted (somewhat more in despair than in hope).

Marie's cabinet-pyramid stands on a three-point base with three ex-premiers of France occupying important positions. Robert Schuman replaces George Bidault as minister of foreign affairs, Paul Ramadier is minister of state and Paul Reynaud, last prewar premier, is minister of finance and foreign affairs. Its orientation is to the right rather than the left; but its concern primarily will be with France, its security and its recovery. It may be less active as partner with Britain and the United States, and more ready to resume its old role as mediator between east and west.

For background on the Fourth Republic we warmly recommend Dr. Gordon Wright's "The Reshaping of French Democracy" (Reynal & Hitchcock, N. Y.; \$3.50). Dr. Wright is professor of history at University of Oregon. He had resided in France before the war as a graduate student. During the war he worked at the French desk in the department of state and then was sent to Paris as third secretary in the American embassy with the particular assignment of following French politics. He lived in Paris during the period of French political groupings for a new frame of government, became well acquainted with the principals in the emerging parties. On his return with materials fresh in mind he wrote this book, which is a compact history of how France, emerging from the swamps of the noisome Vichy regime, built a bridge by way of DeGaulle as president and two constitutional conventions to form the Fourth Republic.

In the dark days of German occupation leaders of the resistance and the DeGaulists in North Africa and London discussed the future of France and a pattern for its government. The recognized evil of the constitution of 1871 had been the frequent overturn of cabinets and dissolution of the parliamentary body. But DeGaulle's call for a strong executive provoked fears of dictatorship. How to define and relate the powers of executive and parliament became the great issue in the constituent assembly. How to govern the extensive French empire in a period of colonial unrest was another vexing question. The constitution had to be hammered out in the atmosphere of reaction from the travail of war and with the conflicting voices of multiple factions among whom the communists were strong and threatening. The first attempt failed when the people in May, 1946, rejected the proposed constitution. The second assembly, with Auriol again diligent at compromise, produced a document and differing greatly from the former; but by October when the election was held the French people were eager for a decision and approved the constitution. Wright says: "Sheer lassitude, however, led them to accept it with passive satisfaction." His summary of the new government structure is as follows:

"The seat of political power continues to be found in the lower legislative house, renamed the National Assembly rather than the Chamber of Deputies. That Assembly still has the right to overthrow the cabinet at will. . . . The Assembly continues to be pretty well protected against dissolution. . . . The cabinet and president are forbidden to dissolve the Assembly during the first 18 months after an election. . . . Within the legislative branch the predominance of the lower house over the upper is immeasurably greater than it used to be. The Council of the Republic, a pale shadow of the old Senate, has been confined to the role of a 'chamber of reflection,' with the task of correcting the Assembly's hasty errors."

"The organization and role of the executive branch brings nostalgic memories of prewar days. The president is once again elected by the two houses of parliament for a seven-year term, and is reelectable once. Again he serves as political pinboy, picking up cabinets whenever the Assembly knocks them down. The premier and cabinet likewise continue to be just about what they were in practice before 1940. . . . One change in the premier's status is that he may no longer ask for 'full powers' to issue decree-laws in emergency periods. . . . The judiciary in France has never possessed such independence or prestige as in Anglo-Saxon countries. . . . The new constitution sets up a High Council of the Judiciary with power to appoint judges, supervise judicial administration and advise the president on pardons."

Besides the legal entity of the French Republic there is one of the French Union for the administration of the French Empire. The president of the republic is president also of the Union, but the governing assembly includes representatives from the associated states. In the rather nebulous colonial situation the working of this structure will probably be determined largely by evolution.

This is for France about the 14th constitution since the revolution of 1787. Some of them were constitutions that "would not walk". Time alone will tell how sturdy this new one will be. It reflects the uncertainties of French politics but it adheres firmly to democratic principles in which the French people are well grounded in instinct and experience.

Dr. Wright's book shows a broad understanding of French politics and is spiced with deft use of French "mots". His style is clear and at times illuminated by passages suggestive of Maccabaeus or Carlyle. Here is his description of the Palais-Bourbon at the time of the constituent assembly:

"The atmosphere of the Palais-Bourbon seemed charged with electricity on the afternoon of November 6, 1945, when the newly chosen constituent Assembly convened. . . . The physical setting itself seemed to be a kind of symbol. The historic Palais-Bourbon, which had been the legislative heart of France for more than a century, suddenly came back to life. Five years of German occupation had left it unchanged, save for the pocket-marks on its facade from machine-gun bursts during the liberation of Paris, and the burned-out wing housing the library. Outside, guarding the main entrance, Sully and Colbert still gazed in granite majesty out over the Seine, hearing on their pedestals the traditional Gallic legend of defense d'uriner. Within, officials who came to set the place in order found the calendar in the legislative hall still turned to June, 1940. The semicircle of red plush benches, mounting rapidly from the speaker's rostrum; the ornate presidential desk installed by the Duc de Morny, and the presidential chair first used by Lucien Bonaparte in the Council of Five Hundred; the rostrum itself, which had served as pulpit for every modern French statesman (and from which Alfred Rosenberg had more recently harangued an assemblage of Nazi officers) — all carried an aura of history and tradition."

Here is a miniature characterization of Jaques Duclos, communist leader: "Duclos, who left school at twelve to become a pastry-cook's apprentice in the Pyrenees, was the party's tactician and master of parliamentary debate. Squat and Barrel-shaped, resembling a bald-headed kewpie in blue serge and horn-rimmed glasses, his appearance belied his remarkable qualities of leadership."

Truman Orders Aides to Back Price Program

By Joseph and Stewart Alsop
WASHINGTON, July 28 — WASHINGTON is a city of angry men. The republicans are furious to a man. Southern blood is boiling. And President Harry S. Truman, the cause of it all, is angry too. His special message to congress was a good deal less shrill than his acceptance speech in Philadelphia. But the mood of that speech persists.

Truman's advisers asked him casually last week when he intended to send his message to congress. Truman replied irritably that he did not intend to send it at all — he was going to take it himself, and the republicans could boo till they were blue in the face. The president is, in fact, spoiling for a fight, and what he mostly wants to fight about is prices.

He made that quite clear at last week's cabinet meeting, when he laid down the law with unaccustomed fire. The special session program had, in fact, already been worked out in broad outline before the meet. Most of the preparatory work on the price control measures, which are the heart of the message, was done by Paul Porter, former OPA administrator, with the advice of presidential counsel Clark Clifford and economic adviser Leon Keyserling among others.

Freeze 'Unrealistic'

Some consideration was given by these men to a much more drastic program than that the president has now presented to congress. This involved the absolute freezing of all prices and wages at present levels, on the simple theory, as one presidential adviser put it, that "this thing has got to stop." This idea was soon discarded as unrealistic especially since it was believed that it might give the impression that the administration was preparing for war. Pressure from labor leaders to eliminate all reference to wage controls was also resisted, largely on Porter's advice. What finally emerged was something very like the administration price program which received such short shrift from the congress last autumn.

At that time, the administration's presentation of Truman's price proposals was almost ludicrously ineffective. A number of cabinet officers and other administration officials, conspicuously including former Agriculture Secretary Clinton Anderson and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder made it perfectly obvious before various congressional committees that they were wildly unenthusiastic about the whole program. When he outlined the new price program to his cabinet, Truman evidently had the painful memory of these episodes in mind. He firmly told the cabinet members that if any of them did not like the program, now was the time to say so, and not later.

Didn't Say No

No murmurs of dissent were heard. Accordingly, the administration can be expected to present the special session program to the congress and the electorate with a good deal more force and discipline than was the case nine months ago. Porter will be the heralding of the whole operation. Chief witness for the administration proposals will be Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, and Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug. Nine months ago Treasury Secretary Snyder hotly opposed the increase in bank reserves which are an essential part of the present program. But if he returns from his west coast vacation, he will be firmly ordered to toe the administration line. Edwin Nourse, chairman of the council of economic advisers, fears that the council may appear a mere propaganda organ of the White House. Despite these hesitations, the members of the council, and conspicuously Vice-Chairman Keyserling, will probably also be tapped as administration witnesses.

GOP May Act First

In short, the administration strategy is to appeal to the electorate over the head of congress, by hammering hard on the price issue as long as the session lasts. But although the republican leadership has taken no final decisions as this is written, the administration may never have the opportunity to put this strategy into effect. At a Monday caucus of republican leaders, the house contingent expressed sentiment for an immediate adjournment. It was argued that this move could be justified on several grounds — that the calling of the special session was a purely political maneuver, that the proposed measures could only be administered by an efficient executive, that a

on the new France, more on its leadership and the spirit of its people than on the new constitution. At stake is the welfare of the French people and in considerable measure the future of western civilization. For France is a keystone in the arch of western Europe, is itself the mother of much of our finest culture. Bled physically by the wars and racked by faction, the prospect is for a very slow recovery. Yet given internal unity and external security France should rise again, once more to fight for Europe and the world the lamps of learning and the arts of intellectual and political freedom, and fashion the graces which make human living a pleasurable experience.

18-Year-Olds Enlist in Army



Salem's first 18-year-old army recruits under the new army program for one-year enlistments are shown above being weighed in by S. Sgt. Robert E. Rogers of Portland army examining station. On the scales is Arthur J. Mayes, Salem route 5, box 108G. Waiting his turn (right) is Robert L. Saucy, Salem route 7, box 12. (U.S. army photo.)

prolonged squabble would disastrously undermine American prestige before the world. Most of the senators disagreed. As one of them said: "Something just has got to be done about prices." However obviously politically motivated the administration proposals, and however angry all concerned may be, it is hard to disagree with that remark.

IT SEEMS TO ME

(Continued from Page 1)

groups, economic constituencies, racial stocks and local and sectional interests for the purpose of governing by consent."

Nevis notes that our greatest disaster came from a party division on sectional lines and says the worst disaster that could happen in the near future would be a division along economic and class lines. This almost resulted under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and is frankly what is attempted in the progressive party under Henry Wallace. Nevis says: "If we did have a Conservative party of the propertied and a Radical party of the unpropertied we might at last be within sight of the day when the losers of an election would begin throwing up barricades in the streets."

No, the mixing of stocks and races and classes and creeds in our parties contributes to national unity in the end. It spells democracy within the parties. And it makes it possible for leavens (like Senator Morse) to be at work within parties to keep them fresh and vigorous.

Sure, one gets disgusted with the slow motion of old parties, with their compromises, with the hypocrisy of their platforms, the shallowness of their campaign oratory. But they are amalgams of large numbers of people. To keep them cohesive there must be broad tolerances. Their creed must not be too rigid (Jefferson, the strict constructionist, was the greatest expansionist in the purchase of Louisiana). Their evolution is apt to be fortuitous — adapting policies and tactics to the opportunities of the times. That is the way a party system works successfully for the government along democratic lines of a nation of nearly 150,000,000 people.

Portlanders Urge Building on West Side for Savings

Decentralization of public buildings was opposed by seven of nine members of the Portland city planning commission who appeared before the state board of control Wednesday.

The commission, headed by Glen Stanton, urged construction of a proposed \$2,500,000 state office building in west Portland. They indicated that such a location would prove most convenient to the public and eventually result in a financial saving. Other groups have favored east Portland sites.

Members of the group estimated that the state would save approximately \$90,000 a year in automobile travel expense provided the new building is located in west Portland. Roy Mills, board of control secretary, said he had investigated as many as 15 sites for the proposed state office building and would file his recommendations next month.

Public Records

DISTRICT COURT
Gerald D. Stowell, 1165 Oxford st., charged with larceny, case compromised on promise to make restitution on tools.
Charles Dallas Ramsey, San Francisco, Calif., violation of basic rule, fined \$10 and costs.
Gilbert Garner, Salem route 2, assault and battery, trial set for August 26 following plea of innocent; held in lieu of \$100 bail.
Alice Earle Cooper, Salem route 8, no operator's license, fined \$5 and costs.
Kenneth Edward Allen, 2409 N. 4th st., charged with non-support, continued for plea to July 29; held in lieu of \$500 bail.

MARRIAGE LICENSE APPLICATIONS
Ralph A. Bickel, mechanic, Stayton, and Ida M. Boje, domestic, Silvertown.
Robert Jesse Carter, 25, laborer, and Lorine Edith Williams, 18, waitress, both of Silvertown.
Wallace Gene Scott, 21, student, Walla Walla, Wash., and Imogene Juanita Sproede, 25, student, Salem route 2, box 403B.

PROBATE COURT
Geraldine Ann Unrein guardianship estate: Settlement of accident claim for \$300 authorized.
Richard Cashman estate: Order closes estate.
Posey H. Hampton estate: Order appoints Mildred W. Pearce administratrix and C. M. Crittenden, L. M. Scholl and Forest Loop appraisers.
William Francis Sheehan, jr., estate: Final account fixed for September 7.

Jean Patricia Drake estate: Order authorizes sale of personal property.
Thomas E. Drake estate: Order authorizes sale of personal property.
Emma H. Bucklin estate: Pioneer Trust company appointed administrator and L. M. Birch, Sam F. Spearstra and Lillian Davis appointed appraisers.

CIRCUIT COURT
Josephine A. Smith vs Sherman E. Smith: Suit for divorce charging cruel and inhuman treatment asks for custody of four minor children, \$30 per month support money for each child, \$100 per month alimony, and ownership of real and personal property. Married Nov. 28, 1942, at Reno, Nev.
Keith Brown and Edna Brown vs Laura L. Macklin and others: Decree quiet plaintiffs' title to real property.
Earl Sharp vs Sarah R. Riley

Health Board To Control All Administration

A previously stated Marion county court decision to throw policy control of the county health department into the lap of the department executive board was drafted into a resolution Wednesday.

The court's resolution recognizes the executive board as the policy-making board and gives the board full authority and responsibility to conduct the administrative functions of the department.

The county court reserved for itself the right "through the county budget committee to pass upon appropriations for the department."

Reason for the move, the resolution stated, was to eliminate a "dual authority in the department." This joint control came into effect when the county court was designated by the state in 1944 as the agency to audit and pay department accounts. The executive board had already been in effect since 1930.

GM Reports Income Rise

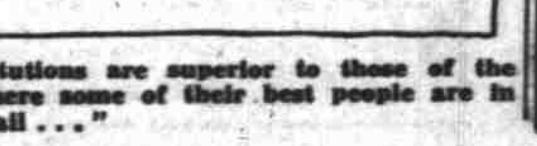
NEW YORK, July 28 (AP)—General Motors reported to stockholders today a second quarter net income of \$110,282,260 or \$2.43 a share on net sales of \$1,145,554,234.

This compared with net income of \$76,766,011 or \$1.66 a share on net sales of \$941,568,274 for the second quarter of last year.

Sales of General Motors cars and trucks to dealers and for shipment overseas totaled 1,057,386 units the first six months of this year against 824,032 the first half of 1947.

GRIN AND BEAR IT

By Lichty



tion allegedly caused by a nuisance complaint filed by defendant.
MUNICIPAL COURT
Robert Ray Jenkins, Dallas, violation of basic rule, posed \$25, bail.
Kernit LeRoy Peterson, Salem route 8, reckless driving involving liquor, fined \$200.
Frank Prince, 267 S. Winter st., charged with disorderly conduct, posted \$25 bail.
Gary L. Shirley, Gervais, violation of noise ordinance, fined \$7.50.

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... And their penal institutions are superior to those of the democracies ... why, over there some of their best people are in jail ...