ACTION

NOVEMBER 1944

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

THE WILL TO PEACE

ANNA LORD STRAUSS

MOST human beings desire a peaceful world, but they do not know how to be individually effective in helping to assure it. The more the individual ponders the nature of peace, the more elusive it may seem. He is likely to arrive at the easiest conclusion—that peace is an impossibility. One who arrives at this conclusion has already lost his opportunity to work effectively to achieve it. Great ideals are not achieved by doubters, and it is the idealists, not the cynics, who have made the great and lasting contributions in history. It is not the man who says, "It is not human nature to change," but the man who knows that it is human nature to change itself—who has contributed to human welfare and happiness.

The cynic who says that "there have always been wars, therefore there will always be wars," has a worm's-eye-view of human achievement. He cannot find himself in human history. He does not know how to look back and see from what he came; consequently he cannot look forward to anything greater than he now is. He does not understand that when he and his fellows know that it is *right* and believe that it is *necessary,* a new institution becomes possible, eventually inevitable. Peaceful intercourse between nations requires new institutions, but they can only spring from the minds and hearts of men.

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Let us consider an institution which we all take for granted—that of marriage. The institution of the family in our civilization rests upon marriage which is sanctioned by both civil and religious ceremony. No one knows when the first marriage ceremony was performed. No one knows at what moment it was decided that it was right and necessary to human society to create such an institution as marriage. Of one thing, however, we may be sure. Problems arose among human beings which had to be solved by creating an institution which was beneficial to society. Moreover the extent to which it does function depends, not upon the institution itself, but upon the will of the great majority of individuals to support it for the general good.

We need to think thus fundamentally about the great issues we now face. Our national loyalties have become so highly developed that we find great difficulty in adjusting ourselves to the idea of international citizenship. Whenever we accept a new and greater good we must, perforce, renounce something of our old selves. The values of living together in a nation have seemed close and real and we have been quick to appreciate and applaud them. In contrast, the values of living together in an international community have often seemed quite remote and vague, perhaps because we have no equally great force, such as another planet, with which to compete. Yet we know that nations have never had complete freedom to do as they like and not worry about the effect their acts may have on other nations. International license cannot be sanctioned and never actually has been. It was never really assumed that a nation had no international obligations or could go its own way serenely, unaffected by international repercussions.

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It has taken two world wars to help the ordinary human being develop a strong conviction that peace is right and necessary and must eventually prevail. It has taken a demonstration of the ways in which our great scientific and social knowledge can be perverted to the uses of Fascism and Nazism to establish the conviction that such criminal minorities of mankind cannot be allowed to get out of hand again. The international community must insist on an organization for peace.

The individual becomes an effective force for peace the moment he becomes sincerely convinced that peace is right, that peace is necessary, that peace is obtainable. In proportion to the depth and strength of his conviction peace comes closer, for his attitude and his behavior will inevitably contribute toward a peace system. He will be ready to do for peace whatever it takes because he is so certain that it will contribute to the fundamental and permanent interests of his family, his community, his nation.

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There is a job of leadership which becomes obvious. As a member of the League of Women Voters you are one of a group which has believed these things for twenty-five years. You are a member of an organization which believes that peace is obtainable. It is our job in the coming months to clarify these truths, to simplify the issues which must be decided as we enter into an international security organization. We can help to assure that it will be a strong institution. We can help to assure that our nation plays the great historic role it can play if you, the individual human being, believe that peace is right, necessary, and obtainable. World peace hangs, not alone on the type of institution set up to preserve it, but chiefly on the understanding and support of international morality on the part of the millions of ordinary citizens. Each must take his share of the collective responsibility. Each individual counts in building the will to peace.

CONVERSATION WITH ONE'S SELF

MALVINA LINDSAY

"I suppose I ought to read some of this stuff about peace plans, but I'm just so busy—"

"So was everybody else busy all through the 1930's—especially Hitler."

"But I'm so tired and rushed. I've just had more than I could stand up to in this war."

"You'll be even more tired in the next one dodging robot bombs—if you're still around."

"But they'll surely find some way to stave off another war—"

"'They?' Whom do you mean by 'they'?"

"We-ll, all the big men at the head of things, in Congress and at Dumbarton Oaks."

"Who's at the head of things when it comes to a peace treaty or a peace plan? The Senate. Who is behind the Senate? YOU!"

"Oh, but not me alone. I'm just one."

"What if all the other 84 million adults in this country felt that way?"

"No, what I mean is it's so hard to understand about international relations."

"The men in the foxholes in Normandy are finding their jobs hard, too."

"But I haven't any background for politics and world affairs."

"How many of our American boys had the background for war? Anyway, would you rather be out in the jungles fighting Japs and malaria, or sitting in your living room doing a little elementary head work?"

"But I'm so busy with the children. That's my first job."

"Wouldn't it be putting first things first to see that your children grew up in a peaceful world? What are you going to say to your children 20 years from now if they have to go to war?"

"Well, of course, I want to do what I can, but—"

"Fine! You're facing facts at last. Now then since about six million Americans are fighting over this thing, do you have the guts to dig into it with the same determination a man digs a foxhole or cuts his way through a jungle?"

"I—I might try—no, I WILL!"

ACTION

November, 1944 Vol. I, No. 1

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

ANNA LORD STRAUSS, *President* IOLA O. HESSLER, *Editor*

Entry as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879, pending.

Introducing—

To you, the individual member of the League of Women Voters, we make a double introduction. Although you have not yet been formally introduced to Anna Lord Strauss, you may already have bowed to her in passing, in the next column. And the picture has told you that she is a direct and friendly person. If you were in Washington you could come to see her knowing that you would be welcome, and that, no matter how busy Miss Strauss might be, she would never let you know it. And before you left she deftly would have extracted from you your aspirations and your slant on life, to help her in her gigantic task of giving the members of the League the kind of information and inspiration they desire.

A more democratic person than Anna Lord Strauss would be hard to find. The miracle to her staff is that she gets so much accomplished without ever telling anyone to do anything. Her inherent thoughtfulness is her genius, and her driving force is her gentle way of letting the other person have the "great idea," though ten to one she had it herself last week.

To work with, Anna Strauss is a joy. She gives unstintingly of her attention, calmly interrupting her thought for your thought, clothing your idea in practical, how-to-do-it garb, meeting your frustration with her twinkling humor and comfortable understanding. But right up the back of her brain is a hard steel yardstick, and against it is measured every idea, every written word, every suggested activity, to see that it meets the needs of the local member in the local League.

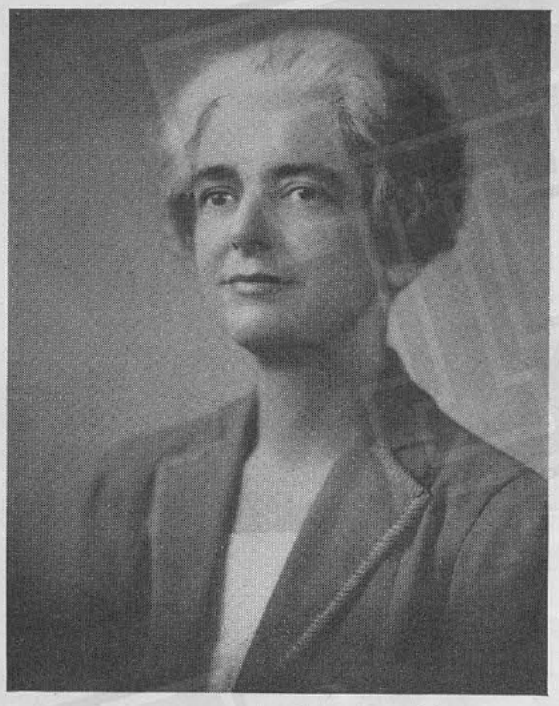
It was to talk to you, the member, directly, that Miss Strauss planned to start ACTION on its way. Although it is slightly irregular for Miss Strauss to introduce ACTION to you, when ACTION has just introduced Miss Strauss, it is still most fitting that the introduction should be made by the one who conceived the magazine and allowed no obstacles to bar its path to the press. And so we give you Miss Strauss—while Miss Strauss presents to you—ACTION.

November 7th

Most of us subscribe to the theory that ours is a government "by the people." But it is so easy to slip in the thought, "by some other people—not me." How often do we shrug our political shoulders and say, "But what can *I* do about it?" It is hard to imagine what would have happened on the Normandy beaches if thousands of American soldiers had shrugged their military shoulders and said, "Oh, well, I am just one in a million. What does it matter if *I* stop fighting?"

Just what do we mean by participation in government, government *by* the people? Do we mean concern with the problems of government and the decisions which government must make? Yes. Do we mean reading the newspapers and magazines with care, following what our Congressmen and other elected officials are saying and doing? Yes. Do we mean talking about foreign policy, reconversion, inflation, with our friends and families and neighbors? Again, yes.

And participation in government means more than that. It means voting, always, whenever the opportunity presents itself, voting with knowledge—knowledge of the issues and of the candidates. Let us not lose our vote by inertia, apathy, just plain laziness. It is a possession beyond price.



ANNA LORD STRAUSS

President of the National League of Women Voters

Mrs. Dibble Reports on Interviewing a Man

Yesterday I walked unhappily up the steps of a strange front porch, to call on a person I had never seen or heard of before. With quaking steps I crossed the too short distance toward that terrifying moment when I could no longer put off pressing the bell. But I had no time to calm my fluttering stomach before the door opened with a swish and two small boys plus one large dog brushed past me into the gathering twilight. Following them was a thunderous man without a shirt, who fortunately stayed his hand when he noticed that I was neither a small boy nor a large dog. In response to the surprised query in his eyes I gulped and stammered that I was Mrs. Dibble of the League of Women Voters, making a survey of public opinion on three important issues of the election. Like a jackrabbit, without a word, he disappeared into the house, and I stood paralyzed, expecting him to reappear with a shotgun. As a matter of fact he reappeared almost instantly with the simple addition of a shirt.

"Do you think we have a better chance to keep the peace if we join some kind of union of nations, or if we rely only on our own strength?" I asked. And we were off. Through the League's list of questions on government control of industry, foreign trade, inflation, we progressed step by step. It was the first time that man had ever thought about those questions, for no one before had ever told him that his opinions mattered.

But suddenly a wonderful thing had happened to him; he was no longer just a cog in a vast incomprehensible machine; he was an individual citizen with a personal responsibility for the future of his country. What he thought and what he would do on Election Day was as important as what each soldier did on D-Day. He had suddenly become a true American.

Today I shall walk boldly up the steps of some strange front porch to call on some person I have never seen before. With purposeful strides I shall brush off the children and the dogs, and knock loudly on the door. For now I know that to poll public opinion is fun, that a few hours spent distributing the League's questionnaire, "Your Next Congress," is both a creative and rewarding job, and that all sorts and varieties of human beings are subject to the same kind of personal vanity. Nothing appeals to that vanity quite so strongly as asking them their opinion. They want to know their opinions count, and, knowing that, they will work their brains overtime to have opinions.

Fallacies of "Equal Rights"

Many women fancy that if the so-called Equal Rights Amendment is passed they will immediately have complete equality with men. They dream of being made vice-president of a company or being accepted by a law firm which never before took women. These dreams are empty, because no legislation can overcome prejudice.

Passage of the Amendment would only jeopardize all the legislation which protects women. This legislation is necessary because women are biologically different from men. Just because their job of child bearing and training a family doesn't pay a salary, it demands certain safeguards.

Look at a few of the questions which would arise if men and women were equal before the law.

Would husbands be required to support their wives?

Would women workers lose the minimum wage and maximum hour laws which they struggled so hard to secure?

Would widows' pensions receivable under the Social Security Act be abolished unless men also got pensions when their wives died?

Would there be alimony for a wife who has children to support?

Would women have laws protecting them from rape?

Would women in industry lose protective legislation providing separate rest rooms, a minimum time for lunch, places to sit, and a limit in the weights they carry?

If the Amendment is passed, the only immediate effect would be to throw all the laws treating men and women on a different basis into utter confusion. Litigation taking years would crowd our already congested courts until we could establish some new laws. If the Amendment were passed, a vast number of state laws would be nullified. Many people feel that the result would be a violation of states' rights and therefore the Amendment is not suitable for the Constitution. Instead of entering this type of chaos, the League of Women Voters is fostering the more orderly and sensible procedure of trying to remove the few discriminations that still exist by specific laws correcting them.

This Amendment is being considered in Congress and because of its tricky name, some Congressmen might vote for it, believing women want it. Do write your Congressman to let him know that the majority of women are opposed to the Amendment, that it is unnecessary and confusing. This is a field where pressure from women can be highly effective. Use your power now.

The Nations Are Coming Together

It now seems clear that a full dress conference of all the United Nations will take place soon to further plans for an international organization. It is not illogical to assume that it will meet in Washington.

There is a growing realization among the nations of the world that countries can no longer act as individual units. What happens in other countries, how they pay for supplies, what they manufacture, and how they develop their resources are all of direct concern to the rest of the world. Proof of this is seen in the imposing array of international discussions which have taken place or are about to take place.

The Conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, though not the first international conferences of this war, were the most important. It was here that the technicians of the four major powers brought their separate plans for international organization and agreed on a basic document which is to be presented to the general conference.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is already functioning.

Out of the Hot Springs Food Conference of 1943 has come a proposed constitution for a Food and Agricultural Organization to increase the efficiency of agricultural production and raise the standard of living of all peoples.

The Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in July proposed plans for an international bank and a stabilization fund.

Exploratory talks on rubber were held in London in July with the British and Dutch, resulting in an informal Rubber Study Group composed of representatives of the three governments.

An Anglo-American Oil Agreement was signed in August, and is now before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

A meeting to consider international communications, particularly radio frequencies, was held in August.

An American proposal that all nations join to guarantee world freedom of news may soon be submitted to other nations.

On the agenda for the future is an international conference on civil aviation to be held early in November. Representatives of 50 nations have been invited to discuss establishing provisional world air routes and setting up an interim council.

An international businessmen's conference sponsored by the United States Chamber of Commerce will meet early in November.

A conference of shipping men has been suggested. Shipping problems will also be discussed by government representatives in an international meeting.

An international meeting on cartels is likely. If not, cartels will probably be discussed in a conference on commercial policies.

These conferences demonstrate the wide variety of problems which cannot be solved by any nation acting alone. They at once prove the necessity and provide the foundation stones for an international organization.

The Evils of the Two-Thirds Treaty Rule

For many years our foreign policy has been hamstrung because treaties must be ratified by a two-thirds vote in the Senate. It is always difficult to achieve such a vote, and it is almost impossible if the issue is at all controversial.

All new ideas, even the most brilliant, arouse controversy when they are first discussed. It is the function of leaders, however, to introduce such ideas. The two-thirds treaty rule prevents the United States from assuming its rightful place as a leader in foreign affairs. We must be a follower; we shrink from initiating any new and dynamic plans which involve treaty ratification, for fear the Senate may vote them down. The result is a sluggish foreign policy geared to a Senate where the two-thirds rule means that the minority controls the will of the majority.

The League of Women Voters feels that our foreign policy should be subject to a democratic review by the entire legislature. We, therefore, favor changing the Constitution to permit treaty ratification by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. The League has just issued a MEMORANDUM giving the background and a discussion of the proposed change, which we heartily commend to your attention.

As Others See Us

As an indication of the great variety of people to whom the work of the League is important and interesting, notice the list of national magazines which have this summer carried full articles about the League of Women Voters. June *Harper's Bazaar,* July *Mademoiselle,* September *Churchwoman,* September *Progress Guide,* September 2nd *Liberty,* September *Homemaker,* Fall issue of *Letter,* September and October *General Federation Clubwoman,* October *Good Housekeeping* Club Service, October *American* (a letter only), October *International Altrusan,* and two nationally distributed feature articles by Anna Lord Strauss, carried by A.P. and U.P.

A Job for Your Thoughts

What do we mean by full employment, jobs for everybody? We do not include in "everybody" the very young or the very old, the men who do not wish or are unable to work, nor the women who have left their homes for war work but do not intend to continue working in peace time. We do not even mean that every man and woman able and desiring to work shall have a job every day of every year. There will be seasonable jobs as there have always been, jobs depending on the weather, a seasonal demand, a temporary shortage. Men will continue to be fired for poor work; jobs will continue to evaporate with the arrival of new machinery, more efficient methods, refitting of plants, the temporary upheaval of bringing out a new model. A certain amount of unemployment cannot be avoided under any economic system.

But this temporary unemployment is entirely different from the chronic mass unemployment of the thirties. It is that clutching fear of depression which we must lift from our peace time workers, not by idle phrases and empty promises, but by taking the concrete steps today which will insure jobs for tomorrow.

Unfortunately we cannot toss this question of jobs into somebody else's lap. Right now stones are being laid in Congress which will form the foundation for the employment structure of the years following the war. Right now social security, public works, policies affecting housing, taxation and trade policies, are being formed which will have a bearing on the jobs of tomorrow.

Congressmen do not make decisions in a vacuum. They read the newspapers, including the editorial columns; they read the mail which crosses their desks; they ask everyone they see, "What are people thinking about in your neck of the woods?" And they are subject to terrific pressure from lobbyists who stream through their offices. The pressure groups, the business men, the labor unions, the veterans, the farmers, the Army and Navy; all these go to your Congressmen with axes to grind. It is we, the common garden variety of citizen, genuinely interested in a healthy economic system, who can park our axes at the door and speak to our Congressmen of the public good, the general welfare.

First, however, we must make up our own minds. Why don't we try talking about reconversion? Where will our returning service men find jobs? Should unemployment insurance be more generous? Should the ceilings on wages be lifted? Where should the government sell its old jeeps and Liberty ships? Should price controls be kept until the danger of inflation is past? All these are fascinating subjects, and each one of them has a direct bearing on our post war employment.

If you have never tried inviting a few friends in for an evening of reconversion discussion, try an invitation like this—

"Hello? Louise? Listen darling, do come over tomorrow evening! . . . No, we're not going to play bridge. . . . No, no parlor games. . . . No, I positively do not want to hear about your children or the butter shortage or your lost laundress, important as those subjects are. We are just going to discuss reconversion, and nothing else! . . . Fine, I'll be seeing you at eight, then. 'Bye."

There is nothing dull or boring about jobs. "What are they saying out your way about reconversion?" Well, are we saying *anything?* Are we talking about it so often to so many people that the ground is swelling with the vibration of our voices? Congressmen listen to the groundswell of public opinion, so let's make our opinions public, wherever we go, whenever we talk, to everyone we meet. Let's build a better America by discussion!

Don't Be Fooled By—

The charge that Dumbarton Oaks was "secret diplomacy." *Would the cake ever rise if your friends and neighbors kept opening the oven door?*

Complaints that UNRRA is just another plan to turn the U. S. into a European Santa Claus. *Buying a plow for a French farmer now means he'll soon have the money to buy a couple of our tractors.*

The "danger" of allowing an international police force to discipline us. *Is the policeman on the corner a threat to our safety?*

The "America First" argument that we should not risk the lives of our boys on foreign soil. *What are we doing now? Did staying out of the League of Nations keep them home?*

Suggestions that we stop immigration lest "refugees take over America." *Was your grandfather an Indian?*

Lazy theories that Senators don't pay attention to letters anyway. *Don't believe it —they count their fan mail just like Hollywood—and show the intelligent letters to their colleagues too.*

Have You Seen?

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the National League of Women Voters, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription only $1.00 a year.

MEMORANDUM, published whenever an issue requires background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a discussion outline included. The most recent are:

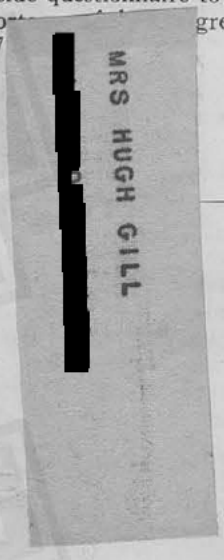
The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, giving the historical reasons for the rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed, and the League's stand on the whole question. 10¢ per copy.

Reconversion and Demobilization Problems, giving concise information on such questions as employment, demobilization, disposal of Government surplus war goods and conversion of war industry to peace time production. 5¢ per copy.

Aviation—Shipping—Currency—Cartels—As Foreign Policy Issues, explaining the post-war importance of these issues and explaining the stands of various governments and possible solutions. 10¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES AND FLIERS, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent are:

Your Next Congress Must Act on These Issues, a broadside questionnaire to make citizens realize the impo[redacted]gressional election. 100 copies, 7[redacted]



Just Any Congressman Won't Do, a flyer to urge an intelligent vote. 100 copies, 50¢.

GENERAL PUBLICATIONS, to explain the League, interpret program and suggest techniques.

Tomorrow Is Too Late, pamphlet giving the nature and organization of the League. 100 copies, $1.50.

Let the People Know, Make the People Care, Help the People Act. For distribution to prospective contributors. It includes a pledge blank. 100 copies, $1.50.

Program 1944-45, adopted at the Convention. 100 copies, $1.00; 500 copies, $4.50; 1000 copies, $7.50.

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

Let's Have a Discussion, for either the experienced or inexperienced discussion leader, to make a discussion group interesting and fruitful. 10¢ per copy.

Tips on Publicity, not new (July 1942) but as helpful as ever for those whose job is putting across ideas to the public. 10¢ per copy.

By-Laws, as amended at the 1944 Convention. 10¢ per copy.

ACTION

JANUARY 1945

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Dumbarton Oaks and World Opinion

KATHRYN STONE

WORLD opinion is a big subject and may seem vague as well. Yet its importance presses hard upon us as we look to our second chance to build a successful world security organization.

It was world opinion, to be expressed through the Assembly of the League of Nations, on which Woodrow Wilson mistakenly counted as a force strong enough to bring erring nations into line. It was the lack of world opinion to which Churchill was referring when he said, "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the Associated Nations." Breaking a long public silence, Lloyd George recently reasserted his conviction that it was the breakdown in American public opinion and consequent breakdown of American statesmanship which had made the Second World War inevitable.

Whether faltering public opinion was the chief cause could never be shown. Certainly it was a major factor in the long series of events which led up to 1939. And President Wilson's miscalculation was not of the importance of public opinion, but rather of its strength at a given moment in history. The interdependence of the modern world which was in 1918 clear to the few is rapidly becoming clear to the many. The experiences of the First World War were merely a foretaste of the One World whose outlines are now becoming visible to the ordinary citizens of all nations.

As the nations apply themselves to the staggering task of organizing the world, there are many reasons why they turn to the United States of America for leadership. It becomes our responsibility, not merely to play a creditable role, but to use our unique position and resources, geographical and historical, to point the way. Nowhere is it denied that we are an immensely energetic, youthful nation. The dominant impression of our history to date is that we are a nation which has for a century and a half experimented with some of the noblest principles of government evolved by men. There has been a new world hopefulness which has scorned the more cynical views and methods of old world statecraft and steadily held to the notion that ideals could be made to work.

A second time the eyes of the world are upon us and our behavior will signal to the other nations a feeling of hopefulness or despair for the success of the United Nations Organization. For this reason there is a symbolic fitness in the fact that the sound prospectus for a general world organization was worked out by the major powers at the colonial estate known as Dumbarton Oaks in the District of Columbia. It is also undeniable that as the heads of the nations meet to complete and perfect the plan, the world will be asking the questions: "What do the people of the United States think about it? Are the citizens determined to see that their Senate this time ratifies the treaty providing for full United States participation? Will the U. S. participate in the other international agreements necessary if the United Nations Organization is really to solve the problems which are the root causes of war?"

What the citizens are thinking about these questions and what they will do about answering them is not something which we can afford to leave to chance. Popular support of world cooperation is not merely something nice to have. It is something we cannot do without. Step by step the process of international cooperation must be understood and underwritten by the ordinary citizens of the United States.

The role of the League of Women Voters is now clearly defined. The letter sent from the National Board to Secretary Hull embodies your stand. Rarely has an organization such as ours been so solidly united to gain an objective. Our sights are up. The "Opening Gun" and all of the other materials and plans are aimed at the target. Together, our 550 local Leagues and our 55,000 members are in the midst of an unprecedented all-out campaign to stimulate the face-to-face discussion among thousands of our citizens which is the prerequisite to dynamic democracy.

The first step in our campaign is to see to it that every individual League member has thought seriously about the necessity for a world organization, has arrived at a strong conviction, and is ready to act to help others arrive at convictions they will in turn act on. The second and most influential step, so far as public opinion is concerned, is actually going to the thousands of others who have not thought about the need for a world organization, or at least haven't thought about it hard enough.

A second chance has been afforded the United States to play a major role in organizing a peaceful world. Let there be no mistaking the size of the contribution the League of Women Voters can make. The refinements of good living which you may temporarily neglect, or the house cleaning which seems so essential at the moment, will be forgotten twenty years from now. But your son will stand a better chance of staying out of a foxhole.

THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

Adapted from a release by the Department of State

WHAT ARE THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS?

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals are recommendations for the establishment of a general international organization, which were agreed to by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C.

IN WHAT MAJOR FIELDS WOULD THE PROPOSED ORGANIZATION OPERATE?

In the field of security, it would seek to prevent the outbreak of war (1) by encouraging peaceful adjustment or settlement of international disputes, (2) by suppressing breaches of the peace, by combined force if necessary.

It would facilitate solutions of international economic, social and humanitarian problems.

THROUGH WHAT BODIES WOULD THE ORGANIZATION OPERATE?

A General Assembly, composed of representatives of all member states, meeting in annual and special sessions, in which each state would have one vote;

A Security Council, composed of representatives of eleven member states, functioning continuously. The United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, China, eventually France, would have permanent seats, while six states would be elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly;

An international court of justice;

A Secretariat, or administrative staff;

An Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of eighteen member states chosen by the General Assembly for three-year terms;

A Military Staff Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council.

WHAT WOULD BE THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY?

It would:

(1) initiate studies and make recommendations for the promotion of international cooperation in political, economic, and social fields and for adjustment of situations likely to impair the general welfare;

(2) consider and make recommendations with respect to general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security;

(3) elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and all the members of the Economic and Social Council.

WHAT WOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL POWERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL?

It would be empowered:

(1) to investigate any dispute or any situation the continuance of which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute;

(2) to call upon states to settle their disputes by peaceful means of their own choice;

(3) to recommend to states appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security;

(4) to determine whether any situation threatens the peace or involves a breach of the peace, and to take any measures necessary to maintain or restore peace;

(5) to take diplomatic, economic, and other measures to give effect to its decisions; and

(6) to employ air, naval, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace, if measures short of force prove inadequate.

HOW WOULD THE SECURITY COUNCIL OBTAIN MILITARY FORCES?

Member states would conclude special agreements among themselves, subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The agreements would specify the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be made available to the Security Council. The Security Council could call upon some of the members of the Organization, or when necessary all of them, to make available the forces agreed upon.

WHAT WOULD BE THE CHIEF RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL?

The Economic and Social Council, acting under the authority of the General Assembly, would be responsible for:

(1) facilitating solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems;

(2) promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

(3) recommending the coordination of the activities of international organizations and agencies which may be brought into relationship with the Organization.

(The complete text of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals can be obtained free from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.)

ACTION

January, 1945 Vol. 1, No. 2

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Subscription $3 per year IOLA O. HESSLER, *Editor*

Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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MRS. TOM RAGLAND, Chattanooga, Tennessee
MRS. HAROLD A. STONE, Arlington, Virginia

Introducing—

It is particularly fitting that Kathryn Stone should write the lead article in the Dumbarton Oaks number of ACTION. As the Washington member of the National Board and a volunteer member of the program staff, she has been a vital, driving force in the planning of the League's nation-wide push for U. S. membership in the United Nations Organization.

An active organizer—of people, of ideas, and of the minutes in her day—Mrs. Stone has been Legislative and Government and Its Operation Chairman of the D. C. League, and is the founder of a new League in Arlington County, Virginia. Many of the National materials and suggested techniques have gone out to you in other Leagues only after a satisfactory trial on the testing ground of Arlington's five discussion groups.

Mrs. Stone gives us a living proof that fire and steam can be generated by cold facts. For her enthusiasms spring from knowledge; her activity rises from thorough study; her energy and drive are the result of a broad and deep background in the whole field of the social sciences. Her years of graduate work, the mental discipline of helping to write two books on city manager government, her experience as a demonstration teacher, have strengthened her natural ability to think incisively and realistically. In organizing the social studies programs of junior and senior high-schools, and in her leadership in building a progressive school for young children, she has been constantly interested in the influences which build children into useful citizens.

Of special value to the League at this time are Mrs. Stone's years of field work, studying and evaluating the results of public opinion on the city governments of 55 towns, large and small, in all parts of the U. S. Kathryn Stone deals with a familiar subject when she writes about public opinion, which she has not only studied, but helped to mold.

Secret Diplomacy

Tradition was happily shattered when Secretary Hull, in making public the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, asked for "full study and discussion by the peoples of all countries." This means that between the conference of experts from the four major powers at Dumbarton Oaks and the full dress conference of all peace-loving countries, you, the American people, are invited to let your government know what you think about an international organization to maintain peace and security.

To give impetus to discussion, the then Under-Secretary Stettinius and the other official delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference met on October sixteenth in the State Department with representatives of almost one hundred national organizations. There was a short presentation and explanation of the Proposals by several of the delegates and then the meeting was turned over to questions and off-the-record discussion.

The frank exchange of ideas and information has been considered of sufficient value to warrant a series of similar regional conferences to be held throughout the country.

Interesting as was the discussion, the importance of the meeting was in the tradition-breaking occasion. The day of "secret diplomacy secretly arrived at" looks as though it were on the way out. Our Department of State wishes to know what you think and is making an effort to find out.

MRS. HAROLD A. STONE
National Board of Directors

Mrs. Dibble Reports on an Explosive Party

My choice of that particular Friday was only my first mistake the night I took the Secretary of State seriously. I suppose any normal human would have remembered saying her daughter's Sunday School class could rehearse the Christmas play in our cellar that night. But I didn't. I suppose any normal being would not have asked John Butts in the first place. But I did. After all, Secretary of State Hull had asked for full public discussion of the United Nations, and "full" means everybody.

Our minister and his wife and John Butts and the Smiths had no sooner arrived than the Sunday School started pouring through the living room. *(When I build a house I am going to include a large pneumatic tube from the front door to the basement, so that by pressing a button all children can be conveyed instantly and noiselessly to the desired place without setting a foot in my living room.)* Maybe it was the constant interruptions which made everyone feel he must make each word count with ear-splitting force. In any case, the discussion of the United Nations grew more and more forthright until everyone individually was able to drown out "Silent Night" issuing from the basement.

Still nobody could persuade John Butts that the United Nations should be allowed to call out armed forces unless Congress got a chance to say it was a Good Thing. Mrs. Smith said that 77 times in our history troops have operated beyond our borders without any declaration of war by Congress. John said "fiddlesticks." The minister's wife yelled (she doesn't usually) that speed in making troops available was most important. John said, "Nothing Is as Important as the Preservation of Our National Sovereignty." Mr. Smith said "fiddlesticks."

Finally "Silent Night" changed to "We Three Kings of Orient Are" and my brain speeded up a little. "John Butts," I hollered, "do you remember how the thief that broke into your store was caught because the police came so quickly when you called them? Well, I'd certainly like to know what right the Chief of Police has to send out men without consulting the City Council every time. The Council is responsible for preserving peace in this town and—"

"Nonsense," said John. "The Council passed a law saying the police should keep order."

"And what's wrong with Congress passing a law saying the Chief of Police of the United Nations can send out force to quell a riot?" I had him!

You know, there's something *to* this discussion theory. It's amazing how it helps you think. I've decided to invite six or eight different people every two weeks to discuss the United Nations —as soon as the Sunday School play is over.

Out of the League's Letter File

To Secretary of State Cordell Hull

From Anna Lord Strauss

November 15, 1944

In response to your request for "full study and discussion" of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the National Board of the League of Women Voters has drawn up plans for a nation-wide drive to promote discussion by the greatest possible number of United States citizens.

The League's plan to promote public discussion is also prompted by the belief that in the last analysis the success of the United Nations Organization will depend not on the mechanics, but on the understanding and support of the peoples of the world and on their determination to make it work.

The League of Women Voters favors the immediate establishment of a strong, democratic, international organization for the purpose of maintaining peace and creating the conditions in which peace is most likely to exist. To this end it endorses the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as a working basis for such an organization. It anticipates that the final charter, drawn up by representatives of all peace-loving nations, will expand and strengthen the initial machinery suggested in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

The League of Women Voters recommends that the State Department indicate the confidence of the people of this country in the international process by urging that there be no requirement of unanimous vote in the Security Council, and that no nation be given a veto power. It favors empowering our delegate on the Security Council to vote for the use of military force without reference in each instance to Congress.

The inevitable differences between nations must not divert the American peoples from the solution of our international problems, which demands a United Nations organization.

To Anna Lord Strauss

From Acting Secretary Edward R. Stettinius

November 25, 1944

I have received your letter of November 15 stating that the National Board of the League of Women Voters has drawn up plans for a nation-wide drive to promote public discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

As you so well understand, the successful establishment of an international security organization along the broad lines proposed at Dumbarton Oaks will depend, in a large measure, upon the support of an informed public opinion. The Department of State earnestly welcomes all steps, such as those being undertaken by the League of Women Voters, to bring about public understanding of those Proposals.

HINTS ON HOW

"In union there is strength," is no idle phrase, but a basic concept of such truth and importance that our nation was built upon it; and not only victory in war but success in building a lasting peace depends upon the unity of the peoples of the world in pressing for world organization.

The League of Women Voters has a job to do. We must all work together—as individuals and as members of active groups—to take advantage of the greatly increased strength which comes from unified action over the whole nation. The impact upon our government of hundreds of thousands of voices speaking in the same vein and at the same time can be tremendous.

Now is the time for the first step in our campaign for concerted action. The people of the United States should see that Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., receives as many expressions as possible of interest in and endorsement of the proposed United Nations Organization. To this end we suggest a number of ways of stirring up public opinion to the action point. Some of them will not serve you in your community; some, you personally will not be able to use. But all have been tried in Leagues in various parts of the country, and have been found effective. What can YOU do toward achieving the first step, encouraging the State Department to lead us into permanent peace?

Don't Be Fooled By—

"Isolationism is dead."

A change of name, a new argument. But the same cat lives again.

"The proposed peace organization is too big a risk."

In 1919 we refused the risk; today millions are dying.

"Victory's in the bag; I'm giving up my war job."

We may have crossed the Saar but the Pacific is wider.

"We can't afford to give up any of our sovereignty."

Can we afford a global war in every generation?

"We're losing on lend-lease."

The guns we send to our allies are fighting the enemy too.

CAN'T YOU TRY—?

Starting a discussion group of six to twelve men and women, which will meet regularly every two weeks at some participant's home to talk about the United Nations Proposals and obtain the background necessary to reach out and inform others.

Inviting six or more different people to your own home once every two weeks to discuss the United Nations specifically and write individual letters to Secretary Stettinius.

Asking your minister to urge discussion of the United Nations, even to start discussion groups in the church, if he has not already done so. Basing discussion either on his sermons or on some good public forum of the air—something every member could hear or read. Asking him to request letters to the State Department.

Asking your children's civics and history teachers to stress the United Nations Proposals in their classes, urge students to talk about them at home and encourage their parents to write to the State Department. Asking the principal to have a school assembly devoted to the subject.

Suggesting discussions, meetings, resolutions, newspaper publicity and letters to your clubs and P.-T. A. groups.

Starting a conversation about the United Nations with everyone you encounter, on the busses, in the grocery, over your back fence.

Calling in person on everyone in your block to talk about the latest League broadside on the United Nations.

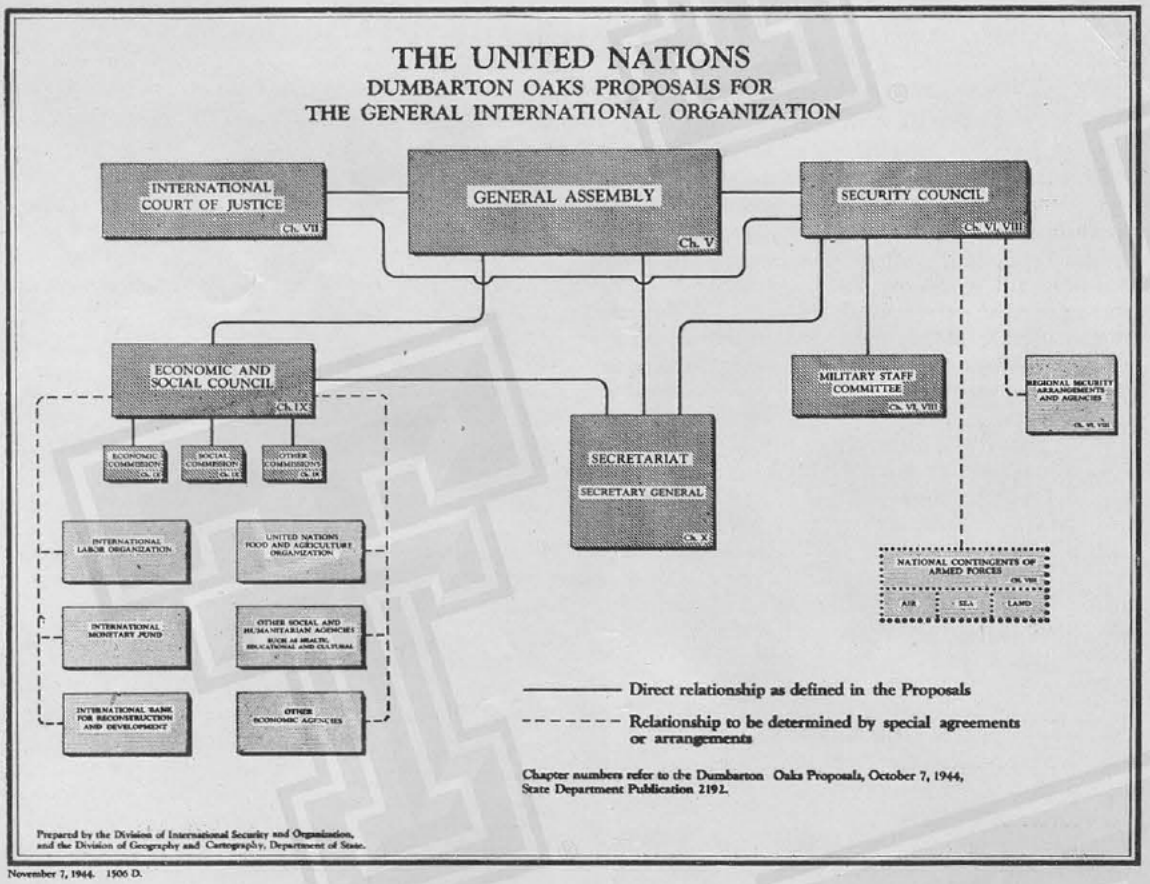
Using TRENDS for the last minute Christmas gift, or as a thank-you-for-your-hospitality gesture; or showing your copy to all your friends and urging them to subscribe to it.

Writing personal notes to the Secretary of State enclosing newspaper clippings or editorials which uphold a strong United Nations organization, and commenting on the importance of the stand in your own words.

Writing personal notes of approval and comment whenever local editorial writers or columnists take a sound position on an international organization.

Taking "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks" to every person of influence you know—ministers, teachers, club presidents, newspaper men and women, business men, speakers.

Finding regular posting places for League broadsides and newspaper clippings on the United Nations Organization—by the washing machine in your apartment building, on your church bulletin board, near the checking out stand in the grocery, in your corner drugstore.



November 7, 1944. 1506 D.

CONGRESSIONAL SPOTLIGHT

A new Congress—the 79th—will meet on January 3.

The win-the-peace issue will be the most important to come before it. The charter for a United Nations organization will be presented as a treaty, requiring ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. Before this comes up, however, there must be a full dress conference of the United Nations to draw up a charter based on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

The basic outlines of the contemplated organization are already evident in the Proposals. One thorny problem facing the United Nations Conference, however, will be that of the voting procedure to be used in the Security Council. It has been suggested that any permanent member of the Council be allowed to have veto power in any decision. This would mean that there would be different rules for different nations. It would also mean that no action would ever be taken unless it had the unanimous approval of Great Britain, the United States, Russia, China and France. The League of Women Voters believes such an arrangement would seriously limit the scope of the Council's action.

Two issues which must be settled by the government of each member nation are 1) the quota of military force to be allotted for the use of the Security Council and 2) the power of their delegate to the Security Council. As far as the United States is concerned, these measures may be presented in the form of bills to be passed by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. The League of Women Voters believes that for the United Nations to be effective military force must be immediately available to the Security Council. This means that our delegate must be able to vote for the use of force without going back to Congress for approval in each instance.

The power of the delegate can be determined in two ways. He can be an appointee of the Executive under his Constitutional powers. Or, the office of the delegate might be set up by an act of Congress which defines his powers and obligations.

In addition to ratification of a treaty for a general international organization, Congress will also be asked to consider a number of measures for international cooperation in specific fields, such as The Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement, The Food and Agriculture Organization, The Anglo-American Oil Agreement, The International Aviation Organization.

Have You Seen?

THE STORY OF DUMBARTON OAKS, a pamphlet on the United Nations Organization. Available by January, 1945. 5¢ per copy, special price on quantity orders.

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the National League of Women Voters, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription only $1.00 a year.

MEMORANDUM, published whenever an issue requires background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a discussion outline included. The most recent is:

The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed, and the League's stand on the whole question. 10¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES AND FLIERS, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent are:

Yours Is the Power, the first of the series on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a United Nations organization. 100 copies 75¢.

What Happened at Dumbarton Oaks?, specific information on the Proposals. 100 copies 75¢.

OPENING GUN of our campaign for support of the United Nations Organization. Analysis of League stand on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, revised December, 1944. 5¢ per copy.

GENERAL PUBLICATIONS, to explain the League, interpret program and suggest techniques.

Tomorrow Is Too Late, leaflet giving the nature and organization of the League. 100 copies, $1.50.

Let the People Know, Make the People Care, Help the People Act. For distribution to prospective contributors. It includes a pledge blank. 100 copies, $1.50. Without a pledge blank is good for membership use. 100 copies $1.00.

Program 1944-45, adopted at the Convention. 100 copies, $1.00; 500 copies, $4.50; 1000 copies, $7.50.

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

Let's Have a Discussion, for either the experienced or inexperienced discussion leader, to make a discussion group interesting and fruitful. 10¢ per copy.

Your Part in a Discussion, good for distributing at discussion groups as an aid for the individual members. 50 copies, 40¢; 100 copies, 75¢.

For those last-minute Christmas gifts—
why not give TRENDS? We will send a
gift notification card.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF ACTION of the National League of Women Voters published bi-monthly regularly; at Washington, D. C., for January, 1945.
in the District of Columbia, ss:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean E. Benton, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of ACTION of the National League of Women Voters, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, ... as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations printed on the reverse ... wit:

... addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher: National ... Editor, and Jean E. Benton, Business Manager, 726 Jackson Place.
... Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place. Miss Anna Lord Strauss, President, 726 Jackson ... Mrs. W. H. Peterson, Treasurer, 726 Jackson Place.
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... f the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not ... upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder ... trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or ... at the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full ... r which stockholders and security holders do not appear upon the books ... pacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no ... on has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other

MRS. E. R. BROWN[redacted]

of the ...
reason to believe ...
securities than as so stated.

JEAN E. BENTON, *Business Manager.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th ... 1944.
(SEAL) NANCY D. NEVITT.
(My commission expires May 31, 1949)

61 Aug - 1/20 El Campo

PUBLISHER NOTIFIED

ACTION

MARCH 1945

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

United States' Responsibility in Greece

By Walter Lippmann

HITHERTO, the guiding rule of our diplomacy has been to use our influence to postpone the exercise of political responsibility until after the war is over.

A very large part of our present difficulties may be traced to the policy of reiterating high principles and of postponing the settlement of concrete issues. The one certain thing about both the Greek and Polish situations is that it was impossible to postpone until after the war the concrete issues which they pose.

Decisions had to be taken. Greece had to have a provisional government from the day of liberation. Poland and the Soviet Union had to be allies in order to conclude the war against Germany. The Russians, who have military responsibility in Eastern Europe, and the British, who have it in the Eastern Mediterranean, had to decide, even if they decided wrongly. Our effort to postpone the decisions which these necessities presented has inevitably meant that we did not participate in the decisions, and that, therefore, they became "unilateral." What is more they became embittered. For the effect of our urging postponement in the name of high principles has been to encourage the irreconcilable extremists and to nullify our own influence in favor of moderation and compromise. Thus the more we preached high principles and postponed settlements the greater became the gap between our principles and what was happening.

We shall do well to recognize that Greece and Poland are exceptionally difficult cases to deal with under the principles of the Atlantic Charter. They are just about the hardest cases imaginable by which to test the meaning, the value, and the sincerity of the Atlantic Charter.

In Greece, for example, the relevant principle of the Atlantic Charter is that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Now the fact of the matter is that for twenty-five years the Greek nation has been divided and has had no form of government which united the people.

Thus in 1917, Constantine, a brother-in-law of the Kaiser, was King of Greece. He was overthrown and dethroned by Venizelos, and his son Alexander became King. Alexander died in 1919, Venizelos was defeated in the elections, and Constantine returned to the throne. In 1922 Constantine was again dethroned, and his eldest son, George II, succeeded him. In 1924 George II was driven into exile, and Greece became a republic. The republic was overthrown by General Pangalos. In 1927 Pangalos was overthrown and imprisoned. Elections took place and showed that the republicans and royalists were evenly balanced. From about 1928 to 1935 there was a constitutional republic. After the 1935 elections there was a monarchist revolt which led to plebiscites recalling the exiled King George II. Shortly thereafter, in 1936, General Metaxas set up a Fascist dictatorship. The underground resistance to this dictatorship was the nucleus of the E.A.M., which the British armed in order to resist the Germans . . .

In the light of its history can anyone really think that the principles of the Atlantic Charter provide any clear guide to the problem of how to constitute a Greek provisional government? We may think what we like about the wisdom of Mr. Churchill's handling of the situation. But the one thing we cannot think is that he or we, or Solomon in his wisdom, could have found in the Atlantic Charter the rule or the principle of a better handling.

If that is so, then we do a profound disservice to morals when we talk as if there were a moral code which covers the Greek situation, and that this code has been violated. The code we do have, namely the Charter, applies to nations which have a government that they want, and is designed to prevent them from being deprived of that government. But when they do not yet have a gov-

(Continued on page 3)

From Chatter to Matter

(How to switch the conversation onto world security, in one easy lesson.)

What I wouldn't give for a pound of bacon!

Well, I'm willing to do without bacon in this war if I can do without buzz bombs in the next. Do you think this is the last war, Sue?

Darn this war! I just can't handle that six-year-old hellion with his father away.

Never mind; the corduroy age gang will live through this war somehow. It's the next war they'll die in. How are we going to prevent that next one, Mary?

I'd love to go, only the gas shortage—

Luckily no bombs have hit the busses yet. Just think what the next war will be like; we won't be able to go anywhere except shelters. You know, I think we ought to be *doing* something about the next war, don't you, Sally?

(Reprinted from *Today and Tomorrow* with the permission of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune.)

Politics In and Out of the Parlor

By Florence Townley Law

WHEREVER I have lived, as long as I can remember, there has always been a school house nearby. On holidays, the American flag was always flying and very early I learned that I lived in a free country. The school was free. Anyone could go there. Nobody paid. My symbols and syllogisms may have been confused but nothing in my formal education got them straightened out.

When I had a home and children of my own, we moved into a new neighborhood. I was careful to choose one where there was a good school. This meant to me a nice modern building, good plumbing, and light class rooms. It would no more have occurred to me to look at the public budget for education than to have asked to see the budget of my new neighbors.

It didn't take me long to find out that something was wrong. There were eighty children in the kindergarten and over thirty in the grade classes. I went to see the principal, Mr. Smith. He said that it was a very serious matter, but all that was needed was a little more money. Divided among all the taxpayers in the district, it would cost but a few pennies for each $100 worth of property. This seemed reasonable and simple, and, although it was the first time it had ever dawned on me that the school was actually supported by living persons, I was very anxious to do something about it.

Mr. Smith had suggested that I call on the local assessor. Although terrified at the thought of meeting my assessor face to face, I thought I had better not bother my husband about it. Tremblingly I set forth. Mr. Harter, the assessor, listened. He was kind and patient while I explained that I wanted my taxes (and those of my neighbors) raised a very, very little so that we could have more teachers in our school. Mr. Harter said that he could not raise our taxes. All he did was find out how much property people had. He didn't decide how much they paid. Besides, he added, if the assessment were made any higher, the other taxing bodies would get more money and the people wouldn't like it.

I wasn't quite sure what other "taxing bodies" were, and it certainly was a new idea to me that I could not pay my tax money for the goods and services which I wanted—for instance, more for teachers and less for mosquito abatement and policemen. But I could not convince the assessor.

There was a League of Women Voters in our town, and I decided that this was a matter for them. I telephoned the president who invited me to join a study group on local taxes. I assured her that while I thought this might be very interesting, I could not possibly take time from my domestic and cultural duties to get involved in it. All I wanted was just a few pennies from people for a few extra teachers for our school. Somehow that president got me into the group. There we learned that levy, rate, assessment, distributive funds and many other dry sounding things had life in them. We learned that taxes were contributions from real people for the things they wanted. Our study finally led to the realization that the rate for our schools would have to be raised by the state legislature, if we were to have those extra pennies.

Then the siege began, and more lessons in reality. After a long campaign, permission was given to raise the rate if the people in the district voted for it. This was called a referendum and it meant ringing doorbells and talking politics in the parlor. Not everyone agreed that what was good for my children was good for everybody, but the majority of the voters did agree, and all of the people began to pay. At last we had the extra teachers in our school.

Then the war came and with it the astronomical figures and strange new devices. At first it was hard to navigate in the economic stratosphere. But the fundamentals learned in "Know Your School" were good. Just as I had learned that teachers must be paid by my neighbors and myself, so I understand that the war must be, unless its cost is to be passed on to my children or paid by inflation. Just as I had learned that taxes will not be levied without the "consent of the governed", I learned that "consent" is a complicated business when it comes to deciding each one's share. This will probably lead to the ringing of more doorbells but I am ready. For I still pass the school. The flag is still flying. I still think to myself, "This is a free country. This is a free school."

U. S. RESPONSIBILITY

(Continued from page 2)

ernment they want, and have been in a state of chronic civil war for 25 years, our code does not tell us what we must do about it.

What then is our proper course? We could say that Greece is beyond the range of our political responsibility as it is outside the sphere of our military responsibilities, and then hope that the British and the Greeks will work out some tolerable arrangement. Or we can accept responsibility, join with the British, the various Greek factions, and the French, accept some agreed arrangement, perhaps even promote a general Mediterranean peace, and then support it. The one thing we cannot do is to sit on the side lines and proclaim high but inapplicable principles through a loudspeaker.

ACTION

March, 1945 Vol. 1, No. 3

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ Iola O. Hessler, Editor

Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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Mrs. Charles E. Heming, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Maurice A. Pollak, Highland Park, Illinois
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Chattanooga, Tennessee
Mrs. Harold A. Stone, Arlington, Virginia

Introducing

Mrs. Law is a political philosopher, but not an abstract thinker. High sounding phrases never take her in unless they mean something fundamental in terms of human beings and their needs. As President of the Highland Park League of Women Voters, then as Vice-President of the Illinois League, and now as First Vice-President of the National League, she has long been a true democrat with a small "d."

Mrs. Law accepts her responsibility for government as conscientiously as she accepts responsibility for providing her husband and three children with nourishing food and well-made beds. She has that rather rare gift of looking at things squarely and searchingly, reducing them to the simplest possible terms. This penetrating but down-to-earth cast of mind, combined with her fine intelligence and ability to stay on the track, makes her a person to whom her neighbors naturally turn for leadership.

Mrs. Law is the lady next door, your good friend. When you are confused, her gentle, trenchant wit will straighten your thoughts and leave you chuckling. And if something needs doing, why, it needs doing and that's the end of it—Mrs. Law will do it.

Although her primary interest for many years was finance and taxation, Mrs. Law soon realized that government cannot be divided neatly into separate compartments. Taxation covers every field of government action; what we want we must pay for, and what we pay for includes the whole range of government service to human beings. Mrs. Law discharges her responsibility as a citizen just as faithfully as her sons in the armed forces discharge theirs; but in return she demands that her government satisfy the needs of its people. And right now her chief concern is the League's concern, that neither her sons nor her sons' sons shall fight another war.

Twenty-five Years Old

On this silver anniversary of the National League of Women Voters, we take great pleasure in reprinting two of the congratulatory messages we have received.

From Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg:

"The League of Women Voters has made a vital contribution to democracy for a quarter of a century. Its earnest and studious interest in public questions has been a splendid asset in the development of an enlightened electorate. It renders a fine and essential public service. I am happy to join in greetings to the League upon its auspicious anniversary. I wish it all success in the critical labor and the critical years that lie ahead."

From Senator J. W. Fulbright:

"I have been encouraged in the past few months by the active and intelligent interest which the League of Women Voters groups throughout the country are taking in national affairs. The current popularity of the sport of poking fun at our politicians is perhaps one of the most important reasons why the best brains of the nation are usually attracted to business or the professions rather than to public service. The League of Women Voters is doing much to discourage this unfortunate attitude of our people toward politics and politicians. By promoting public discussion of important issues, the League is having a beneficial influence on our democratic system."

Mrs. Marc A. Law

HINTS ON HOW—What Can I Do?

First, of course, you as an individual must become reasonably familiar with the United Nations Proposals. You do not need to be an expert, but you must take enough time to discuss the main problems facing the world, and the most practicable way of solving them. In a democracy you must recognize your responsibility for the course our government takes and realize the importance of every individual in the electorate, just as every soldier in the army acknowledges his importance in the whole offensive.

Experience has shown that an individual reaches a better understanding of her responsibility if she has made up her own mind through discussion with others. You may discuss the problems of international cooperation with one other person, or with fifteen other persons, or you may participate in a large meeting in which the pros and cons are discussed. But you cannot simply sit on the receiving end of one-sided information and be sure that you have arrived at opinions which will stand the test of argument.

Once you have informed yourself in a general way, your job is to discuss the United Nations with others. You can talk to everyone you meet about world security, finding every possible opportunity to bring up the subject. You can stick just to your friends and acquaintances or, better still, you can make conversation with anyone you see, on busses, in the grocery store, standing on the corner waiting for a street car.

You can buy 100 broadsides for 75¢ at your local League, and 20 copies of "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks" for $1. You can use them as an excuse to call on your neighbors and talk about Dumbarton Oaks. Or you can distribute them at meetings of organizations to which you belong. You can enclose one in every letter you mail. Or you can find regular posting places for them in your church, grocery, school.

As you know, the League of Women Voters has a gigantic goal in its campaign for U. S. membership in the United Nations. Our goal is discussion of the United Nations in every neighborhood in every community in which we have a League. In most communities we probably have at least one League member in a great many neighborhoods, so our goal is not by any means out of sight in the stars. But it does require that League members who have in the past simply paid their dues and listened to other people speak shall now assume some responsibility for reaching the goal.

You can surely ask some of your neighbors in for the evening after their children are in bed. Your local League will provide a discussion leader to help you get the conversation on the track. And, if you feel insecure the first time yourself you can ask your League to send someone, too, who is very well informed on Dumbarton Oaks. Discussion, whether you call it that or simply conversation, talk, chatter, has a snowballing quality. If your neighbors find talking about Dumbarton Oaks interesting at your house, they will take their new ideas to the next house. With a certain amount of follow-up you can probably persuade them to turn their own next parties into conversations led by a League member. People are interested in peace; in all the hundreds of reports we are getting about League discussions on world security, the most universal comment is that people were shy at first, but soon everyone was talking. *Everybody talking!* With everybody talking we can have peace in the world!

Because there are many people who do not regularly attend or belong to some organized group, we must take discussion of Dumbarton Oaks into their homes. But we can also take it into other organizations. Your sewing club, your Red Cross group, your bridge club; are they conducted in utter silence? Of course not. They are ideal places to start the conversation going on Dumbarton Oaks. Your more formal clubs with a scheduled program; can't your president or program chairman be persuaded to turn one meeting over to a discussion of the United Nations, led by a League member? Your church; people are used to going there for a great many activities. It is an ideal place in which to start a discussion group on peace. Your minister can be a most potent force in your community; can't you see that he understands the importance of individual responsibility for enduring peace?

When you have informed yourself a little, when you have persuaded others that the U. S. must be a responsible member of the United Nations, what can you do to see that your government knows what the people think? Right now, and until after the meeting of the full-dress United Nations Conference for drafting the final Charter, your State Department needs every possible encouragement to insist on a strong, democratic Charter. The Secretary of State can commit this country only as far as he thinks the American people are ready to go. So the most important action you can take right now is to write to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, State Department, Washington, D. C., and urge your friends, your neighbors, your club and church members, to write too. Tell him you want United States participation in a United Nations organization to promote the security of the world. Tell him you want the U. S. delegate empowered to commit our quota of armed force to stop war wherever and whenever it may threaten.

Conversational Stumbling Blocks

By Georgianna Fales Mitchell

IN the course of your conversations about the United Nations, you are certain to find people who want the U. S. to cooperate with other countries to prevent the next war but who don't see how we can trust England,—or Russia,—or France. The recent disagreement between the Great Powers over politics in Poland and Greece has stimulated a fresh wave of anti-British and anti-Russian feeling and the claim that these countries have betrayed the Atlantic Charter is often heard. American membership in the proposed United Nations Organization will become much more difficult to achieve if there is a really widespread public belief that Britain or Russia have deserted the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. These countries do not consider that their actions in Poland or the Balkans constitute a breach of faith with the Charter. Peoples of different nations look at the same problem from such separate angles that a common viewpoint is hard to obtain. We cannot hope always to see eye to eye with our allies, but it will help make it possible for us to attain a meeting ground for common action if we make a conscious effort to understand their viewpoint.

What Is the Russian Viewpoint?

Under the Atlantic Charter Russia, and the other United Nations subscribing, agree to "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other." Russia does not consider that the territorial claims it has made are in any way a forceful annexation of foreign soil. The Baltic countries and Bessarabia are considered an integral part of the mother country, stripped from her by force in 1918. Now that Russia has herself retaken them she believes it a simple act of justice for her allies to recognize her right to her pre-1918 boundaries. Except for Lithuania, which had been part of Russia since 1700, none of these countries had had independence before 1918. Poland does have a history of former independence and Russia concedes her right to self-government, but considers the boundary as debatable. Russia feels she is being fair in offering Poland a settlement based on the Curzon line. This line was not devised by the Soviet Government, but at Versailles in 1919. It is considered to offer the nearest approximation to a fair settlement in accordance with the principle of self-determination in a region of such confused nationalities.

The Russians fear capitalism as much as the western democracies fear communism. Nations, like elephants, have long memories and Russia has not forgotten that her present allies used their armed forces to aid the white armies in the 1918 civil war; that food and relief were used as a political weapon against Bolshevism after the last war; and that Russia was the only country to be expelled from the League of Nations, though Japan and Italy certainly committed earlier and greater aggressions. These past Russian experiences offer some explanation of Russia's secretiveness in sharing military information with her allies, her lack of cooperation with UNRRA, her feeling the need of a veto power in the former voting procedure of the proposed Dumbarton Oaks Security Council.

Evidence of Russian good faith in wanting to work out an international order based on cooperation is to be found in the unwavering backing which Litvinov gave to principles of collective security in the League of Nations long after the western democracies had deserted these principles, Russia's willingness to take an active part in formulating the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, her recognition of the combined interest of the allies in joint negotiation of armistice terms with Rumania and Bulgaria.

What Is the British Viewpoint?

The recent statement in the London Economist that it was time for Churchill to stop appeasing America was a new idea to many Americans. Looking at the international scene from the British side of the Atlantic we find that they feel they went along with our policy in Argentina in spite of their conflicting interests; that they followed our lead to their detriment in deferring recognition of DeGaulle; and that our policy also predominated in the decision to take the offensive in the Philippines while Europe remained half liberated.

The British resent the accusation that they have betrayed the Atlantic Charter and reverted to power politics by carving out a sphere of influence in Greece. They believe that military necessity required Britain's acting in Greece, while to Russia fell the primary responsibility for Rumania and Bulgaria. America was not herself prepared to assume a dominant role in the Balkan campaign. Britain was. The British feel that American public opinion does not understand the deep-seated revolutionary character of the situation in the Balkans or the difficulties of making wise decisions when lives are at stake and when, therefore, military expediency must often take precedence over more idealistic motives.

The British do not feel that the preservation of the Empire conflicts with the United Nations aims for the establishment of an international and cooperative security system. They regard the Empire as the most successful demonstration of international cooperation to date and do not feel that its

Money Sets the World in Motion

Two very challenging problems are facing the world today. The first is how to set up an organization which will stop war when people show signs of wanting to fight. The second is how to prevent people from reaching the stage where they want to fight. If people are prosperous they are not inclined to go to war. Healthy trading conditions will help to keep them prosperous.

To stimulate trade, representatives of 44 nations held a most successful conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944. They proposed to set up an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and an International Monetary Fund.

After the war the devastated countries will be anxious to start rebuilding their homes and their factories so they can resume normal life. Undeveloped countries will also be eager to raise their standard of living by constructing railroad lines and manufacturing plants. Most of these countries will not have enough money to undertake such projects, so they will have to borrow. The International Bank was set up to help them. The Bank is not designed to lend much money itself; it is primarily intended to guarantee the loans of private lenders and banking houses. Because the United States will be lending most of the money after this war, the Bank will be of particular advantage to United States' investors. If their loans go bad, the Bank will make them good. This means that the risk of lending will be almost eliminated. Therefore interest rates will be lower and the loans will be safer. These advantages will benefit both borrowers and lenders.

The Bank will guarantee only loans needed to import materials for productive works such as dams, railroads and factories, and then only after a committee of experts has testified that the loan will be wisely spent. Suppose money is lent to Brazil to build a hydro-electric dam. Given electricity for the first time people can buy electric light bulbs, vacuum cleaners, ice boxes, frozen foods to put in the ice boxes. Consequently the building of one dam means a new market for manufacturers all over the world.

The opening up of new trading areas, however, is only one link in the healthy flow of trade. Currencies must be stable. If a manufacturer in the United States, for example, wants to sell farm machinery to Russia, he naturally wants to know how many rubles will equal a dollar. If the value of Russian currency keeps fluctuating, the number of rubles to the dollar will also change. The uncertainty of never knowing what price his machinery will bring will make a manufacturer hesitate to go into the Russian market. To help countries keep their money stable an International Monetary Fund has been proposed. The Fund will also give assistance to those countries which have purchased more from other countries than they have sold to them. All members of the Fund will put up some of their own currency to form a pool of money. Any nation which needs dollars to purchase goods may go the Fund, put up her own currency, and buy dollars in exchange. These dollars must be returned as soon as possible. There are provisions in the Fund to prevent a nation from purchasing an excessive amount of other nations' currencies and to encourage prompt repayment to the Fund. The Fund is only intended to give short-term relief to countries whose trade is temporarily out of balance.

Neither the Fund nor the Bank are panaceas for world economic ills. In order to make these proposals successful each nation must implement them with more liberal commercial policies and sound monetary legislation.

The League of Women Voters is supporting the Bretton Woods proposals because they will help to keep the peace. The U. S. share of the appropriations is equal to the cost of only 11 days of war. This is a small gamble to take on future prosperity. These proposals will probably have a difficult time in Congress; they need our support. We must all watch for the right time to tell our Congressmen to vote for the Fund and the Bank.

Stumbling Blocks

Continued from page 6

dissolution would contribute to world peace or simplify the problem of building a world security system. They point out that five dominions are completely self-governing and that their membership in the British Commonwealth is entirely voluntary. Other sections of the Empire are in various stages of self-government and their eventual self-government is felt to be assured.

Enlarging the American Viewpoint.

Americans constantly overlook the fact that advice entails responsibility. We want the British to do things our way; we criticize the way the Russians act. But are we prepared to help make the necessary decisions and take the necessary action ourselves? Are we, the United States, willing to face *now* the pressing political and economic problems which are following in the wake of the already joint battle? In some way we must instil in ourselves and our fellow citizens a willingness to have our country share the risks and setbacks that accompany cooperative political action. We must develop a firm conviction that just as joint military action is necessary to victory, so joint political action is necessary for eventual peace.

Mrs. Dibble Reports on Henry

Henry has been giving me trouble for years. Louise is just as bad when Henry is around, but she occasionally talks sense when you put her in a corner and fence her in. Ever since that pair moved next door I've had not only to tuck them under my arm and carry them to the voting booth on election day, but even tell them how to vote. Of course I don't approve of that sort of thing really, but you can't let two nit-wits go off marking X's at random all over the place, and they simply won't be bothered to make up their own minds.

I knew that there wasn't the slightest chance of dragging Henry to one of the discussion groups on Dumbarton Oaks I've been having for the neighbors. I would rather die than ask him. But I'm a stubborn wench at times, and Henry was a marked man in my book. I invited Henry and Louise, and a couple of quiet little mice who seldom squeak, and two new neighbors I didn't know, just to come in and drink beer. You see I made my experiment as tough for myself as I possibly could.

But then I got scared. I could just see the mice trembling all over at Henry's boisterous humor (Henry is an extrovert and slaps people on the back); and whether the new neighbors would turn out to be Communists or editorial writers for the Chicago Tribune began to haunt my dreams. I fled to Millie for aid in my extremity. Millie's husband is overseas too, and we depend on each other to help meet situations that need a little moral or verbal support.

The evening arrived and so did my guests. Henry started right off talking about his income tax and how he didn't like to pay through the nose in order to lend-lease trucks all over the world. Millie jumped in with a remark that lend-lease was the greatest American advertising stunt in history; just think of the market for American products being opened up by our Allies familiarity with American trucks and tractors, American bottled drinks and chewing gum, machine tools, and electrical appliances. From there on we kept the discussion on world security for three solid hours at full steam.

The mice became man and woman and convinced Henry that war wasn't quite inevitable. The new neighbors weren't Communists but they persuaded Henry the Russians were okay to talk to in a friendly spirit. They completely converted the man from defeatism to borrowing my typewriter to write the Secretary of State. And not a soul there, except Millie and me, knew that it was a League of Women Voters Discussion Group.

Tightening Up

We were interested in the *New Yorker* suggestion that the little notices by the elevators in the Empire State Building, which warn that on V-day tenants must refrain from throwing anything out of the windows, should be replaced by ones demanding that tenants get back in their offices and finish winning the war.

The lengthening of the war on the western front and the prospect of a not-so-easy victory has of necessity stiffened all the unpopular wartime economic controls. Spot reconversions have stopped; food rationing has been tightened; national service legislation is being asked to meet ever greater manpower demands; increased enforcement funds seem necessary to make it possible for OPA to cope with expanding black markets. These are vital, important restrictions if we are to finish the war with the least loss of men and with the least possible economic dislocation. Yet civilans continue to depict their lot as unbearable, and even some of the most sensible have been slow to see why the rationing program demanded cancellation of some red stamps.

A recent editorial in the *Saturday Review of Literature* lists this delightfully ironic "catalogue of catastrophe:" "Consider, if you will, the privation and suffering to which the average American has been subjected in this war. Only enough gasoline to take care of essential needs in getting around, with only taxicabs and other forms of transportation as alternatives; hardly enough of the best cuts of meat unless one goes to the trouble of eating occasionally at restaurants; not enough butter for bread or other dishes, compelling the nation to turn to indistinguishable substitutes or even to jam or cheese; long—too long—lines in front of liquor stores with the probability that one's favorite scotch may be out of stock with nothing but rum or bourbon and fifty-seven other varieties to take its place; . . . We have been saving for last the most drastic privation of all, now rapidly becoming the Nation's No. 1 Problem: shortage of standard-brand cigarettes, an unmitigated calamity, comparable only to a planetary collision or the absence of a fourth hand at bridge."

There are a lot of people in this country who actually feel this way. It's our League job to see that that kind of thinking does not have too much influence on Congress when OPA is presented for renewal; when manpower controls are tightened. We must form such a sound backlog of public opinion that the wailers will be drowned out, and we'll "get on with winning the war."

LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT US

In February, 1920, a group of far-sighted women met in Chicago and organized the National League of Women Voters. Twenty-five years ago.

In the beginning the League's task was to teach women how to mark a ballot and to use their newly-won vote. The League pioneered in magnificent get-out-the-vote campaigns. But it soon became evident that lack of citizen interest in "government by the people" could not be cured by simply urging people to the polls. They had first to recognize their dependence on government, learn how it touched their lives. Only then were they ready to become effective forces for improving and participating in their government. The goal of the League then became the much larger one of helping to make democratic government work, of creating responsibility for government in as many individual citizens as possible. The League acts, as an organization, not only on government issues for the public welfare, but also to provide an opportunity for citizens to participate in their government with responsible help and leadership.

When a member has examined for herself the bad housing of a slum area, when she has found out for herself or with the help of others how such an area can be reclaimed, when she has actually gone to a public hearing and asked her councilman for action to wipe out those bad living conditions, she has not only acted in the public interest; she has participated in government. When she has written her Senator a letter, interviewed him, made him aware in any way of her considered judgment on any issue, she has participated in government.

But members of the League go further than participation in government; theirs is the task of showing others how to use their democratic rights. Theirs is the challenge of clarifying issues until the average citizen can understand them, of dramatizing them to catch his interest, of making it easy for him to become an *active* citizen.

The League of Women Voters is not a pressure group in the usual sense. Its purpose is to let the people know, make the people care, and help the people act, so that the majority of the whole people, taking an intelligent interest in their government, can make democracy fulfill its great potentialities.

On this, our twenty-fifth anniversary, it is entirely fitting that we take a few moments to rededicate ourselves to the task of helping the people of the United States provide for themselves a government which will serve their needs.

CONGRESSIONAL SPOTLIGHT

As always at the beginning of a new session of Congress, bills have come in on all sorts of subjects, many designed for home consumption, others to indicate the support of the author for current policies, others slated for serious consideration on the floor. Well over 2000 resolutions were introduced in the first three weeks, with more to come. War legislation predominates, with emphasis on production, manpower, veterans, post-war planning and international organization. It is too soon to tell which of the proposals in line with the League program will be selected for legislative action, but interest is high in the fields analyzed below.

FOREIGN POLICY. Senator Vandenberg's call for post-war control of Germany and Japan strengthens Republican support for international organization. The President in his budget message asked for prompt action on the Bretton Woods Agreements setting up an International Bank and an International Monetary Fund. The Constitution for Food and Agriculture also awaits consideration; it has already been ratified by a number of other nations. The President withdrew the Anglo-American Oil Treaty for rephrasing, and it will be resubmitted. The Aviation Agreement is also pending. Open hearings are being urged on these agreements to assure full consideration and to offset special interest pressure that may run counter to the development of world cooperation. The President recommended an increase in the State Department appropriation to provide for its increased activity and responsibility. The National Board of the League decided in November to back this with "due regard for economy and efficiency." Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada and Representative Daniel A. Reed of New York have introduced bills which take away the President's authority on reciprocal trade agreements. The reciprocal trade program will be up for revision and renewal in June, and strong support will be necessary to assure its continuation.

TWO-THIRDS SENATE TREATY RULE. Early House action is promised on House Joint Resolution 60, introduced by the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Hatton W. Sumners of Texas: "Hereafter treaties shall be made by the President with the advice and consent of both Houses of Congress." As no other voting procedure is specified, this means by simple majority of both Houses. Senator Fulbright has introduced a similar resolution into the Senate but to avoid confusion with the United Nations debate, no action is being pressed at the moment.

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY. No great change in tax structure or spending is expected until after victory on both fronts. OPA must be renewed by June, 1945, and crippling amendments are to be expected. Hearings may start in March. Senator Murray of Montana has introduced a job budget proposal that calls on the President to estimate each year the labor supply against the available work, and recommend suitable procedures, through public and private enterprise, to take up any slack. TVA has spawned a large family of regional flood-control-power proposals that will be studied as stabilizers. The President has recommended extension of Social Security. Proposals have come in to cover farm and domestic workers and make other modifications. Senator Vandenberg has asked a special investigation of the Social Security tax freeze.

REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS. Senator Maloney's untimely death denies the Committee to Study the Reorganization of Congress the skilful and influential leadership of its author, but it has been reauthorized with funds and extended time. The next hurdle will be securing consideration of Committee recommendations on the floor—the Rules Committee can hold them up, and is prone to prefer the habitual to the new. Representative Estes Kefauver renewed his proposal for a question period at which heads of departments, agencies, and independent establishments would be requested to appear and answer questions. This is one of the proposals to be studied by the new Committee.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION. Hearings on S. 891, similar to the bill proposed by Senators Thomas and Hill in the last Congress, opened January 29. The League opposes this since it provides money to wealthy states as well as to those who need it. The League would be interested in proposals for aid to "needy states" along lines indicated in the President's budget message.

OTHER BILLS. A bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission has been introduced by a coalition of Senators and various House sponsors. Anti-poll tax bills have come in from many sources, including a proposal to reduce Congressional representation in accord with the actual voting population. The Equal Rights Amendment is H. J. R. 1 (Representative Ludlow) in the House, and will be introduced in the Senate by a coalition. The League has prepared a state-by-state analysis of laws that would be jeopardized by this Amendment, and legislators are asking for additional copies of it. The National Board of the League voted in November to support repeal of taxes on margarine. Representative Rivers has introduced a bill to repeal the federal margarine tax, which has been referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

Simple as A B C

Talking things over is the way we run this country. The discussion around the pot-bellied stove in the general store was democracy in action. We're a bigger country now; we sit on day-beds before a gas log and we talk about things the pot-bellied era didn't have to worry about. But when you get right down to it the American people are still talking about the same old fundamentals—their jobs, people, food, money, the war, government which touches them personally. The average American knows something about all these things; he has met them face to face. He can make sound decisions if he knows the facts, and on these decisions our free system of government depends.

But first he has to talk things over with his neighbors. First he has to make up his mind. You can't rush an American into his convictions. Even if you pass a law, unless he's convinced it's right, the law won't work. Without the widespread public support of individuals who have convictions, no United Nations Organization will work even if the United States is a member.

The response of a person asked to discuss Dumbarton Oaks is apt to be, "Oh, I don't know anything about that stuff. I can't talk about it." But he knows how war affects him. He knows what death means. He knows he wants work to do, goods to buy at prices he can afford, bananas and pineapple and coffee, a market for his produce. He knows what he thinks about Hitler and Tojo and the would-be aggressors of the future. He understands that Johnny Jones next door can fly to India on a mission and be back in less than a week. He knows that a tyrant's voice broadcast from Germany can be heard in the same minute all over the world. *Of course* he can discuss a United Nations organization. It touches his own life in a thousand ways; it's life or death to his sons. He is entitled to a voice in its creation, and he's a sucker if he doesn't seize his chance to talk while it still matters what he says.

We don't need to be complicated. If we want peace on our street we've got to have police for the bad boys and a court for justice. If we want peace in the world we must have a Security Council to police the aggressor nations and a world court to settle disputes. If we want profits for our industries, jobs for our workers, we must have trade between nations; we must have an Economic and Social Council. If we want understanding among the peoples of the world we must have some chairs where they can sit down and talk things over, a General Assembly.

It's not hard to introduce the United Nations into the homes and conversations of America; it's just a question of whether we talk about "arbitration," "mediation" and "justiciable disputes," or simply about war and peace, jobs, air routes and food for everybody.

Hints on Where

You have received a copy of "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks," but it was not written for you. It was written for the people who don't care whether Dumbarton Oaks is a tree or a new face powder; it was sent to you because you know or can find some of those people. "The Story" was made small, so that twenty of them could be carried in your purse without a bulge. It was made inexpensive, so that even if you can't afford to buy 100 copies to give away, you will have no difficulty in selling one for 5¢ to 100 people you will meet. Nearly everyone has a nickel in her purse or in his pocket, and will part with it quite willingly for "all you need to know about Dumbarton Oaks in one easy-to-take capsule."

Show it to your P.-T. A. president and ask if your children can sell it after the next meeting. Ask the Girl Scouts to make a project out of selling it. Ask every store where you are known to display a lot of them in the window and keep a stack on the counter to sell. Take one to everyone you know who works in an office or factory where he or she could sell or give some away. If you have friends with both employees and money, ask them to buy enough to put one in every pay envelope. Ask someone who can afford it to contribute enough copies for the history teacher or principal in the school to give to every child to read and take home. Ask your library to display them on the desk with a box beside for the nickels. Send them to the people of influence you know, who meet lots of people or whose statements are listened to. Leave some in your doctor's and dentist's offices, and at the hairdresser's. It's easy! You can distribute 100 in a week! and if 60,000 other people each distribute 100, the Senate and State Department will begin to know that the country is behind the United Nations.

Lasting Peace Day

The Saturday and Sunday after Easter and the Passover, April 7 and April 8, will be "Lasting Peace Day" in all the Christian and Jewish churches willing to cooperate. Won't you ask your minister, priest or Rabbi, to join this nation-wide recognition of individual responsibility for a lasting peace? He does not need to go into the details of Dumbarton Oaks, but simply to preach a sermon on the theme, "What Hast Thou To Do With Peace?", or "Blessed Are the Peacemakers." Surely you can find several members of your congregation who would buy enough copies of "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks" to place one on every seat that day. And if your minister or priest or rabbi is not able to devote his sermon to the subject of peace and the individual, perhaps he will let you sell or distribute "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks" at the door on that day anyway.

Have You Seen?

THE STORY OF DUMBARTON OAKS, a pamphlet designed for wide distribution. 5¢ per copy; 50 copies, $2.25; 100 copies, $4.00.

OPENING GUN of our campaign for support of the United Nations Organization. Analysis of League stand on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, revised December, 1944. 5¢ per copy.

CHART, the United Nations Organization as proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. 28″ x 40″. 15¢ a copy.

MEMORANDUM, published whenever an issue requires background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a discussion outline included. The most recent are:

The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed, and the League's stand on the whole question. 10¢ per copy.

Bretton Woods Monetary Proposals, a concise, easy to read account of the proposed International Bank and Monetary Fund. 10¢ per copy.

Peace Is What We Make It, the citizen's job in relation to Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. 10¢ a copy.

BROADSIDES AND FLIERS, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent are:

Yours Is the Power, the first of the series on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a United Nations organization. 100 copies 75¢.

What Happened at Dumbarton Oaks?, specific information on the Proposals. 100 copies 75¢.

Power Politics or United Nations, the choice before us. 100 copies 75¢.

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the National League of Women Voters, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription only $1.00 a year.

GENERAL PUBLICATIONS, to suggest techniques.

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

Let's Have a Discussion, for either the experienced or inexperienced discussion leader. 10¢ per copy.

Your Part in a Discussion, an aid for members of discussion groups. 50 copies, 40¢; 100 copies 75¢.

Discussion Leader's Pitfalls, hints on how to overcome them. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Discussion Outline for a Single Discussion on Dumbarton Oaks. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

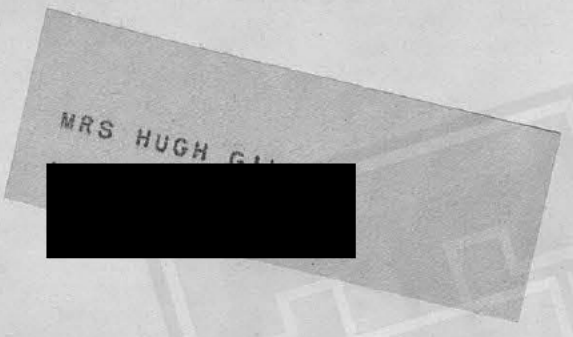
Discussion Outline for Four Discussions on the United Nations. 2¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

How To Plan a Meeting on the United Nations. 2¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

Bibliography To Be Used in Conjunction with Discussion of Dumbarton Oaks. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Suggested Outline for a Speech on the United Nations Organization. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

The League Member Meets the Public. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 5.



ACTION

MAY 1945

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

By Percy Maxim Lee

Dear Son:

In a little while you will be in the Army of the United States. You will be plunged into a hard and alien world. But the longer you are in it, the less alien it will seem, until, if you see much combat, this world which seems so natural now will become the alien one. Bloody, terrifying war leaves indelible marks on men, I know, and it can cause insurmountable barriers to arise between those who have experienced it and those who have not.

It seems to me, the best we at home can do for you abroad is to give you a deep confidence in the strength and quality of the action at home, which is being fought, also, to end the present and to build a better future. This I would like to give you, but first let me say: the memories you take with you of America are of the things which have made you what you are—have made us at home, too, what we are. That much in common we will always have. You will remember the fearful splendour of towering sky-scrapers and unbelievable bridges and rushing traffic; the sound of great orchestras making great music and thundering streamliners and a lonely whistle in the dead of night; the feel of wide space and endless horizons and limitless ambition. These things you will remember and much more because you are an American. They will make you understanding and resourceful; they will inspire you to say "Nuts!" to a demand for surrender; they will cause you to share your rations with every needy kid, and walk that others may ride; they will make you argue and scrap and gripe and dream up ingenious devices which will make you the wonder of the world; they will help you get this dreadful job done and done for good and all. And believe me, these same things guarantee unending effort by us at home to follow through with you—to see that America doesn't quit—to make America's future greater even than her past.

This I know, because I'm as deep in it at home as you soon will be abroad. I'm part of an army of 60,000 women, who believes the future, the shape of the world to come, will be determined by the actions of government, that our government must act in the interests of the general welfare. I might put it this way, free government, successfully operated, is the best agency yet devised to promote the general welfare; free government flourishes only under good laws, honestly and ably administered; basic to the success of free government is a politically responsible and understanding citizenry. Someone has said: "democracy is trying to lead mankind from the irresponsible attitude of the child to the responsible attitude of the adult—true democracy today, in the national realm, means growing responsibility of the individual and in the international sphere, increasing responsibility of the states."

This, then, is the struggle at home. In 35 states, in 550 communities the League of Women Voters is making the people care, letting the people know, helping the people act about government. It sounds so easy and it is so hard, for most of it is in the realm of ideas, intangible, illusive, and seldom is there material evidence of accomplishment, as there is in a heap of neatly folded bandages. It means thinking about problems of town, state and national government hard and long—investigating them, discussing them, painfully stretching the muscles of the mind on them. It means digging in and understanding, as a responsible citizen must, the basic problems of our national economic and political life. It means, furthermore, doing something about these things—helping promote in the public interest a course of action for government to pursue; stimulating public understanding and support of it; and finally, bringing public opinion to bear on the point from which action must come, a government department or a public official.

Yet, with all that, here really is the heart of it. So much public work is curative. League work is, as well, preventive. We have tragically sacrificed two generations because we have been unable to apply in the international sphere those simple social verities which enable us to live peacefully and prosperously in smaller communities. The League of Women Voters is an agency, alive and dynamic, through which much progress toward this end may be made. In it I have great confidence—it is so peculiarly, so utterly American.

When you read of bottlenecks and strikes and confusions at home; when you hear of political jockeying and blocs and battles—remember these other things, too. They never make the front page, they are not spectacular or dramatic. The League of Women Voters is perhaps unique in its way, but, on the other hand, it is only one among countless other groups which, in a sense, have become the conscience of America. It all adds up to great national strength. May it give you confidence, too!

Love,

Mum

Introducing —

Percy Maxim Lee does not look the part she plays. Her youthful, fresh enthusiasm, her half-shy but friendly smile, make the person meeting her for the first time expect her to launch into an account of the college hockey game she has just played. Actually she is an extraordinarily competent and mature woman with clear and definite ideas of a very serious sort.

Mrs. Lee is a born executive, gentle but firm, able to delegate responsibility to capable hands, but also to keep her guiding help immediately available. Her well run farm is pervaded by her efficiency and charm. She has four children of her own and took two refugees for the duration. Her husband, John G. Lee, is assistant director of research, United Aircraft Corporation.

Mrs. Lee is playing her competent part not only in her home, but also in her community. She has been president of the Farmington League of Women Voters, is now State President of the Connecticut League and second Vice-President of the National League. She was appointed by the Governor a member of the Connecticut War Council, where she serves on the committees on manpower and recruiting and training. She is secretary of the Civilian War Service Committee and active on the committee on child care for working mothers. She has also been appointed to the Connecticut Library Commission, and is on the board of directors of the Union Settlement.

JOHN HALEY

MRS. JOHN G. LEE

Mrs. Dibble Reports on One Woman's Purse

Some people invariably are just coming home when the bus crashes into the street car, but this type of on-the-spot first aid is not my style at all. I go in for the resuscitation of faltering brains and quenching the thirst of the inquiring mind. There is scarcely a subject on which a conversation can be held, including child care and rat control, for which my purse does not provide "authoritative information."

Last Sunday I took 300 broadsides, "What Happened at Dumbarton Oaks?" to church for Millie. (Her boss is putting them in next week's pay envelopes.) And what do you suppose was the text of the sermon? "What Happened at Dumbarton Oaks"? That was my unexpected reward for having sent the minister a broadside. So after church I was able to give tangible information to 300 people whose minds had been freshly assailed by ideas they might otherwise soon forget.

Then there was the dental episode. Like all dentists, mine fills my mouth with impedimenta before he starts saying dreadful things he knows I would answer if only I could. This time he said with utter finality:

"The OPA is the worst waste of money of any tom foolery Washington has thought up yet. Why, prices are worse in this war than they were in the last." Into my handbag went my hand and out came the broadside, "What Will Your Dollar Buy?" With considerable satisfaction I watched his color mount as he noted the little tiny basket of groceries our 1919 dollar bought, and, below, the one-third larger basket our 1944 dollar bought, kept that big by OPA; the little 1919 sweater and skirt, and below, the nearly twice as big clothing item our dollar bought in 1944. It was a tactical victory of tremendous proportions.

But my most satisfactory first aid was delivered on that bus trip, when I sat in front of an enormous overall-clad colored man and another, more nattily dressed. The former opined that he wasn't at all interested in this world government they are talking about on account of he didn't want his son in the Army the rest of his life keeping the peace. His seat-mate replied that he didn't know about that—that sure would make a lot of difference to *him,* too.

Out of my capacious bag came two copies of "The Story of Dumbarton Oaks," turned to page 13. Along with my few added remarks about the size of the U. S. military contingent and a personal guarantee that both their sons would return to civilian life, "The Story" left its mark.

"Say, that thing's purty instructional, lady," said the overalls.

"Yes," I said, "and a woman's purse is a wonderful thing."

ACTION

May, 1945 Vol. 1, No. 4

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.
Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ IOLA O. HESSLER, Editor
Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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The Trade Agreements Act

People want to be able to trade with each other because buying and selling make for a prosperous economy. Unless we are willing to buy from other nations they won't have money to buy from us. Between the two wars we ignored that fact and erected high tariffs. As a result we were forced to lend money to other nations so they would have cash to purchase our goods. Such a policy could not go on forever.

In 1934 the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program was enacted to reverse the upward trend of our tariff policy. The President was authorized to make agreements with foreign governments and could reduce our 1930 tariff rates up to 50% if the other country would make a comparable reduction. These reduced U. S. rates are available to any additional countries not discriminating against our commerce.

This program has worked out well. By agreements with 28 nations we have not only increased the volume of our foreign trade but also reduced the average duty on imports from 48% to 33%.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act expires June 12, 1945. Under the present formula most of the possible tariff reductions have been made. In presenting a bill extending the Act, Representative Doughton, therefore, introduced a new feature. Instead of just being able to reduce the provisions of the 1930 tariff by 50%, it would be possible to reduce all tariffs in effect January 1, 1945, by 50%. This means the rates of the trade agreements already negotiated could be cut still further.

The League endorses such a tariff reduction to implement the Bretton Woods agreements, the Atlantic Charter and the Master Lend-Lease agreements. A stiff party fight over the proposed Trade Agreements extension is expected.

The Times Are Ripe

As government and war come more closely into people's everyday lives, more and more people want to know what it is all about. People are coming to realize that their government is making decisions today that will be vital to their own welfare and security for many years to come. They don't really believe their voices will be heard in the council halls of government, but they are eager to be proved wrong. This is where we come in.

We know from experience that public opinion matters, that our government is run by the articulate opinion of the people. If we don't have the kind of government we want, part of the reason is you and me. A democracy needs leadership—not just party leadership or top-flight leadership, but leadership in our homes, our neighborhoods and our communities, in opinion and in action. We in the League must assume the responsibility for providing our share of that leadership. In our efforts to reach a wider public we have been developing new techniques. We have taken public issues into the homes and conversations of people who have never before bothered to discuss them. We have taken pains to learn how to talk about government in terms of our kitchens, our children and our everyday lives. We are trying to dramatize government and simplify the choices which a democratic system demands.

Our changed emphasis is reflected in our published tools. The MEMORANDUM, formerly technical in subject matter and mimeographed for the rather limited use of League study groups, has gradually become simpler and gained greatly in circulation. From now on it will be a *printed* MEMO, designed to give the average citizen background information for taking action, or to serve as a starting point for discussion.

ACTION, our bi-monthly magazine, is intended, not for Boards or Presidents or Committee Chairmen, but for the individual League member. TRENDS is a bi-weekly, condensed account of the trends in government action and significant thought on matters on the League program.

The broadside is the League's chief tool for reaching a wide public with the written word. It is not intended for League members, who receive ACTION, or for the citizen who can read TRENDS OR MEMOS. Its purpose is to simplify important issues on which the American people must make decisions. You may be interested to know that our publication orders for March were 440% higher than last year, and the numbers increase every month.

With League tools, techniques and inspiration, we can all become leaders of public opinion. In our country we have the freedom to develop leadership through individual initiative. Let's not allow that freedom to wither for lack of use.

Conversational Stumbling Blocks

1. I don't understand all this talk about "Bretton Woods." Is it anything that matters anyway?

If we really mean business about having a peaceful world after this war, if we aren't just *talking* about economic stability, then these proposals for an international bank to help devastated nations back on their feet, and an international monetary fund to facilitate foreign trade, are vital foundation stones. The fact that representatives of 44 nations worked out the plan is an encouraging first step, but unless our Congress accepts the plan it cannot go into effect for us or for anybody else.

2. Wouldn't the United States be taking a big chance to go in on anything involving a great deal of money with so many other nations? Aren't we likely to lose our shirts?

That all depends on how you look at it. Would you rather take out an insurance policy and run the risk of the company's failing, or take a chance on the whole loss of your house when it burns down? The amount of money we stand to lose if this whole venture fails is less than the cost of 11 days of war. We may win the chance for peace.

3. But I hear that the bankers are opposed to the Bretton Woods Proposals, and they know a great deal more about banking than *I* do!

You have probably heard about the committee of the American Bankers Association and the New York State Bankers Association reporting that they favored the Bank but were opposed to the Fund. Many other bankers, however, are in favor of the whole plan, including the Independent Bankers Association, who say they represent "Main Street, not Wall Street."

People in any old established profession are apt to be leery of change until it has been proved to be good. Many bankers opposed the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Act and the Securities and Exchange Act when they were proposed, and now would object if they were repealed.

Ninety percent of 250 economists polled by the American Economic Association consider the plan sound. So do 16 out of 18 former presidents of the Association.

4. If some of the bankers think the Bank is all right but the Fund isn't why don't we content ourselves with the Bank?

For one thing, if we accepted the Bank and turned down the Fund there would have to be another international conference to decide whether the other 43 nations were willing to accept the ideas of the United States. If they weren't, the whole plan would be scrapped. Even if they were, the revised plan might not be as good as the present one, because if the United States insisted on its changes, then 43 others could feel free to do the same thing. It was the insistence upon having *our* way that helped to keep the United States out of the League of Nations and the World Court.

The Telephone Rings

And the League of Women Voters answers. Will we write a message for broadcast to the women of Italy to tell them how to use their newly won vote?

The telephone rings. Can we find a meeting at which a cross section of America is discussing the United Nations? A. P. wants a story with pictures.

It rings again. Will Miss Strauss broadcast a speech to the women of China to tell them how they can be politically effective? And to Switzerland? And to France?

The telephone once more. LIFE magazine wants some pictures of a New England Town Meeting. The next time it is Vogue, asking for a series of discussion groups across the country. Then Progress Guide, wanting a second article about the League, and what about the husband angle for an article for the Woman's Home Companion?

The telephone is ringing again. Will Miss Strauss appear in a movie about Bretton Woods with Secretary Morgenthau and Senator Morse? Will she speak to Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference? Will she appear at hearings on OPA? On D. C. suffrage? On Bretton Woods? Will we organize hearings for the House on the Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule?

The telephone rings again. It is Mrs. Louise Leonard Wright to say goodbye as she sails for France and England to help women organize for political action. And then it is an article for the Brittanica, and for a newspaper in Ecuador. Then a copy of a memo to be reprinted in the Congressional Record.

Next it is someone who wants to know what proportion of the women of this country vote the same as their husbands. And what is the post-war future of women? It's time to go home. But tomorrow the telephone will ring again.

Congressional Spotlight

BRETTON WOODS. The House Banking and Currency Committee has held hearings on H. R. 2211 which embodies the proposals for an International Bank and an International Monetary Fund. The House may vote in April, Senate hearings and action will follow if the House approves the bill. The League is supporting this bill and its Senate companion (S. 540) as "participation by the United States in plans for handling common economic problems."

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS. H. R. 2652, introduced by Congressman Doughton, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, provides for extension of the Reciprocal Trade program for three years, and provides that the President may negotiate tariff reductions up to 50% of the rate existing on January 1, 1945. The League has always supported the Reciprocal Trade Program.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE. The President has submitted the Constitution for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) to Congress as an executive agreement. This was developed at the Hot Springs conference a year ago. It aims to raise the levels of nutrition and standards of living of all peoples, bring about greater efficiency in production and distribution, better the condition of rural people and contribute thereby to an expanding world economy. Each member nation undertakes to report progress regularly and contribute its share of the expenses. The House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold hearings during April.

INTERNATIONAL AVIATION. The Civil Aviation Convention has been submitted to the Senate as a treaty, and a Foreign Relations subcommittee has held hearings. The Convention established an International Civil Aviation Organization, consisting of an Assembly of all the nations who were represented at the Chicago Civil Aviation Conference, and a 21 member Council responsible for formulating and recommending the adoption of technical standards and procedures. It will also study, report, and recommend on problems relating to air navigation and international air transport. The so-called "freedoms" of the air around which so much discussion centered at Chicago are not contained in this document. The President accepted the five freedoms in February by signing an executive agreement.

LEND-LEASE. The House has voted to extend Lend-Lease for another year, with an amendment prohibiting its use for postwar reconstruction. The League supported the original Lend-Lease Act, and favors this extension.

REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS. The Joint Committee on Reorganization, headed by Senator La Follette since the death of former chairman Senator Maloney, is in full swing. Dr. George Galloway, who headed the American Political Science Association committee to study this subject, has been appointed secretary of the Congressional Committee. A good many members of Congress have appeared with suggestions, based on their first-hand experience, for improving the efficiency of the legislative body. The League was active in urging the creation of this Committee, and will be interested in its proposals for improving Congressional procedure.

TWO-THIRDS TREATY RULE. H. J. Res. 60 to revise the two-thirds Senate treaty rule is scheduled to be debated in the House for two days in April. Action in the Senate is not anticipated in the near future. The League supports treaty ratification by a majority of both Houses.

OPA. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee held hearings in March on S. J. Res. 30, to extend the Price Control Act for 18 months. The League supports OPA extension in line with our stand against inflation.

EQUAL RIGHTS. The House Judiciary Committee has called for written statements pro and con on the Equal Rights Amendment.

SOCIAL SECURITY. The House Ways and Means Committee has ordered a comprehensive survey of Social Security coverage, benefits, and taxes. Such a study is badly needed, as was evident in the debate on freezing the Social Security tax in the fall. The Committee unanimously instructed the chairman to ask the House for appropriations to hire its own staff to make this survey.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION. S. 181 and S. 717, and H. R. 1296 have been introduced. None of these meets League standards for grants to states on the basis of need. Hearings in both the House and Senate are scheduled for April. President Roosevelt in his Budget Message to Congress recommended a reorganization of the U. S. Office of Education to make greater services available. This three year reorganization plan will be considered by a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee to make recommendations on the $600,000 appropriation which is being asked.

QUOTA IMMIGRATION FOR FILIPINOS. H. R. 776, to admit Filipinos under quota, is on the House calendar.

City Planning—New Style

War has accentuated the problems of cities in two ways. What was in need of doing in 1940 has not been done. On top of that the war years have heaped their special burdens. Cities must face up to grave problems of adjustment in the post-war years and they can be helped by careful planning now for future action.

The planning must go deeper than "city beautiful" face lifting. It must be more realistic than the "bigger and better" plans of over-sanguine Chambers of Commerce. It must be more than the official public works program which stops precisely at the boundary lines. Above all, it must not be a document bought by hiring a few "experts" on city planning.

First of all, successful planning cannot be done without citizen interest and support. Citizens should be in on it from the beginning and stay with it every step of the way. Only sustained public opinion will convert plans into brick and mortar, green grass, and more satisfying ways of living and growing together.

Second, plans must be comprehensive. If the true community crosses boundary lines, some kind of inter-jurisdictional cooperation must be worked out. Communities are affected by their state, their region, and the national picture, too. Aids to planning are now available or on the way from both State and Federal governments. There is growing realization that all levels of government must work closely together.

Third, plans must be thorough. They must begin with a candid look at all of the factors: the kind of place it is; its probable future; the kind of people; the ways in which people earn their living and how they are likely to change; the present design of streets, parks, neighborhoods, business and industrial areas, and an evaluation of each in terms of present and future usefulness and suitability; transportation; any special social and economic forces; and special problems.

Fourth, plans must not be confined to physical development. Thus far only a small part of what we know about education, housing, recreation, health and social services has actually been translated into community living. The results of really trying it could be breath-taking.

Cities can guide their development and shape their character. Or rather, let us say, citizens acting together with imagination and foresight can achieve more convenient, comfortable and attractive communities.

Effective planning methods, financial aids and "experts" are ready to help do the job. No more constructive local outlet for citizen energy exists today than practical planning for community improvement after the war.

Have You Seen?

THE STORY OF DUMBARTON OAKS, a pamphlet designed for wide distribution. 5¢ per copy; 50 copies; $2.25; 100 copies, $4.00.

OPENING GUN of our campaign for support of a United Nations organization. Analysis of League stand on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, revised December, 1944. 5¢ per copy.

MEMOS, published whenever an issue requires background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a bibliography and discussion outline included. The most recent are:

The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed, and the League's stand on the whole question. 10¢ per copy.

Bretton Woods Monetary Proposals, a concise, easy to read account of the proposed International Bank and Monetary Fund. 10¢ per copy.

Peace Is What We Make It, suggestions for strengthening the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. 10¢ per copy.

The Case For Federal Aid To Education, the educational system explained. 10¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent are:

Yours Is The Power, the first of the series on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a United Nations organization. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

What Happened At Dumbarton Oaks?, specific information on the Proposals. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Power Politics or United Nations, the choice before us. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Trade Makes Jobs, relates the Bretton Woods Agreement to our everyday lives. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

What Will Your Dollar Buy?, a pictograph showing need for the renewal of OPA. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington Office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS, for individual members, discussion groups and boards:

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

The Delegates to San Francisco, hints to follow in writing to them. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Public Relations Is Our Job. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Let's Have a Discussion, for either the experienced or inexperienced discussion leader. 10¢ a copy.

Your Part in a Discussion, an aid for members of discussion groups. 50 copies, 40¢; 100 copies, 75¢.

Discussion Leader's Pitfalls, and what to do about them. 1¢ a copy; minimum order 10.

Discussion Outline for a Single Discussion on Dumbarton Oaks. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Discussion Outline for Four Discussions on the United Nations. 2¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

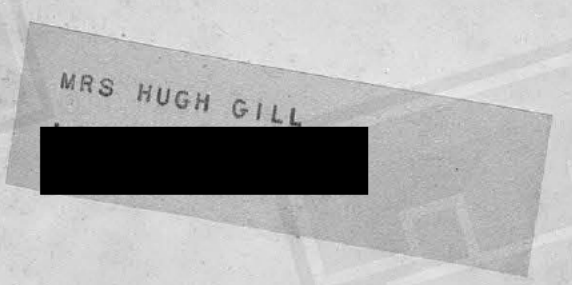
How to Plan a Meeting on the United Nations. 2¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

Bibliography To Be Used in Conjunction with Discussion of Dumbarton Oaks. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

Suggested Outline for a Speech on the United Nations Organization. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

The League Member Meets the Public. 2¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

CHART, the United Nations Organization as proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. 28″ x 40″. 15¢ per copy.



ACTION

JULY 1945

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

THE TIME OF DECISION DRAWS NEAR

By JANE DE SERISY EARLEY

THE time of decision draws near. One half of the war is won, and the war in the Pacific speeds to its crescendo of foreseeable victory. Our blood and treasure are triumphing on the field of battle. But the question remains: How can we make our great strength count in the future without recourse to the sword?

We are now attempting through the San Francisco Charter to translate into political strength the basic potential of the United Nations in the interest of future peace; to find a balance which satisfies the polyglot of nations, large and small and medium-sized, which sent delegates to San Francisco.

This is our second chance; we are fighting a global war for it. Our first chance went glimmering when we failed to join the League of Nations, refused commitments abroad, turned our backs and came home to stay—until December 7, 1941. We said we had no responsibilities in Europe, even before all the boys were back from France. We lent a lot of money to devastated nations, and we lost a lot of it. We sold abroad in return for the dollars we lent, and the materials we sold remained in Europe, but the dollars couldn't come back over our tariff walls in the form of imports.

We were afraid that foreign goods would hurt American production of similar goods, that American workmen and American plants would lose the domestic market. Our domestic economy did thrive for a time; until a world-wide depression extinguished the blast furnaces and darkened the factories, and darkened the hearts of idle men with idle hands. We dared foreign produce to jump over the high walls of the Smoot-Hawley tariff in return for American dollars to pay American creditors. It didn't; we weren't willing to pay that many dollars for products which we had made artificially dollar-high. The world, we said in effect, couldn't sell to us; couldn't sell to the greatest and richest customer in the world.

Good judgment, old Uncle Zeke said, is the result of experience, and experience is the result of poor judgment.

So we come to our second chance to exercise new judgment in the light of our experience. We are officially on record as favoring, in essence, American participation in an international organization to keep the peace, expressed through the Connally Resolution and the Republican declaration at Mackinac. Unofficially the public opinion polls, the activity of the League of Women Voters and countless other organizations, attest our conviction that through cooperation we may win the kind of world we want.

No such happy auguries exist in the field of economic cooperation as those that are apparent in the political. We hear few ringing resolutions of support for policies which will attempt to bring order in the economic area. We are sensitive to the cry of "Santy Claus" which is apt to greet any endeavour in this field, yet agreements which are contemplated today are based on a realistic appraisal of the nation's creditory position.

If it were possible to say, "This is the dollar price of peace," and "This is the dollar price of war," what would we not pay for peace? But whatever the budget might be, the opportunities to pay for an honorable peace in a stable world are not many. Perhaps it could have been paid in the late twenties or the early thirties, had the United States received an itemized bill and a preview of the future. The chance passed; Hitler battened on European discontent, laughed at civilization and burned the books.

Now we know the price of war, and we have had a preview of the future in the devastation of the cities of our allies and our enemies.

Many international agreements have been and will be presented to Congress, dealing with fields which will broaden and deepen the character of the United Nations Organization. They are being presented one step at a time, unlike the treaty of Versailles which held within it the League of Nations Covenant and the peace settlement. The Bretton Woods Proposals are supported by the League of Women Voters as one step in the economic integration of the world. Selective tariff reductions through the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Act represent another step of major international importance.

The framework of the United Nations Organization determined at San Francisco is only the bare bones of world order. Other agreements which point toward social and economic cooperation must reinforce it, sheathe the sword of naked power in the healthy idealism of common endeavour toward commonly agreed-upon goals.

As the time of decision nears, members of the League of Women Voters look back to months of activity in acquainting their communities with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals; and forward to concentrated action to assure American cooperation with the peace-loving nations of the world in the interests of justice and order.

Introducing —

Mrs. Daniel E. Earley, Secretary of the National Board of the League of Women Voters, has had a long and varied League history, though a glance at her picture will prove that her length of service started at an early age. Mrs. Earley was leading spirited bi-weekly discussions of foreign policy for a long time before the phrase "discussion group" came into a regular League usage. From Foreign Policy Chairman she became President of the Cincinnati League, in which capacity she had served for about a year when elected a National officer. She is now second Vice-President of the Cincinnati League and third Vice-President of the Ohio League.

Though not now active in partisan politics, Mrs. Earley was for some years active in her political party. She knows from practical experience the kind of citizen participation necessary to grease the wheels of democracy. Appointed by the Mayor, she became the only woman ever to be made a Trustee of the University of Cincinnati.

Although she has two sons less than three years old, a doctor husband in Belgium, and four cocker spaniels, she finds time to serve on the Boards of the Girl Scouts and the AAUW, and as Vice-President of the Adult Education Council. Her primary interest is in seeing American foreign policy lifted out of the realm of party politics, with greater citizen responsibility for its formulation.

CARLSON

MRS. DANIEL E. EARLEY

We Concentrate Our Fire

"Let the League of Women Voters be the vitamin B in the daily civic nourishment; it cannot be all three meals," wrote our national president, Miss Strauss, in a recent letter to local League presidents.

This your National Council remembered as it approached, early in May, the question of whether the League should take a position on peacetime military training. After some discussion the Council voted overwhelmingly against putting the question on the Active List.

Looking over the success of the Dumbarton Oaks campaign, Council members realized that it had been successful because the League was united and prepared to act. On the issue of military training it was quickly apparent that the League was not united and prepared to act and that we could not possibly become so in time to go to our communities on this thorny issue.

If the League has done its job of stimulating citizen thinking and action in the local community, good habits of thought and action should carry over into the solution of many issues on which the League itself need take no position. When the citizen has learned how to participate in the making of his government's price control policy, he can be equally effective on military conscription or schools for the Indians. If the League has *demonstrated* that citizens can act effectively on issues in the public interest it is doing its job. It is thereby raising the whole level of democratic government. It is showing that democracy can succeed! League program cannot run the whole gamut of governmental problems. Experience has shown that we succeed in proportion to the amount of time we spend concentrating on a few fundamental problems where the direction of our action is clear.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the principal aim of the League is to help more citizens accept their responsibility for democratic government. The League contains members of all political parties and many shades of political thought. We cannot resolve within the League all of the specific issues which arise within our government. We must carefully select the most important ones, the ones for which we have aptitude and the ones where action is likely to be effective at a given time.

As an organization we do not support candidates, but we urge all the voters of our communities to support candidates. As an organization we do not support either the Democratic or Republican Party, but we hold that citizens should be active in the party of their choice; and many of our members are not only active party members but have run for and been elected to political office. There are many political issues on which we can say to the people, "Discuss this question. Make up your minds. And act!" The good citizen does not need his hand held on every issue once he has gained his balance.

ACTION

July, 1945 Vol. 1, No. 5

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ IOLA O. HESSLER, Editor

Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

MISS ANNA LORD STRAUSS, President, New York, N. Y.
MRS. MARC A. LAW, 1st V. President, Highland Park, Ill.
MRS. JOHN G. LEE, 2nd V. President, Farmington, Conn.
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MRS. MAURICE A. POLLAK, Highland Park, Illinois
MRS. HAROLD A. STONE, Arlington, Virginia
MRS. HENRY A. TAYLOR, Henderson, Kentucky

We Go to "The Hill"

One of the ways in which we as an organization participate in government is through testifying at Congressional Hearings. This is always done by the President or a member of the National Board. Recently Miss Strauss has spoken in support of the Bretton Woods Agreements before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives, and in support of the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Pacts before the House Ways and Means Committee, as well as the Senate Finance Committee.

Time was when the League's role was to read a formal, prepared statement and answer perhaps one or two perfunctory questions about the character of our organization. It was different at the recent hearings. The Congressional committees were interested in the details of how we, as an organization, made our decision to support the proposed legislation and why we were supporting legislation in such complicated economic fields.

A large proportion of the witnesses at these hearings were specialized and technical experts speaking of the effect the legislation might have on one segment of business. So few were the witnesses who spoke for a cross section of the citizens and in terms of the general welfare, that the League testimony was quite a novelty.

Our national president, Miss Strauss, did not go before the Banking and Currency Committee as an expert on the specific problems posed by the Bretton Woods Agreements. In testifying for the League she consistently stressed the interest of the generally well-informed citizen in world economic cooperation. She refused to answer technical questions such as the amount of interest loans should bear. She tried to establish the point that a citizen organization could and should support broad principles of economic cooperation on which the Bretton Woods Agreements are based.

This was not an easy thing to do. Congressmen who were opposed to the proposed legislation often questioned Miss Strauss sharply, and long practice has developed their ability to make the witness feel uncomfortable. Indeed, one keen observer recently remarked that in her extensive jury service she had never seen a murder defendant handled as roughly as were some of the committee witnesses in these recent hearings. Yet committee hearings are an imporant part of our way of giving our legislators the broad picture of citizen interest and support which is basic to a wise legislative decision.

It seems ironic that it should be necessary to establish the importance of citizen thinking on the general welfare. Special effects on special segments of our citizens are constantly being pointed up. Their proponents are organized and vocal. In contrast, those interested in the general welfare have too often done a sloppy and half-hearted job. The practice of real democracy requires moral courage, skill and persistence. If we would practice it we must be prepared to meet such situations as Miss Strauss met in nearly two hours of grueling questioning on Bretton Woods.

Similar occasions are occurring in our respective state and local communities too. We must meet them in League-like manner. We must also give more and more thought to the qualifications of our legislators before we nominate and elect them. Certainly we can expect our elected representatives, as members of the highest law-making body of our nation, to be interested in the general welfare rather than special interests. And we are surely not unreasonable in expecting that they will give a fair hearing to citizen organizations whose sole interest is the general good of the nation's people.

Congratulations

You may have noticed the addition of two new names to the list of the National Board of Directors, Mrs. Allan Mitchell and Mrs. Henry Taylor. Mrs. Mitchell has already appeared in the March ACTION as the author of "Conversational Stumbling Blocks." Formerly Vice-President of the Indiana League and Indiana's Foreign Policy Chairman, Mrs. Mitchell's special assignment on the National Board is foreign affairs.

Mrs. Taylor, formerly President of the Henderson League and now in her second term as President of the Kentucky League, is assigned on the Board to organization. She traveled this winter through Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas, as a representative of the National League in the Dumbarton Oaks Campaign.

Congratulations are also in order for the State of Tennessee. Mrs. Tom Ragland was elected President of the Tennessee League and has therefore felt it necessary to resign from the National Board. Although she will be greatly missed on the Board, we can confidently expect great things from the Tennessee League.

The Consultants at the Conference

By Anne Hartwell Johnstone

San Francisco, May 18, 1945.

The work of the United States Delegation to the San Francisco Conference is even greater than that of the delegations of other nations. This is partly because of its assumption of responsibility for ironing out the many differences of opinion among other delegations, and because it has tried to keep the press as fully informed as possible of negotiations. It is also due to our Delegates' undertaking to meet with the Consultants representing forty-two national organizations, appointed by the Department of State.

While seldom reported in the press, these meetings of the American Delegation members with the organization Consultants are in fact one of the uique features of the Conference. At the first meeting it was stated that the intent was to create a contact between the operations of the Conference and the American people, through the various organizations the people are accustomed to use in forming opinions and crystallizing positions. This process may be as important an element in the final development of plans for the peace as anything done in San Francisco.

In harmony with this objective the Consultants have met three days each week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, with one or more members of the American Delegation and technical experts on critical problems of the moment. While meetings with the Consultants have undoubtedly added to the strain imposed on the United States Delegation, their importance has been attested to more than once by members of the Delegation, including the Secretary of State. The advice of the Consultants has been termed invaluable and, in specific instances, responsible for the ability of the American Delegation to obtain stronger provisions in the new Charter.

While regularly scheduled for 5 p. m., the hour for the meetings between the Delegates and the Consultants is subject to frequent change as events determine. It was once postponed from five to eight, to ten, and then to eight-thirty the next morning, when the meeting was devoted to an explanation by the Secretary of State and Mr. Dulles, of the amendments agreed to by the Big Four, which had finally been completed at midnight. The meetings are presided over by either Assistant Secretary of State MacLeish or Mr. John Dickey, Chief of the Division of Public Liaison of the State Department. Unless dictated by especially critical developments, the agenda for all meetings of the Consultants is based on suggestions of members of the group. The topics discussed at one or more meetings have included regional peace machinery, trusteeships, the Security Council, the amending process, the World Court, human rights, the work of the Economic and Social Council, and cultural and educational activities.

That the State Department has recognized the importance of the American people in making these decisions which will so vitally affect their futures, is one of the most gratifying indications of the strength and resiliency of our democratic system.

Mrs. Anne Hartwell Johnstone

The League of Women Voters was one of only five women's organizations invited by the State Department to send consultants to the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference. In choosing Mrs. Anne Hartwell Johnstone the League is proud of having found the best qualified person possible.

Mrs. Johnstone had been working at the State Department, first in the Office of Foreign Relief and then in the Division of Cultural Cooperation, when she resigned, last December, to adopt a year-old daughter. In January she served on the American Secretariat of the International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which met at Hot Springs.

From 1934-39 Mrs. Johnstone was on the staff of the National League of Women Voters, giving special attention to foreign policy. She has also traveled extensively for the League, as an observer at the World Disarmament Conference in 1932, and as a representative at the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in Honolulu in 1934. In 1939 she spent a year traveling through the Far East to study both official and unofficial opinion concerning the problems of peace in the Pacific area.

HARRIS & EWING

Mrs. Anne Hartwell Johnstone

Food Facts

During the war this country has performed the somewhat surprising feat of developing from a net food importing nation into a net food exporting one. Food production has been increased 30 to 40%. So far the United States has supplied very little food for relief. Some has gone with the Army, a little to UNRRA, a small amount to the "paying countries," like France. The problem before the War Food Administration is: How much for the Army? How much for American civilians? How much for Lend-Lease? How much for relief? The Army, naturally, gets everything it asks for. Lend-Lease requirements are filled according to the effect on the war effort. The problem then is: How much for civilians? How much for relief?

With more money in our pockets than ever before, we are buying much more food than we did before the war. The food agencies are quick to respond to howls from Congress that Americans aren't getting enough food. Howls also go up from the industrial users of items in short supply, as sugar, and fats and oils. When the industrial use of sugar is cut so that we can supply a minimum amount for relief, the businessman who makes ice cream or soft drinks feels that he is being imposed upon and he sets out forthwith to belabor Congress. Unless Congress and the Administration are convinced that there will not be an outcry if stiffer civilian rations are put into effect, there will be no cut in civilian allocations, and our relief work will be confined to supplying wheat, of which we have plenty. In such event we would not supply the minimum amounts of sugar and fats needed for nutrition in liberated areas. If half our citizens ate one pound per month less fats and oils, approximately 60,000,000 Europeans could be provided with enough additional fats to sustain health throughout next winter. But unless Government is convinced of our willingness to be rationed for this purpose, the War Food Administration and the related agencies will not take the necessary steps.

On the production side the Government is trying to straighten out our muddled distribution of meat, and the black market. It will take several months for the effects to be felt, but as a result of Congressional investigations, the Administration has instituted a meat program which will materially improve the situation in time. As for the black market, two things are necessary: Individual responsibility for wiping out local black markets and an increase in OPA's appropriation for enforcement. It takes two to make a black market!

To a large extent, therefore, our relief program and the effectiveness of our efforts to improve food distribution within the country rests upon *us*. We are responsible for what happens, either because of our action or of our failure to act.

Mrs. Dibble Reports

I have often wondered whether the world wouldn't be a happier place if there were no neighbors. Of course they have their uses, but sometimes a borrowed egg hardly seems worth the back porch argument in which I invariably become involved. Yesterday it was Mrs. Hurdy-Gurdy. (The "Hurdy" is my private addition.) Mrs. Gurdy hadn't been able to buy any bacon for three weeks, which is a Good Thing considering her size, but "what good are eggs without bacon?" It just made her sick to think of all our bacon going to those foreigners in Europe when there was practically nothing to eat in this country.

Of course I couldn't resist pointing out that not one quarter of one pound of bacon—or ham or lamb or beef either—had yet gone from the United States to the United Nations Relief Administration. Warming to my subject I even explained how the European governments had estimated their minimum food requirements for the rest of this year and how UNRRA had cut these requirements in half. Our government now says that only a "small proportion" of *our share* of this amount can be promised.

Well, of course you know the Gurdy type. She had read about all the piles, literally stacks, my dear, of food our troops found when they landed in Normandy. I explained, rather patiently I thought, that Normandy was an isolated and rich farming area and had good supplies *only* because we had bombed the French railroads so efficiently that Normandy's food could not be shipped to the areas it normally supplied. She was only mildly impressed by my statistics showing that the average daily consumption of a Greek in 1944 was one-fourth the calories of the American civilian, and that of a Yugoslav or a French city dweller was about one-third. But I really made an impression when I told her that the adult ration in Holland had been for some months one potato and two tulip bulbs a day.

"Well, then," she wanted to know, "if we're not feeding Europe, why isn't there enough food in this country?"

"Why, Mrs. Gurdy," I replied in my most dulcet and reasonable tone, "last year we civilians ate 9% *above* the 1935-39 average of all foods. And this year production is expected to be 30% greater than before the war. Only we'll just have to eat eggs *instead of*, rather than *with* bacon, and fresh vegetables instead of canned."

"You mean," said Mrs. Gurdy, "that I will have 30% more to eat this year than last?"

"That, Mrs. Gurdy, is up to us. That depends on whether we want to eat more than we actually need this year or whether we want to give democracy a fighting chance in Europe. I, for one, don't want to add hunger to the European problems if I can help it." And I stalked back home with my egg.

Congressional Spotlight

(As of June 5)

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. The Bretton Woods Agreements (now H. R. 3314) were reported favorably by the House Banking and Currency Committee, with recommendations which do not require another international conference. Action is expected in the House and hearings are being held in the Senate. The League appeared in support of the Agreements. The House adopted the Food and Agriculture Constitution by 291 to 25, and it is now under review in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The League testified in support. Both House and Senate have approved proposals for an International Office of Education under the new United Nations Organization. The San Francisco Charter will have priority in the Senate. Leaders promise sufficient debate to assure public understanding.

RECIPROCAL TRADE. The House passed the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act after bitterly partisan debate. The Act allows the President, with the advice of various government agencies concerned, to bargain with other nations for tariff reductions up to 50% of the rates now in effect. Crippling amendments, defeated by narrow margins in the House, will be renewed in the Senate. The present Act expires June 12. The League has supported the Reciprocal Trade program since 1936.

PRICE CONTROL. The present Act expires June 30. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee held extended hearings on OPA (S. J. 30—H. J. R. 101) and has considered amendments inspired by criticism of the Government's food policies. Hearings in the House started June 4. Food investigations in both House and Senate have emphasized mistakes in our food programs and have outlined specific reforms. The League supports extension and effective enforcement of price controls.

2/3 TREATY RULE. After five days of debate the House approved the Sumners resolution (H. R. 60) for ratification of treaties by both Houses of Congress, 288 to 88. An amendment was approved which called for a "majority of the Members" of each House rather than a majority of those present, as is the usual practice on legislation. The League opposes this variation on the ground that the same voting procedure should be applied to both foreign and domestic legislation.

EQUAL RIGHTS. After receiving written testimony for and against the so-called Equal Rights Amendment, the House Judiciary Committee voted a favorable report April 24. The Rules Committee has not yet considered it for floor action. Senator Radcliffe introduced the Amendment in the Senate May 3, with 23 Senators listed as co-sponsors. Forty-one organizations, including the League, are combining to present their objections to Congress.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION. Hearings have continued in both House and Senate Education and Labor Committees. S. 181—H. R. 1296, which allocates $200,000,000 on the basis of school population and only $100,000,000 on the basis of need, has the support of many educational groups. This formula does not meet the League standard that Federal grants should be given only to needy states.

What About the Food Problem?

1. Without more effective price control and rationing you and your family will get less and less and pay more and more.
2. Rising prices will bring inflation which will hurt you, hamper the war, and reduce our country's share of food essential to prevent starvation in Europe.
3. If we don't provide our quota of food to the liberated people, revolution and anarchy will postpone a democratic peace and delay the return of our boys from overseas.

What You Can Do About It.

Let the President and your Congressmen know that you support:

1. Full production by treating food as a munition of war—giving all-out assistance to farmers in producing another record crop.
2. Fair distribution of our food through better marketing controls and enforcement of rationing.
3. Drastic measures to end the black market and to hold price ceilings.
4. Keeping our promises to send all the food we can spare to help feed our allies who have borne the brunt of the war.

Have You Seen?

THE STORY OF BRETTON WOODS, a pictographic pamphlet explaining the proposed International Monetary Fund and Bank. 5¢ per copy; 50 copies, $2.25; 100 copies, $4.00.

THE STORY OF DUMBARTON OAKS, a pamphlet designed for wide distribution. 5¢ per copy; 50 copies, $2.25; 100 copies, $4.00.

MEMOS, published whenever an issue requires background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a bibliography and discussion outline included. The most recent are:

The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed and the League's stand on the whole question. 10¢ per copy.

Bretton Woods Monetary Proposals, a concise, easy to read account of the proposed International Bank and Monetary Fund. 10¢ per copy.

Peace Is What We Make It, suggestions for strengthening the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. 10¢ per copy.

The Case for Federal Aid to Education, the problems of federal aid. 10¢ per copy.

Trade Agreements—Bridge to Peace. The Trade Agreements Program explained and the legislative situation analyzed. 10¢ per copy.

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

OPENING GUN of our campaign for support of a United Nations organization. Analysis of League stand on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, revised December, 1944. 5¢ per copy.

CHART, the United Nations Organization as proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. 28″ x 40″. 15¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent are:

Yours Is the Power, the first of the series on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a United Nations organization. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

What Happened at Dumbarton Oaks? specific information on the Proposals. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Power Politics or United Nations, the choice before us. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Trade Makes Jobs, relates the Bretton Woods Agreement to our everyday lives. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

What Will Your Dollar Buy? a pictograph showing need for the renewal of OPA. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Victory Is Not Peace, designed for poll-taking to stimulate interest in an international organization. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

Starving, relates the present critical food situation in Europe to our own rationing system. 100 copies, 75¢; 5000 copies, $30.

TECHNIQUES AND TOOLS, for individual members, discussion groups and boards:

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items, adopted by the Convention including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

Is OPA Worth Keeping? the first of a series designed to point up critical situation facing us in connection with price control and rationing. 1¢ a copy, minimum order 10.

The Public Asks Some Questions About Food. 1¢ per copy, minimum order 10.

Why Is Europe Hungry? specific countries analyzed as to special conditions which aggravate their food problem. 2¢ per copy, minimum order 5.

MRS HUGH GILL

[redacted]

ACTION

NOVEMBER 1945

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

ECONOMICS AND THE LEAGUE

By MARY S. PETERSON

A QUARTER of a century ago the League of Women Voters was born in victory: women's right to vote had been won after a long and bitter fight. The victors wasted no time in jubilant celebration. Determination that women should have the vote was replaced by a new determination that women should participate intelligently in the government of our democracy.

There came into being something new in the world's history: a political organization that is allied with no party, that supports principles but never persons, that works for no special interest but always for the common good.

Its earliest activity was directed to getting out the vote—making sure that women would exercise their hard-won right. Soon, however, the League advanced to deeper participation, penetrating legislative halls and administrative offices.

Participation necessitated a program: one who participates must be for this or against that; one cannot promote good government in a vacuum. A League study program weighed governmental measures; out of study emerged the "platform" and "active list".

Neither then, nor at any time since, has the League taken responsibility for action on all governmental matters; a measure generally recognized as good is not necessarily given support. The League has always realized that to scatter its efforts over too many objectives would lessen its effectiveness; it has always chosen a few channels into which to pour its strength. Selection has never been made without earnest consideration of the issues competing for attention. Various considerations have determined the choice: general agreement of the membership on the matter; possibility of effective work; likelihood of affording members opportunities for action; etc.

But even if the active list and platform had been concerned with entirely different things, the purpose of the League might have been accomplished just as well. The fundamental purpose is not to achieve the ends stated in the program, but to arouse citizens to responsibility for our democracy and to awaken their desire to share in its government. The things we work for are secondary objectives; the primary purpose is to get people to want to work.

Some of the measures for which we work are economic in character, and today many economic issues present themselves as suitable subjects for League action. The war is over. Our foreign policy program has received its reward in acceptance of the United Nations Charter and of agreements that implement it. Domestic issues may now claim more of our attention; reconversion, employment, demobilization of war-time controls, private versus public enterprise, tax revision, monetary problems, foreign trade, food and agriculture—are among those of economic character.

Have we obligations with respect to these issues? With respect to any particular one, no. With respect to the general field as part of government, yes. Certainly the economic aspects of government must have a share of League attention. But one has only to look at the current literature dealing with the subjects listed to see that even experts are not agreed on these matters. If they are not, can we expect our members to be?

There has been some demand for formulation of an economic policy for the League of Women Voters. Do we want such a thing? We are a political organization, not an economic one: women who are far to the "right" in their ideas on economic questions and others who are as far to the "left" work shoulder to shoulder in the League and cooperate whole-heartedly to achieve its political purposes. Would not adoption of a rigidly formulated economic policy or platform be fatal to the political purposes of the League?

Can our program include any of the economic measures that will occupy so great a part of government attention in the immediate future?

The League comprises large numbers of intelligent women who consider fairly and dispassionately matters that are brought to their attention. Already they are accustomed to the discussion system. Up to now our "discussion groups" have been used chiefly to disseminate ideas already accepted by the League. Is there any reason why they could not be used to discover where League members can find themselves in agreement? What matter if some groups are not in accord with others on an economic problem? If there is not a very considerable measure of agreement, we need not choose that particular issue as one of our instruments for participation in government. Another issue will do as well, and the League has never failed to find many items on which agreement is general.

Where we do not succeed in finding agreement, will not our efforts to do so clarify our ideas and make us better able, as individual citizens, to deal with such questions?

Even if we reach accord on only a limited program, will not the League's strength be the greater because it is concentrated on a few measures through which to take part in the government of our democracy?

Introducing

Mrs. William H. Peterson, this month's author of ACTION's leading article, is Treasurer of the National League. With a B.A. in Mathematics and an M.A. in Economics from the University of Cincinnati, she took a Ph.D. in History and Economics at the University of Wisconsin. In 1942 she was recalled to teach economics at the University of Wisconsin, where she had been a member of the faculty before her marriage. She has been doing this part-time teaching ever since to relieve the critical shortage of instructors during the war. Her load has gradually increased, along with the assistance she gives her husband, a Professor of Biochemistry, until she is working hours which any less energetic person would consider far more than full time.

Mrs. Peterson has a long background in League activity. She has been Treasurer of the Madison League of Women Voters, and both Finance and Membership Chairman of the Wisconsin League. Her principal interests are finance, taxation, and promotion of democratic practices in government and in the League. Although a member of the American Economic Association and the Economic History Association, Mrs. Peterson has given up any activity in other organizations to devote all her spare time to the League. Her enthusiasm for its welfare and effectiveness would be hard to equal.

MRS. WILLIAM H. PETERSON

Let's Talk It Over

The task of "increasing citizen participation in government" requires both of League members and of all the citizens with whom they seek to work, clear understanding of governmental problems and plans for individual action. One of the most effective tools for reaching these goals is the organized discussion group.

When we speak of League discussion groups, we picture small groups of people, League members and non-members, who meet regularly to talk over specific problems, to reach some conclusions about the solution of those problems and to develop a plan of action. A good discussion group has a leader who guides and helps the members of the group to cover all the important parts of the problem, who helps them summarize their conclusions and draw together the results of group thinking.

What are the gains to the members, the League and the community when many such groups are holding lively discussions?

First, let's look at the individual member of the group who has tried to keep informed about the problems of government and who is interested in doing something to improve the working of democracy. Discussion groups are a big help in sorting out from the tremendous quantity of facts, ideas and opinions with which we are constantly bombarded the real issues of a question. When a group of people consider a problem together all varieties of views are presented and the individual member must think through her own ideas in order to express herself effectively. The stimulation of hearing all sorts of opinions leads her to evaluate her own and to think again about long-accepted views. Group consideration in this way leads to better individual understanding.

Secondly, the group itself, on the old "two-heads are better than one" basis may be able to reach a better balanced conclusion—the product of many minds instead of one. The individual who contributes to such a process is actually experiencing democracy at work. If democracy is to mean anything more than counting noses, we must increasingly learn ways of working together.

The League of Women Voters can be a more effective organization if its members have learned to work together not only to achieve understanding but to plan action. By stimulating discussion the League is laying the foundations for much wider citizenship participation in government. Understanding problems is the first step toward action. And learning to work with other people is essential to effective action.

The demands upon the citizens of this democracy have never been greater. Now that facism is defeated on the battlefield we must move on to offer to the people of the world a demonstration that democracy can not only win wars, but that it can make and keep peace and organize a world of opportunity and freedom.

ACTION

November, 1945 Vol. 1, No. 7

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.
Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ IOLA O. HESSLER, Editor
Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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A MEMO Is Born

The elevator door is propped open; the large unwieldy packages are being rolled down the corridor jammed with filing cabinets, past the office where the bills are made out, past the publications desk where the labels are waiting neatly typed, into the workroom where the wrappers and the stamp machine, the scales, the mail bags, the paper and the string, are all ready to be thrown into frenzied activity. A new MEMO is born, and now it is on its way to your League.

This latest League MEMO is "Valley Authorities—Shall We Establish Regional Developments?" and, like all MEMOs, it has had a long and varied history. First of all an item was put on the National League's "Active List" by the delegates from all the state Leagues at the National Convention of 1944. It reads, "Policies for economic stability which take into account . . . fullest use of resources."

Last Spring requests from several state Leagues came to the National office that, under this item, the League take action on the proposed Missouri Valley Authority. Delegates from the state Leagues met at a National Council meeting in Washington last May and agreed that the National Board could take such action under the "Active List" if it seemed desirable. In the meantime they wanted material prepared which would give the Leagues a background for judging whether they wished to support valley authorities. The National Board then considered the overall picture of publications on the subjects of greatest interest to the League and directed that a MEMO on valley authorities be written. It was to give all the pertinent information but take no stand on any proposed authority.

This is not always the case with MEMOs. "Fifty Nations Agree", for example, strongly supported the United Nations Charter because the League was committed, after years of study and action in this field, to an international organization. The opposing arguments were given only so that ammunition for refuting them could be provided. In the case of valley authorities there had not yet been sufficient preparation among the Leagues throughout the country to make a decision, so the new MEMO was to be only in the nature of unbiased background information. MEMOs are intended for wide distribution among League members and the general public, sometimes as background for action, in other cases, as aids to a democratic people in making up their minds about the government decisions for which they are responsible.

The League's projected baby was now turned over to a midwife, a member of the National staff specially selected for her training and experience to work on problems of economic stability. She started by reading and digesting most of the available material pro and con valley authorities. She interviewed various people on both sides and considered the pleas of organizations urging her to accept their points of view. This is an important process because often people are able to say a good deal which they cannot write. It gives a sense of perspective to what has been read.

The staff member was now ready to sit down and write the first draft of the MEMO. Almost the only point in having a first draft is that it provides a spring board for criticism. Any resemblance which it bears to what emerges from the office is purely coincidental. Half a dozen staff members and resident Board members then took it apart, changed it, tore it down and built it up, and finally it was ready to send further afield. It went to members of the National Board, to League members who are authorities on the subject, to TVA, the Department of the Interior, Senator Murray, who is the sponsor of the Missouri Valley Authority bill, to the Mississippi Valley Association, which is opposed, and to other organizations. And all the suggestions and criticisms which flowed in were digested, inserted or rejected. The MEMO was in final draft, was re-read by several staff members and ok'd by Miss Strauss. The printer did his job and a new League MEMO was born.

Yardstick for Future World Order

In a recent letter to Secretary of State, Byrnes, the League of Women Voters pointed out that now, while the United Nations Organization is being established and the peace treaties written, the United States will face a series of important decisions of policy which will affect the future of the United Nations Organization. It was urged that, in making these current decisions, the strengthening of the United Nations Organization be constantly recognized as the main objective; and specifically that the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter be used for strategic areas and colonies taken from enemy states.

The Full Employment Issue

Public hearings on the Murray Full Employment Bill started in the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee last July. Supporters and opponents alike agree that it is one of the most significant pieces of legislation to come before Congress in recent years.

What do we mean by full employment? Do we mean that everyone must have a job? The generally accepted answer is that full employment means that everyone who wants to work and is able to work has an opportunity to get a useful and remunerative job. Housewives who have a full-time responsibility in the home and children who have not completed their schooling are excluded from the term. At any given time we will usually have an additional 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 persons in transfer from one job to another, or otherwise temporarily out of work (the so-called "frictional" unemployment). Full employment, then, would amount to a state of affairs where we had *no involuntary unemployment,* except for this relatively small amount of frictional unemployment.

Almost everyone is in accord as to the desirability of full employment. During the Presidential campaign of a year ago, candidates from both parties expressed their conviction that we must provide it. Labor's position in this matter is so well known that it needs no illustration here. The attitude of business was described by the President of the National Association of Manufacturers before the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee on August 28, 1945, as follows: "The idea that private enterprise benefits when there is a pool of unemployment is an exploded, archaic concept. Businessmen know that busy workers, producing enough to earn high wages, are the best customers we can have. Businessmen, therefore, can be numbered among the foremost advocates of full employment."

Agreement as to the goal, then, is virtually unanimous. Not only is this true within the United States; it has become a matter of prime concern to nations throughout the world. The United Nations, meeting in San Francisco, wrote into the Charter. "That the United Nations shall promote: higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."

This unanimity of thinking has grown out of the realization that our modern, highly organized economy while capable of almost unlimited production has brought with it increasingly severe periods of unemployment. The tragic results affect not only the individual and his family, they mean an irretrievable loss to society as a whole. In monetary terms, the depression of the 1930's cost more than the war debt of World War II. If the full employment and full production achieved during this war is followed during peacetime by mass unemployment, we can expect conflict and violence between groups and individuals and a serious threat to our social and political institutions.

What steps does the Murray bill propose for the attainment of full employment and full production? It provides that the President shall prepare and submit to Congress an annual Production and Employment Budget in which he would estimate (1) the size of the labor force for the coming year; (2) the amount of business activity needed to employ that force; and (3) the amount of business activity actually expected. If the Production and Employment Budget showed a gap between the amount of business *needed* for full employment and the amount actually *expected,* the President would be required to include recommendations for stimulation of private enterprise to fill the gap. Recommendations suggested in the bill include modification of Federal policy in banking and currency, monopoly and competition, wages and working conditions, foreign trade and investment, agriculture, taxation, social security and the development of natural resources. Should such proposed measures still leave an unbalanced Production and Employment Budget, the President must transmit a general program of Federal expenditures to take up the slack.

The bill in and of itself does not provide jobs for anyone. However, it does three important things: it recognizes the right of the individual to an opportunity to work, it acknowledges the responsibility of Government to assure that right, and it ties in the various phases of our economy toward this objective. Supplementary action, including legislation, would be needed to translate this "enabling" bill into full employment and full production.

Objections to the bill have come from those who are opposed to deficit spending and who see in the measure a continuation of that theory; from others who look askance at further extension of the activities of the Federal Government; from people who think the bill misleads the public in seeming to guarantee "jobs for all"; and from those who doubt whether we will be able to assemble statistical data sufficiently accurate to make the budget estimates of any practical value. There are in addition some who are opposed because they believe that if we do away with unemployment we will eliminate an important factor in the competitive system.

The bill is, of course, a form of planning. It is an attempt to forecast potential depressions and stop them before they gain momentum. The time has come for a decision as to whether we believe that free enterprise can do the job alone and, if not, whether we value the goal sufficiently to accept a further modification of our laissez-faire philosophy.

Congressional Spotlight

(As of Sept. 28)

The sudden end of the war with Japan made it necessary for Congress to cut short its vacation and return to Washington a month earlier than had been planned.

Facing it on its return were a number of exceedingly important issues involved in our reconversion from a war to a peacetime economy. In his message to Congress on September 6, President Truman described the legislation he believed necessary to carry the country through the difficult interim period and into "a stable economy that provides full production, full employment, and a high standard of living."

The Murray Full Employment Bill (S. 380), is discussed on page 5 of this issue. Other important bills are:

EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION. S. 1274 (Kilgore) and H. R. 3736 (Doughton). These bills were designed to supplement State unemployment compensation payments up to a maximum of $25 per week for a 26 week period, and to extend coverage to government employees and members of the Merchant Marine who are not covered under present State laws. The Senate bill also provided for transportation of displaced war workers to their home or to another job. The bills, intended as temporary measures for the reconversion period, would remain in effect through June 30, 1947.

As we go to press, opposition to the bills in both Houses of Congress makes it seem unlikely that they will be passed in any recognizable form.

WAGNER-ELLENDER HOUSING BILL (S. 1342). Intended to provide a comprehensive long-range national housing program, this bill calls for extension of public housing, urban redevelopment and slum clearance through public and private enterprise, and rural low-rent homes. Hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee are scheduled to follow completion of that Committee's work on the Full Employment bill. During the hearings, amendments and even substitute bills are expected.

* * *

In addition to this new legislation, measures in which the League has long been active have been brought up in this session of Congress.

REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. S. 1120 (McCarran) and H. R. 4129 (Manasco). Hearings on these two bills were held during September before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Mrs. Harold A. Stone, National Board member, testified before the Senate group in behalf of the measure and the League filed a written statement with the House Committee. The bills provide that when the President determines that certain transfers, consolidations and abolitions are necessary in the Executive Department to increase efficiency, he shall transmit to Congress a detailed reorganization plan. The League opposed provisions in the first version of the House bill which would have 1) excluded twenty-one agencies from the reorganization, 2) provided for veto of the President's plan by a majority vote of a single House rather than by both Houses; 3) prohibited the establishment of any new Department; and 4) repealed forthwith the First War Powers Act under which many advantageous reorganizations have taken place.

SUFFRAGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. S. J. Res. 9 (Capper) and H. J. Res. 62 (Sumners). This proposed constitutional amendment, for many years an important item on the League platform, came up for hearing in September before the Hatch Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Both the National League and the D. C. League submitted statements in support. Since the House Committee on the Judiciary voted 8 to 7 against the amendment last spring, reportedly on the theory that the Senate would refuse to consider it until after the war, there is need for increased realization of the justice of this measure in both Houses before its passage can be accomplished.

2/3 TREATY RULE. S. J. Res. 14 (Fulbright), S. J. Res. 53 (Pepper), H. J. Res. 60 (Sumners). In May the House passed H. J. Res. 60, calling for ratification of treaties by both Houses rather than by 2/3 vote of the Senate, but added an amendment requiring majority vote of *elected members* instead of the customary majority vote of those present.

Senate consideration of the measure started in September before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary. Senator Pepper's resolution specifies that ratification shall be by majority vote of the members of each House *present.* Miss Strauss testified in behalf of this version, in line with the League position that the same procedure should be used in voting on treaties as in voting on other legislation.

"EQUAL RIGHTS." S. J. Res. 61 (Radcliffe), H. J. Res. 49 (Cravens). This Amendment, which was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee on July 12, 1945, came up for attention in the Senate in September when a hearing was held before the Hatch Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. As in the past, the League and numerous other organizations appeared in opposition to the Amendment.

Let your representatives in Congress know your position on these important measures.

The War Against Inflation Is Not Over

What makes inflation? Why is it dangerous? Now that the war's over isn't it pretty much a dead issue?

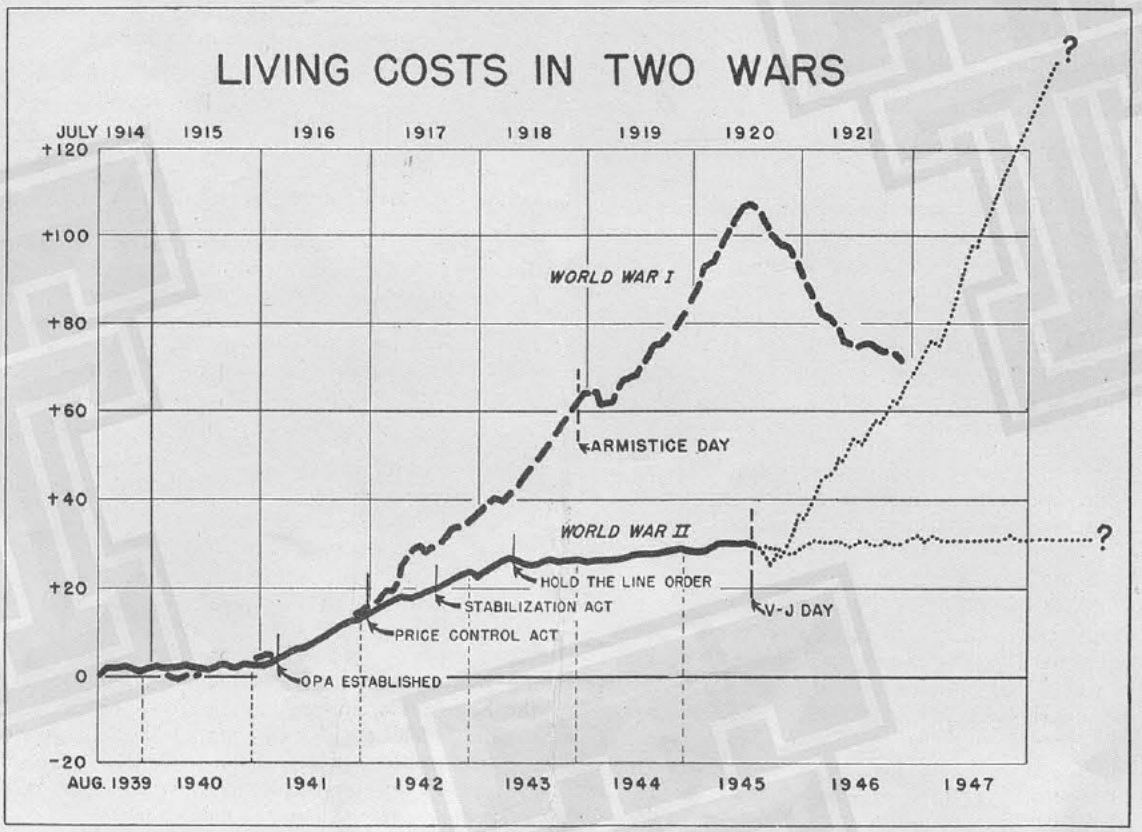
There have been two kinds of confusion in the inflation picture. A large part of the general public has never become conscious of the immediate effect on her family of the complicated sound of economic stabilization. Another large part of the public has blithely assumed that since the war is over, all worries on that score can be safely dismissed. Unfortunately the factors which make for inflation are just as serious now as at any time during the war. There are still far from enough civilian goods to satisfy demands which have been accumulating throughout the war. This means that dollars are competing with each other for scarce items, pushing hard against price ceilings, and in the case of items not under price control prices sometimes soaring out of sight.

If dollars were scarce too, the problem would not be worth worrying about, but the war has had exactly the opposite effect on the amount of dollars as on the amount of goods. Currency in circulation is at top heights; savings from high wartime incomes are all available for spending; plants are not yet reconverted so that civilian goods can be made; and we are still siphoning off large amounts of consumer goods to support the Army and Navy. The prospects of inflation are probably greater today than at any time since the war started.

The record of what happened after the last war underscores the need for increased vigilance. After the Armistice the few economic controls which we had had were removed immediately, and the result was a spiralling of inflation which resulted in such prices as $1.34 for five pounds of sugar or $.92 for a dozen eggs. The result was not only impossibly high prices for necessities, but the long term effects were very hard on business development.

Competition for scarce goods resulted in prices which were rising faster than wages, and salaries and fixed incomes were remaining practically stationary. Then came the collapse. Demand dropped, and thousands of small businesses were ruined. We entered the depression which was one of the sharpest and most disastrous in the nation's economic history.

The lesson to be learned is obvious. We cannot afford to run the risks of drastic fluctuations in *this* postwar period. To retain the controls which will prevent it, however, is going to require foresighted thinking on the part of the public. It is not popular to say we must make haste slowly in relaxing controls, but if we are to have long term prosperity and a high level of employment, now is the time for the decision to be made.



Have You Seen?

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

MEMOS, background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a bibliography and discussion outline included. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies $4.50; 100 copies $8.00. The most recent are:

Valley Authorities: Shall We Establish Regional Developments, a pro and con discussion on the problem of valley authorities, discussion outline and bibliography.

Government and Our Minorities, how Government can help to equalize opportunities for minorities in the U. S.

Fifty Nations Agree: The United Nations Charter, a detailed analysis of the Charter and how the United Nations Organization will operate.

Bretton Woods Monetary Proposals, a concise, easy to read account of the proposed International Bank and Monetary Fund.

The Case for Federal Aid to Education, the problems of federal aid.

The Two-Thirds Senate Treaty Rule, how it has worked out, in what way it should be changed and the League's stand on the whole question.

KNOW YOUR TOWN'S FUTURE, a 34-page booklet with a discussion and outline for a survey of your community with particular emphasis on the need for planning for the future. 25¢ per copy.

CONGRESSIONAL GUIDE, a small pamphlet outlining the organization of the United States Congress, and describing how it works. 10¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. The most recent is:

Starving, relates the present critical food situation in Europe to our own rationing system. 100 copies, 75¢; 1000 copies $6; 5000 copies $25; 10,000 copies $45.

TOOLS for individual members or discussion groups.

Let Freedom Ring, illustrated membership pamphlet explaining the League. 50 copies for $2.50; 100 copies for $4.50.

We Can Do It, folder for use in finance interviews. 100 copies $1.50.

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention, including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

Discussion Outline on Food for Europe. 1¢ per copy, minimum order 10.

Why Is Europe Hungry? European countries analyzed as to special conditions which aggravate their food problem. 2 pages. 2¢ per copy, mimimum order 5.

Is the Food Problem Still a Problem? discussion of the need for facts on Europe's food problem. 3¢—minimum order 5.

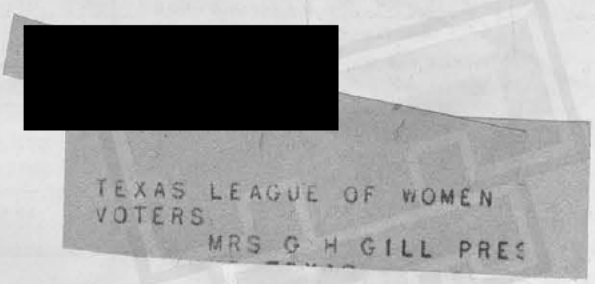
First Step in Peacebuilding: Food, a 3-page discussion of Europe's food needs and its challenge to the United States. 3¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

Bibliography on the Social Security Act, employment security, old age and survivor's insurance, economics of medical care, social security planning.

A High Level of Employment, digest of Murray Bill, bibliography, pro and con discussion, and discussion outline. 5¢—minimum order 5.

Tips on Reaching the Public, specific information on Board responsibility for making news, and rules for preparing newspaper copy. 10¢ per copy.

How to Raise Money for the League of Women Voters, detailed suggestions for conducting contribution campaigns and approaching contributors. Revised July, 1945. 20¢ per copy.



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

ACTION

JANUARY 1946

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

THE LEAGUE IS THE MEMBER

By IRIS SNEE ENGELS

IN 35 states and over 550 communities there are some 55,000 League members. These members are citizens of varying economic, social and political philosophies with one aim, *Citizen participation in government to further the public interest.*

"What is the public interest?" is the question which underlies all League decision to do a job. Common agreement as to what is best for the *public interest* is, frequently, more easily reached than is a decision on the manner through which these ends are to be attained. My own definition of the *public interest* is *enlightened self-interest.*

Perhaps it is the same moving force that prompts preparation and delivery of a bulging basket to the poor on holidays after which we feel a nice warm glow that makes our own dinner more palatable. Slum clearance, adequate housing, health and medical facilities, equalization of educational opportunities are all in the public interest but they are also to my personal interest. The disappearance of tumbled down shacks pleases my aesthetic sense; it will also raise property values. The construction of a new sewer system assures me of healthier living conditions; it also makes my town more attractive to new home owners. The improvement of the school system is good for the children of my neighbors; it also assures me of a more enlightened and cultured community. The League is able to show me the way in which to divert my sense of well-being from giving as "Lady Bountiful" to the harder task of increasing the opportunity for the individual to provide the Christmas dinner for himself—to submerge my self interest in the larger public interest.

Agreement on the way to further the public interest employs a technique peculiar to the League. It is the process of smoothing off high, sharp points of disagreement on method that welds the membership of the League into a moving force with a common purpose.

When I joined the League I found open a new opportunity for reevaluating my importance as a part of a Democracy. Through factual publications, study, discussion and participation in some action to promote the public interest, I found myself growing in understanding of public issues, progressing from opinions founded on emotion to others founded on fact, and in general becoming more alive and alert to government. Somehow, after that I have *never been quite the same.*

"The League is different from any other organization", "The League is more than an organization, it is an attitude", "The League is a training ground". "The League is an experience that influences our daily living". Such are the descriptions we hear from members all over the country who are searching for the exact way to describe just what the League and League work means to them.

Whatever the title, whatever the description the member gives to League influence, we all agree that the League gives us the equipment to think more clearly on public issues and to make better decisions. No newspaper has the same effect upon you after you have been a real League member for a while. No comment on a subject is so easily accepted as a full and only explanation of the fact after you have worked with the League. The consequent result of League method and League influence has been the evolution of an organization in which the *member* is the all important factor.

That the *League is the member* is obvious in the realm of political influence. Our worker in the halls of local, state and national legislatures may present the League point of view most brilliantly and convincingly, but the legislator knows she personally has only one vote. He is fully aware, also, of our votes, yours and mine, because we are his constituents. Herein lies our power, our golden opportunity, to influence legislation for our interest—for the public interest.

Governmental agencies, public officials and individuals have credited the passage of a great deal of such legislation to League influence and have paid compliment to our organization. Such commendation is, of course, a source of pride. Analysis of it, however, shows that more often than not, it applies to the methods we have used even more than to the subject under consideration.

The League as an organization is praised not because a few telegrams went out from League headquarters claiming that we were voicing the opinion of so many members, but because the *members* did a good job informing the community on the merits of the situation. With advanced preparation, full understanding, and an area of agreement we, the members, supported a particular issue.

The member has the opportunity for helping to choose the field of government in which the League shall act. Through a well-defined program-making procedure the League has always worked for a program which grows up from the desires and understanding of the League member.

The League is an organization of individuals with a strong sense of the importance of democracy. In order to accomplish its purpose it must, itself, work by democratic methods. The member must have had a part in making the program so that she will have a sense that it belongs to her. Unless she accepts her part in formulating it as well as in carrying it out, the program will not be dynamic.

The member's initiative, knowledge, and courage are the activating forces behind League achievement. As the member is steady, inquiring and imaginative, the League, local, state and national, is vital, forcible and influential. THE LEAGUE IS THE MEMBER.

Introducing

"Mrs. Engels should move east," someone said to Miss Strauss when the help of the Board member from California was needed in the National office three times in three months. Need we add that Mr. Engels is a sympathetic League husband.

Mrs. Engels, whose particular concern is organization, is keenly conscious of each local League member and works hard in her characteristically practical way to make the National office serve the individual needs of that member.

In the discussion of plans, whether it is program, organization or finance, Mrs. Engels' comments as to their value, or feasibility, are usually from the point of view of the member who must carry out the plan.

Her approach is that of a mediator. She believes that in the best of human relations issues should not be allowed to arrive at the controversial stage, and she sees her role as that of bringing together differing points of view. She has great patience in dealing with people and a great faith in the "average League member."

She is now Honorary President of her own League which she organized and in which she has held all offices. She is active in her own state League and in local civic affairs.

MRS. GEORGE ENGELS

Behind the Scenes

Miss Strauss was one of the six women who were members of delegations, and the only lay woman, at the Food and Agriculture Conference in Quebec. The other woman member of the U. S. delegation was a technical expert as were the Russian, Chinese, Danish and Canadian women members. The F.A.O. is the first permanent organization to be established under the United Nations Organization. The press carried accounts of the proceedings but a little of Miss Strauss' personal experience may contribute to the understanding of future international conferences.

* * * * *

"FLAGS of the 46 nations made a gay and colorful stage setting when the original 32 nations signed the F.A.O. Charter. . . . There were two fezes to be seen in the Assembly and the Chinese woman wore her native dress. . . . Honduras, India, and Liberia sat next to each other in the plenary sessions around the long green baize table—dark, darker, darkest, and each such a different type.

"The difficulty of language was extreme. . . . Only two members of the U. S. delegation spoke any other language fluently. . . . The French tried repeatedly to get French adopted as a working language, although English had been previously agreed upon. But by the end of the Conference more than one of the French delegation were speaking English,—so inadequate were their interpreters. . . . English was spoken with so many different accents that it was no wonder that those somewhat unfamiliar with the language had difficulty in understanding. . . . Business of necessity moved slowly because of language complications. . . . I marvel that the San Francisco Conference ever came to a conclusion for there they had five working languages.

"The informal exchange of ideas between members of delegations was significant. China discussed with India the possibility of getting water buffalo to cultivate rice fields. Representatives of war torn countries busied themselves in an attempt to line up experts to help them restore and advance their agricultural production. War has taken their agriculturists and interfered with the training of others. They need immediate assistance to help teach their people the technical skill whereby they can start helping themselves. . . . Members of various delegations found the conference presented informal opportunities for solving all kinds of agricultural problems. Could a silo be used to store beans? What type of plowing has been found most effective in hilly clay country? The questions asked and answered were innumerable.

"The Conference made a real beginning toward helping to solve some of the world problems of agricultural production and nutrition. The role of F.A.O. can be likened to an international Department of Agriculture. The world is its field of activity. Better nutrition for all undernourished persons and improved production and marketing facilities in agriculture, fisheries and forestry, its goal. The good will of the peoples of every member country the key to its success."

ACTION

January, 1946 Vol. II, No. 1

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.
Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ ADA BARNETT STOUGH, Editor
Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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Hon. Sir:

By a Congressman's Wife

My Congressman has a most unusual opportunity to learn the League point of view. He is exposed to ACTION in the living room, TRENDS in the bathroom, and a MEMO by his bed. He unconsciously absorbs the League attitude as he drives to work, and, though he does not know it, he often reels off whole paragraphs of it in his speeches.

Your Congressman, however, is probably not so fortunate. His only opportunity to learn the desires of people influenced by the League is through their letters. And he doesn't get enough of them.

There are two questions in the mind of every woman who thinks of writing to her Congressman. And the answers are:

1. Yes, he *does* read your letters.
2. Yes, he *is* influenced by them.

There are of course exceptions. If your letter is long, complicated and illegible, if he wades through two pages of cramped script without finding out what you are talking about, he is likely to toss it to his secretary and say "See if you can find out what she wants, and answer her."

On the second point, if you nag and scold and assume that he is against everything you are interested in, or if you attack him on the basis of misinformation about his record, he will be somewhat less receptive to your comments.

But by and large most Congressmen *do* read their mail, and *do* make their decisions after considering the wishes of the people of their district.

Of course the volume of mail is enormous. But the sad fact is that Congressmen from the large city districts where the League and other liberal organizations flourish, hear so little on important legislation from their constituents.

They receive floods of letters on the personal problems of service men, miles of petitions against the OPA in one form or another, dozens of letters damning the unions in general or in particular, and an increasing number of howls from isolationists. But the voice of the League is a very still small voice indeed.

One more point—if you do write, and receive a form reply, don't be mad, be glad. It means that your Congressman has had over fifty letters on the same subject. He ought to have at least fifty letters on every League issue anyway—if not—what's wrong with your League?

The ideal communication from a constituent reads as follows:

"Hon Sir: Please vote for OPA. They keep my rent down.

Joe Schultz, 1852-A N. 11th St."

The first point about Joe's note is, of course, that he actually wrote and mailed it. He didn't wait to find his Congressman's middle initial, or room number, or the number or sponsor of the bill, or a long line of theoretical arguments for it.

But he got the essentials. His postcard is ideal because:

1. It can be read in a quarter of a minute.
2. It states the subject.
3. It tells what the writer wants the Congressman to do.
4. It gives a reason for Joe's opinion.

Joe's Congressman read his note with pleasure, and sent him a form postcard reply and a franked copy of a speech on the subject, which, we hope, Joe also read with pleasure.

Consider, on the other hand, the lady who has been to a study group and wants to write her Congressman. She comes home much excited, but before she gets around to writing the enthusiasm has somewhat worn off. She finally sits down at her desk; she can't find a large enough sheet of paper to contain all the arguments for the bill. And her pen is dry. At this point, statistics show, 78½% give up and drop the whole thing.

Our lady is persistent, however, and finally starts out with a long discussion about how she supported the Congressman in the last campaign, or didn't support him, as the case may be.

Then she begins a wordy argument on the question of inflation. This runs to page four of her double-fold small sheet, so she goes on to another. Finally on page three of the second sheet she gets around to mentioning that she would like the Congressman to vote for a certain bill, whose name and sponsor she remembers incorrectly.

The information your Congressman wants is what Joe Schultz gave him with such admirable brevity—he wants to know *what* you want him to do about *which* bill and why. You ought to be able to tell him in two legible paragraphs. If not, your education was wasted.

And the time you used to spend writing long letters, or planning long letters and not writing them, could well be spent in calling up five friends and saying, "Drop the Congressman a line on price control. He wants to hear from you."

Full Employment—Whose Problem?

The Board of the National League of Women Voters, meeting in Washington in November, decided to try an important experiment. It was agreed that the League would engage in a major effort to develop widespread public understanding and individual citizen action on the issues involved in the "Full Employment" bill, without as an organization taking a position at this time.

League experience has shown that we work with great effectiveness when a large majority of our members have considered the facts, have thought through the issues and feel prepared to support a given position in our respective communities. The National Board concluded that such a state of readiness on the "Full Employment" bill did not at the present time exist within the League.

This is not strange in view of the complexities of our economy and the changes which have been occurring in it in recent years. Many citizens have not come to grips with the real factors in the problem. They have not even identified the factors. Some have not reviewed the economic thinking which they inherited or acquired in the days of a simpler economy. Some have accepted a particular philosophy and fit all their friends and facts into pre-labelled pigeonholes.

The challenge to act now to avoid unemployment later is great and real. The dramatic events of war have required our attention in the last few years. Now we must come back to the long hard pull to establish economic stability, both domestic and international. The U. S. is the only highly industrial country unravaged by war. We are being watched by many nations whose whole economies have been disrupted. Our success or failure to achieve a stable economic order will be a key factor in setting the economic pattern of the postwar world. Every citizen should be alerted to the challenge.

The League can help to do that by stimulating public thinking. We can attempt to identify and describe the important economic factors which need to be taken into account. We can provide an analysis of the issues in the "Full Employment" bill and show how it may be carried out, should it become law.

More than this, the League can point up the importance of individual citizen action. We will not be distracted from this goal by answering fire from either the over-heated opponents or proponents of the "Full Employment" bill. We can use our League training to help many citizens reach considered conclusions in the public interest.

Full employment—Whose problem?

In a democracy where the economic policies of government and private enterprise must work together to create prosperity, it is every citizen's problem.

What should be the responsibility of government? What should be the responsibility of private industry, labor, agriculture? How much economic freedom do we as individuals wish to keep? For how much are we willing to be responsible? What are we willing to pay for economic security? Is it possible to take preventive steps and avoid a repetition of the dark days of the early thirties? What shall they be?

Full employment—Whose problem?

YOURS.

Let it be the League's contribution to help many citizens face up to their responsibility. Let League members develop considered convictions. Let them furnish many citizens in their communities with the materials from which they also may develop such convictions. Let us find ways of acting and encouraging others to act.

Sales Go Up

A fitting New Year's greeting from the League to itself might be one of congratulations on the job of using and distributing League publications. The books on December 1, 1945, showed that publications receipts have almost tripled those of the same period in 1944.

The sale of STUMBLING BLOCKS varies with the popularity of each number, but recent sales have been averaging around 12,000. Orders for MEMOS run from 10,000 to 12,000. A second run of LET FREEDOM RING was ordered from the printer less than two months after the first 30,000 was delivered.

Such figures indicate that Leagues are working more effectively to reach a wider public. They also indicate that a greater number of citizens must be encouraged in government participation if the League is to meet today's challenge.

• **WANTED** •

A New Name

for

STUMBLING BLOCKS

STUMBLING BLOCKS—Those 2 to 6 pages of facts for discussion are now being printed. They should have a new and better name. Will each reader of ACTION put on a thinking cap —jot down her (or his) suggestions on a post card and send them along to—

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

PRIZE • A Subscription to TRENDS

UNO and the Atoms

Many words have been written to show the effect of the no-longer-stable-atom on the United Nations Organization. The simple fact is that if the desirability of a world order which will prevent war is in direct proportion to man's powers of destruction, then a world organization is now something over a million times more desirable than it was before August 6, 1945.

It is being said that the existence of atomic energy makes the United Nations Charter too weak to be of any use. It is no weaker than on the day the Charter was signed: but the dangers inherent in that weakness are much greater.

The possibility of atomic warfare, then, urges upon us the necessity for speed. Before the atomic bomb we might have been willing to take a year or so to set the United Nations going, and a hundred years to strengthen it into a world organization; we must now think in terms of months.

Before we might have allowed ourselves the luxury of cultivating our pride in national sovereignty to the detriment of attempts at economic, cultural or any other kind of cooperation; we must now turn our attention sternly to the task of furthering such cooperation with all possible speed.

Before we might have pursued the improvement of our relations with Russia at a leisurely pace, we must now seek quickly bases of understanding and agreement.

Before we might have avoided the problem of international arms control as being impossible. Now we must undertake to prevent, at almost any cost in sovereignty, a race for atomic armaments.

The alert citizen will watch the government carefully seeking answers to the following questions:

(1) Is the United States doing everything in its power to speed the establishment of the United Nations Organization? Are we cooperating with the Organization? Are our economic policies based on the assumption of an interdependent world?

(2) Are we doing everything we can to bring about a plan for international control of atomic energy—a plan which allows for no suspicion that we intend to use the atomic bomb against any friendly nation?

(3) Are we framing our plans for domestic control of atomic energy so that they will further our international policy of collective security?

(4) Are we already thinking in terms of improving the United Nations Organization?

In some things we can wait for the "natural course of events." In such a course we might get a truly united world in a thousand years. Long before that thousand years had elapsed the use of a large quantity of atomic bombs would have turned the world into just another flaming star. The time has come when men must take a hand—shall we admit that the intelligence which could crack the atom cannot control it?

Factors in Labor Unrest

The present unrest and conflict in industrial relations is a cause for serious consideration and understanding, rather than the hysterical alarm that is being raised in some quarters. Most of the disputes are not over minor grievances; they are disputes over important elements in the basic pattern of labor relations. To some extent there is a jockeying for position by both management and labor following the removal of war-time controls by the government. But more fundamental issues than that of plays for strategy are involved; the most important is that of wages.

Return to peace-time production has resulted in a reduction in take-home pay due to elimination of overtime, reclassification of workers in plants to lower paying jobs, and the movement of workers from war industries to lower paying peacetime industries. In the case of the elimination of overtime in war plants, for example, a cut in scheduled hours from 48 to 40 hours per week means 23 percent less in weekly earnings.

The President pointed out in his address to the nation that it is to the interest of all elements in our economy that mass purchasing power be maintained sufficient to buy the volume of goods we are able to produce. This is the main argument for increased wage rates. The picture is complicated by the fact that it is *real* purchasing power which it is desirable to maintain, and leaders of labor are cognizant of this situation.

Before the war collective bargaining on wages was, in the short run at least, based on the relative strengths, strategy, and bargaining positions of the parties and the state of the market for labor. In the long run, of course, the ability of industry to pay and the general productive level of our economy were casual factors in the determination of wages. The unnatural state of our economy caused by war has put labor in the position of relating wages to other factors, such as prices, cost, and profits. In the automobile industry labor has asked for a 30 percent wage increase, which demand, however, it stated it would withdraw if the industry could prove that an increase could not be granted without an increase in price. It has contended that this increase could be granted and profits maintained above the 1936-1939 level. Industry has taken the position that the union is attempting to "usurp management's prerogatives." The profits of an individual company do not determine wages, it argues, and labor has no concern with the financial status of a particular company.

Labor's motive in demanding a wage increase is its desire to maintain take home pay. By contending that such an increase can be granted without raising prices, the effect is to relate wages with profits. Industry is strenuously resisting any investigation by labor or the public of the relation between cost and prices, or wages and profits. The outcome of this confiict could well set a pattern in industrial relations.

Congressional Spotlight

(As of December 17)

During the fall, the so-called "human reconversion" measures proceeded very slowly when at all. ***THE EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION*** bill (S. 1274 and H. R. 3736) was passed by the Senate in a much modified form which eliminated the $25 a week maximum. It then bogged down completely in the House Ways and Means Committee, which indefinitely postponed further consideration. The *Murray Full Employment* bill (S. 380 and H. R. 2202) passed the Senate with amendments and, as we go to press, is being rewritten by the House Committee on Expenditures in a way which promises to remove most of the features designed to assure employment. Attempts will undoubtedly be made on the floor of the House by the many supporters of the bill to restore these provisions.

During the last week in November hearings began before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency on the *Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing* bill (S. 1592). This measure, which the National Board voted to support, is a substitute for the Wagner-Ellender Housing bill (S. 1342) and does not differ fundamentally from the earlier bill. It provides for establishment of a unified federal housing agency, encouragement of private enterprise to maximum construction, and governmental aid to clear slums and provide adequate housing for groups with incomes so low that they cannot otherwise be served.

The ***EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK*** bill (S. 1178) started on its way with hearings late in October before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The League testified in support of this measure which is a concrete step toward removal of discrimination against women in employment. As of the present writing, the bill has not been reported out by the Subcommittee.

The subject of the ***REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS*** will come to the fore early in the year. The report from the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, which held extensive hearings last spring, is expected momentarily as we go to press.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, including *equal rights* (S. J. Res. 61) and *suffrage for the District of Columbia* (S. J. Res. 9) will be considered by the full Senate Judiciary Committee on January 28. The D. C. Amendment was reported favorably by the subcommittee on October 8 and the equal rights amendment was reported favorably on November 1. It is extremely important that League members who have Senators on this Committee communicate with them before January 28, in opposition to the equal rights amendment and in support of the D. C. suffrage. The amendment on *Treaty Ratification* (S. J. Res. 14 and S. J. Res. 53), calling for ratification by majority vote of both Houses rather than by ⅔ vote of the Senate, is still before the subcommittee and probably will not be reported out before the January 28 meeting.

The ***UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE*** faced a crisis when the House in an amendment to the Appropriation Rescission bill (H. R. 4407) voted to return it to the states within 30 days, and the Senate in the same manner voted to return it within 120 days. What will come out of conference is not known at this time but return to the States seems fairly sure. The League, concerned that such a step should not be taken without thorough consideration and legislation so designed as to set national standards of operation, will file a statement in support of S. 1510 (Murray). This bill amends the Wagner-Peyser Act in the light of present conditions and establishes minimum standards of efficiency, uniformity in administrative and statistical procedure, and interchange of information as to opportunities for employment. Hearings on S. 1510 were held during the second week of November and were then postponed.

On the international front, the scene of greatest activity has been the ***UNRRA APPROPRIATIONS.*** As we go to press the $550,000,000 appropriation is moving into the last lap of its journey through Congress, with vote by the Senate expected daily. It will be necessary to keep up a constant demand for prompt passage of the legislation without improper strings such as the "free press" amendment. We cannot afford to withdraw our attention and energies from this vitally needed legislation until the last dollar of the new $1,350,000,000 contribution has been appropriated.

The Board voted in November to support other measures essential to the implementation of the ***UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION.*** One of these, the bill empowering the *U. S. delegate on the Security Council* (S. 1580—Connally) is already before the Senate and seems assured of passage. Less optimistic are the prospects for Senator Morse's resolution (S. Res. 196) on *Compulsory Jurisdiction of the World Court.*

The control of *Atomic Energy,* which has serious domestic and international implications, will occupy the attention of Congress after the Christmas recess. The May-Johnson bill for domestic control (H. R. 4566 and S. 1463), which the League opposes, was favorably reported in October by the House Military Affairs Committee. This and a number of other measures, dealing with domestic and international aspects of the problem, have been referred in the Senate to the Special Committee on Atomic Energy of which Senator McMahon is Chairman.

Have You Seen?

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

MEMOS, background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a bibliography and discussion outline included. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies $4.50; 100 copies $8.00. The most recent are:

A National Government to Meet Today's Needs, a discussion of the need for the reorganization of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government.

United Nations: The Road Ahead, a comprehensive picture of the present status of the UNO and all that is needed to strengthen it.

Fifty Nations Agree: The United Nations Charter, a detailed analysis of the Charter and how the United Nations Organization will operate.

Valley Authorities: Shall We Establish Regional Developments, a pro and con discussion on the problem of valley authorities, discussion outline and bibliography.

Government and Our Minorities, how Government can help to equalize opportunities for minorities in the U. S.

KNOW YOUR TOWN'S FUTURE, a 34-page booklet with a discussion and outline for a survey of your community with particular emphasis on the need for planning for the future. 25¢ per copy.

CONGRESSIONAL GUIDE, a small pamphlet outlining the organization of the United States Congress, and describing how it works. 10¢ per copy.

TOOLS for individual members or discussion groups.

What To Do With Atomic Energy, a six-page discussion of the atomic problem, the opinion of scientists and the government's attitude toward it. Price 5¢. Minimum order, 5.

The Murray Full Employment Bill, pros and cons on the bill for a high level of employment now before the Congress. Price 3¢. Minimum order 5.

Will Your Dollar Buy Enough? facts for discussion of the problem of inflation, higher wages and higher prices. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

The British Loan—Improving the Basis for Postwar Trade, a complete explanation of the U. S. loan to Britain and why it was negotiated. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

First Step in Peacebuilding: Food, a 3-page discussion of Europe's food needs and its challenge to the United States. 3¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

Local Leaders Handbook, a 20 page loose leaf handbook to guide presidents and board members of local Leagues on problems of organization. Price 50¢.

Let Freedom Ring, illustrated membership pamphlet explaining the League. 50 copies for $2.50; 100 copies for $4.50.

We Can Do It, folder for use in finance interviews. 100 copies $1.50.

Tips on Reaching the Public, specific information on Board responsibility for making news, and rules for preparing newspaper copy. 10¢ per copy.

How to Raise Money for the League of Women Voters, detailed suggestions for conducting contribution campaigns and approaching contributors. Revised July, 1945. 20¢ per copy.

Explanation of the Active List 1944-45. Interpretation of items adopted by the Convention, including League background and possible activity. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies, $4.50; 100 copies, $8.00.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of *ACTION*, of the National League of Women Voters, published bi-monthly regularly at Washington, D. C., for September, 1945, in the District of Columbia, ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Ada Barnett Stough, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of the *TRENDS*, of the National League of Women Voters, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: National League of Women Voters; Editor: Ada Barnett Stough; Business Manager: Frances Mount Mason, 726 Jackson Place.

2. That the owner is: The National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place; Miss Anna Lord Strauss, President, 726 Jackson Place; Mrs. Daniel E. Earley, Secretary, 726 Jackson Place; Mrs. W. H. Peterson, Treasurer, 726 Jackson Place.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

ADA BARNETT STOUGH, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of October, 1945.

(SEAL)

FRANCES E. BROWN.

(My commission expires February 13, 1946.)

ACTION

MARCH 1946

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

WAGING PEACE

By GEORGIANA MITCHELL

DOUBLE newspaper headlines throughout the United States last August 6th announced the end of one age and the beginning of the next. They read: ATOMIC BOMB RIPS JAPAN; HIRAM JOHNSON FOE OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS DIES. Events since have raced on at breakneck speed—Japan surrenders—war criminals executed—weak new governments struggle with hunger and inflation. The United Nations adjusted their pace to events. The preparatory work establishing the United Nations Organization was done rapidly and with a remarkable degree of cooperation by both the great and small nations. The first Assembly successfully set the Organization in motion. The Security Council faced its first tests head-on and emerged intact. Plans are well under way for economic reconstruction based on the sound principle of United Nations trade and financial cooperation.

There are those, however, who believe that UNO is foredoomed because it is nothing more than a league of sovereign nations in which each remain free to make their own laws and to control their military forces. World government crusaders are coupling fear of the atomic bomb with fear of failure of the untried UNO as reasons for urging the immediate adoption of a world government.

Most people who followed the evolution of the United Nations Charter through Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and San Francisco, are agreed that the authority which has been delegated to UNO represents the maximum amount of national sovereignty which the major nations are now willing to delegate to an international body. Let's face facts: there is no evidence that either United States or Russia would have joined UNO if it had been even a modified type of world government. Even conservative plans for world government include a world parliament of representatives elected by the people and accountable to the people instead of appointed as in UNO to represent each nation. To be at all effective such a world parliament would have to have some law-making power at least in the areas which we now label foreign policy. In addition such a parliament would need power to enforce its laws, such as an international armed force, owing allgiance to the world government. Plenty of grass roots education will be needed in the United States before our Senate can be prevailed upon to vote for such a program. Soviet leaders are outspoken in their opposition to world government and there is little hope at present of building support for a world parliament of peoples among the Russian people who lack a free press and free speech. A world parliament elected by the peoples of the world is a stirring thought to all who have been reared in the splendid traditions of Anglo-Saxon democracy, but it has little meaning for the vast illiterate populations of Asia, Africa and parts of Europe where ballot boxes are a curiosity and the struggle to keep alive absorbs all available energy.

Most of the advocates of world government appear to have become hypnotized by the mechanics of government. They are absorbed in the need for a particular type of international governmental machinery, while they seem blind to the fact that there is as yet no world-wide public understanding of the democratic principles necessary to make it function. There is danger in a campaign which builds support for a future world government by destroying faith in the present machinery available in UNO. UNO is an adequate beginning and must be used at once and fully to achieve experience in international cooperation and to develop the mutual trust needed to make the world willing to try a more extensive form of international government.

Throughout the world the old war-breeding issues are now reappearing intensified by new ideological differences and shifts in the balance of power. The United States and the Soviet Union both of whom stayed on the sidelines after World War I are now in the center of the United Nations stage. By giving the right leads they can set international precedents for years to come. Our main problem is to see that the full influence of the United States is constantly used to strengthen the UNO. When our delegates cast a vote at UNO they act within the framework of decisions made by Congress and behind Congress stands the voice of the American people. Chief among the issues with international implications which must be decided shortly are the British Loan, trusteeship for strategic bases, and the control of atomic energy.

The British Loan is the first step in a series of events related like "The House That Jack Built." American prosperity requires an expanding world trade but to accomplish this we must have an agreement in the reduction of trade barriers with Great Britain, the world's greatest trader. The loan makes it possible for Britain, bankrupt by war, to adopt these freer trade policies. Then other nations can do the same and this in turn makes possible world-wide agreement on basic trade principles as a foundation for the establishment of a permanent United Nations International Trade Organization. Much groundwork has been laid for United Nations economic cooperation. We already have the International Bank and Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization and an International Civil Aviation Organization. All are parts of an inter-related plan with the British Loan the key which makes possible this whole program of United Nations cooperation to prevent economic wars.

Introducing—

Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell is a member of the National Board from Indiana who has been living in Washington for the "duration." She appears at the National office practically every day taking an important part in formulating policies, in preparing publications, and in directing the League's activities in the field of international relations, which is her special interest. She has put in many weeks of active field work visiting Leagues in several states.

Mrs. Mitchell is a rare combination of an extremely well versed "expert" and a kindly, unassuming, human being, who works well with others because she always respects their opinions. She is the mother of two girls and the wife of an (atom bomb) physicist. Although she has traveled widely, Mrs. Mitchell has no professional experience in the field of her greatest interest, foreign policy. However, she goes after facts in an expert manner, and her resulting conclusions reflect her ability to consider all points of view.

MRS. ALLAN C. G. MITCHELL

More than 700 out of the 1200 women who came to city market in a city on the west coast were interviewed by the League in three days. The concerns and interests of these women were: first, strikes and labor unrest; second, full employment and reconversion problems; third, atomic bomb and the return of service men and jobs for them.

The Convention Must Decide

The proposed Active List to be considered by the Convention this year is a short one, containing only three items. There will be little difficulty in considering the first two of these. Behind *full U. S. responsibility for strengthening the United Nations* are 25 years of study and well tried League standards for judging all kinds of proposals to promote peace. Likewise *strengthening the organization and procedures of Congress and support of a constitutional amendment changing the procedure of approval of treaties* stems from a long time interest in efficiency in government. It is chosen for emphasis as it is needed more than ever before with the new responsibilities our government has as a member of the United Nations.

Economic policies which promote maximum production and employment, however, is comparatively new ground for the League. An item in this field was on the previous Active List but there had been little Convention discussion to give guidance to the National Board for possible action on the full employment proposals introduced into Congress. It is the hope of the Board that the Convention will reach a consensus on the controversial parts of this issue. The importance of our charting a course of action in this field, difficult as it may be, is brought home by these considerations: A prosperous United States economy is absolutely essential to the success of the United Nations Organization; a high national income is the only desirable way to sustain the heavy taxes needed to carry and reduce the national debt; and there are grave doubts that democratic government as we know it in this country could survive another severe depression.

The strength of the League program is in direct ratio to the members' participation in drawing it up. It is the hope of the Board, therefore, that every member will give thought to this problem and that delegations will have the benefit of much discussion at home in order to make intelligent decisions at the Convention.

It may be helpful to examine past stands of the League to see what precedents we have to guide us in formulating our position. We recognized the relation of purchasing power to employment when we favored unemployment compensation. We have seen that taxes for national expenditures as large as they are in this country must be considered both from the point of view of their effect on purchasing power and on business. We are sure that in an industrial society it is the responsibility of all the people through their government to provide for the hazards of unemployment by unemployment compensation and relief. When work relief was provided in the depression many Leagues realized that advanced planning of public works would have prevented the leaf-raking projects. The ability of Congress to see the overall

(Continued on page 6)

ACTION

March, 1946 Vol. II, No. 2

Published bi-monthly by the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.
Subscription $3 per year Free to members
Additional copies 5¢ ADA BARNETT STOUGH, Editor
Entered as second class matter under the Act of March 3, 1879

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MRS. HENRY A. TAYLOR, Henderson, Kentucky

Dear Editor:—

One bright sunny morning Mrs. Kittle leaned back in her breakfast chair. John had left in a good humor and the two children were off for the day, well fed, well washed, warmly wrapped and with clean handkerchiefs and lunch money. Now after a second cup of coffee she could face the day's duties. The family had relished the eggs—and bacon! (She's been lucky to find bacon.)

Somehow this morning the thought of starving Europeans dimmed her own enjoyment of food. She had written her Congressman to ask for appropriations for UNRRA, but the need to do something more pricked her conscience. Gazing at the morning paper she suddenly thought,

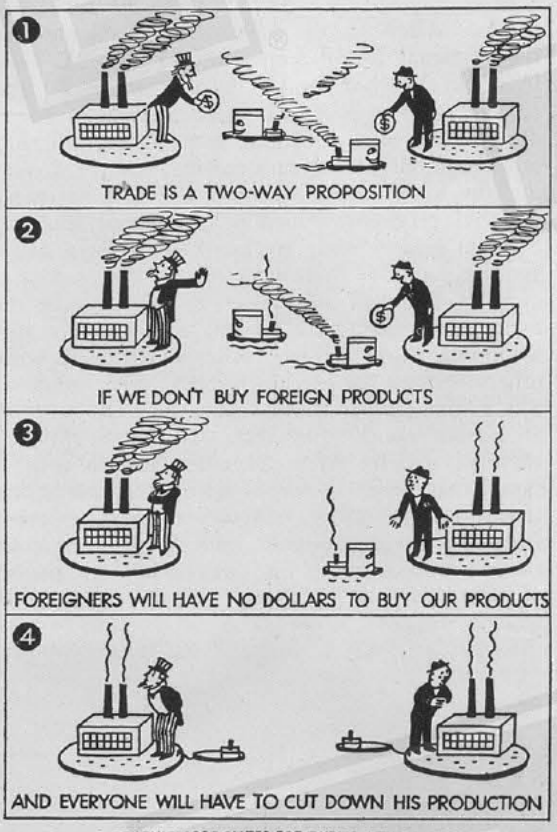
"I know, I'll write a LETTER TO THE EDITOR, and I'll do it now before anything interferes." With a determined air she left her coffee. In exactly 30 minutes she had a short simple letter ready for the postman. Then Mrs. Kittle stacked the dishes and went on with her work.

Two days later she read at the top of the column, the letter, under which was her name in courageous "caps." With a glow of satisfaction she decided the letter wasn't too bad; she felt better for having written it and she hoped someone would read it.

Exactly a week later on a rainy morning Mrs. Kittle followed the children to the door with their raincoats, then returned to the table for her second cup of coffee and a glance at the paper. Her eye fell on the lead editorial. It was on UNRRA! Interest turned to excitement as she began to read, for the writer had mentioned a LETTER TO THE EDITOR as if it had given him the idea. She knew he meant her letter.

"That's strange," she thought, "at the last League meeting they mentioned having visited the newspapers to get editorials for UNRRA but had met with little success. My letter must have simply set off the fuse they set."

Why Trade Concerns Us



From the pamphlet *What Foreign Trade Means to You* by Maxwell S. Stewart, published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York 20, N. Y.

Flash

The Nominating Committee has just reported its proposed list of officers and directors to be voted on at the Convention in Kansas City. Its proposals include: Miss Strauss, president; Mrs. Stone, first vice-president; Mrs. Law, second vice-president; Mrs. James C. Scarborough, secretary; Mrs. Leonard Haas, treasurer; Mrs. Engels, Mrs. Heming, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Taylor, Miss Mabel Newcomber, Mrs. Joseph Mares, directors.

Mrs. Scarborough is a former president and now finance chairman of the California League, where she "demonstrates fine organizational ability." Mrs. Haas is a member of the Georgia League Board and former president of the Atlanta League. She was the only woman member of the Georgia Constitutional Convention (appointed by the governor) and was recently chosen "Woman of the Year in Civic Affairs" in Georgia. Miss Newcomber is head of the Department of Economics, Vassar College, New York, "an outstanding economist of national reputation." Mrs. Mares is chairman of foreign policy of the Missouri League and a "forceful public speaker in many fields."

Our Representative Assembly to Meet

A League Convention is more than a good time and a little inspiration for as many League members as can attend. It is a selected body of delegates meeting in a representative assembly in order to deliberate together, determine important policies, and transact necessary business. The Convention which meets for four days (April 30-May 3) in Kansas City will be strictly a working convention made up of some 500 delegates from the 35 State Leagues of Women Voters.

National League business which will be transacted falls into four categories: (1) the consideration of proposed changes in the By-Laws; (2) the adoption of program; (3) the adoption of a budget; and (4) the election of officers. League members all over the nation have participated in careful advance consideration of many aspects of this important League business. It will be the duty of the Convention to make decisions upon which the work of the League may go forward. The Convention will once again highlight the process of representative government at work within the League.

By-Laws

A committee to draft new By-laws was authorized by the Convention of 1944. This committee last year submitted for the consideration of the Leagues, proposed By-laws with several alternative choices on important aspects of League structure. After receiving the reactions of the Leagues, the committee again set to work on its final recommendations, which it has recently submitted to the Leagues. The Convention will have to decide whether to adopt or reject the new By-laws, and in what respects, if any, to modify them.

Program

The League has long been noted for the care with which it formulates its program, for the character of Convention debate leading up to its adoption. We have never had a complete program of current objectives for government. Rather, we have aimed to select a few objectives of fundamental importance on which there will be an opportunity to act effectively within the next two years. In doing this the League has aspired to be statesmanlike, to foresee and be aware of the "great social and economic forces which flow like a tide over communities only half conscious of what is befalling them." The League has, in its program, charted a progressive course. It has been unwilling to leave great public questions to be fought out between "ignorant change on one hand, and ignorant opposition to change on the other."

There has been widespread interest and discussion of League Program during recent months. After considering many suggestions, the National Board, in accordance with its duty under the By-laws, has presented a Proposed Active List and Platform. Leagues will have ample time to discuss it before the Convention, which is responsible for adopting a program.

The Proposed Active List embodies three great policies, whose various aspects must be thoroughly discussed at the Convention, which may change or add to the Proposals. (See article, "The Convention Must Decide.") The Convention will consider the National program against the background of the total program of the Leagues, local and state, as well as national. It will be mindful of continuing responsibilities and voters' service work, which are also a part of the League program of work.

The Budget

The consideration and adoption of a budget to support the work which the League undertakes is especially important this year. The League is growing. There are increasing opportunities to found new Leagues. The Budget is a plan. How much field work? How many local League mailings? How many publications, and of what type? How much organization work? Such are the important questions we answer when we make a budget.

The Board

A president, other officers and directors are necessary to carry out the plan which the Convention determines. The Convention functions in the broad formation of policy, the Board acts in an executive capacity. They are the only representatives selected by and directly responsible to the whole National League. It is not only important to elect such officers. It is of greatest importance that the Convention formulate League policies and transact League business with such wisdom that it will be possible for the National Board to carry out the goals which the Convention sets.

A League Convention is a demanding experience. It must hold to our great purpose,—to help democracy succeed. It must make statesmanlike decisions. It must provide ways and means for carrying them out.

In a large midwest city the League has been sending representatives to the daily meetings of city council since the elections last November. For many months previously the attendance of councilmen at daily meetings had averaged 2 or 3. After the League began visiting, the attendance increased to 6 or 7. On two occasions absent councilmen called the League office to explain why he was absent that day!

THE CONVENTION MUST DECIDE

(Continued from page 3)

view of the country's problems and coordinate its activities accordingly is a part of our position favoring the reorganization of Congress.

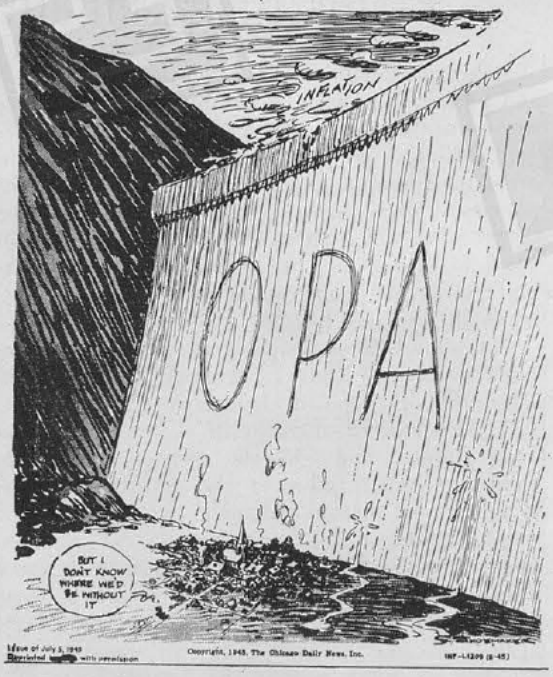
The first issue in proposals for full employment is whether or not we want the government, that is the people collectively, to take a positive role with reference to the economy of the country. Since whether it wants to or not, as we have seen by the taxing power, government does effect the economy, wouldn't it be better to be aware of the fact, try to know the employment prospects of the country and take the actions which government takes anyway, in the light of that knowledge? Those who fear the loss of freedoms in such a procedure must make the choice between the chances inherent in such action as against the chances of social revolution in doing nothing to prevent another severe depression. Conservative estimates show that if in the first normal post war year we produce only as much as we did in 1940 there will be 10 million unemployed in this country. Some estimates are as high as 19 million.

The second issue in the problem is, if positive measures are taken to expand employment should they be limited within the framework of the present national debt, or is deficit spending of minor importance in a country rich in natural and human resources? Some economists think that it is the burden of the debt (the carrying charges) that is important, not its size. They say the debt is held by people who have faith in their government and like their investment or would sell it to buy some other form of security. At a high level of employment either a debt of 200 billion can be carried easily but a depression such as the last one which reduced the national income to 48 billion dollars would make the carrying of the debt of either size intolerable. These people think that the timing of deficit spending is very important. A small amount of deficit spending quickly applied may prevent the spiralling effect of depression and quickly bring back a high level of employment at which time the borrowed money could be paid back.

Those who favor full employment legislation want government with the aid of business to have a flexible and active power to steer this country between the dangers of inflation and deflation through increasing taxes at one time and borrowing at another.

No person can say for sure what will happen under any of these choices. The Convention can not be expected to decide the whole economic future of our country. We should, however, be prepared to discuss and, where possible, give authority for action on some of the immediate economic problems which face the country.

The Dam May Not Be Perfect



Mrs. Dibble, God Bless Her

Sometimes men simply infuriate me. Now take Dr. Bass. Everytime I walk into that man's office he has a different blonde nurse. I told him there ought to be an equal rights amendment for brunettes but he said he'd take it to the Supreme Court before anyone could dictate to him whom he could employ. And I guess he's entitled to his rights, though I'm a brunette, myself.

Then there's Jerry Baxter, a wholesaler, who won't employ women as salesmen because handsome young men make a better impression on women buyers. On the other hand, the builder who has been remodeling the cellar to keep our house from falling down, said he would be delighted to hire women right along with men, and pay them the same, too: only first he needs the Equal Rights Amendment so women can carry as heavy loads as men. I said that didn't sound so good and he said maybe we could fix it so men would have the babies and then it would be all right.—(equal-right)

I talked to one of our state Senators who said he would like the Equal Rights Amendment fine, because then he could go back to practicing law and spend the rest of his life straightening out the tangle of state laws which would be thrown out by the Amendment.

All in all I can't help wondering why anyone wants an Equal Rights Amendment. Everyone could still hire anyone he chose. Such an amendment would lose all the protection women have worked for years to get. Why not concentrate on equal pay for equal work laws?

CONGRESSIONAL SPOTLIGHT

(As of February 15)

* Indicates bills supported by the League. ** Indicates bills opposed by the League.

The Bill	*The Provisions*	*Status in Senate and House*
S. 380 (Murray)	The so-called "Full Employment Bill." See Stumbling Block #10.	Passed Senate Sept. 28 with amendments; passed House Dec. 14 with amendments. Conference report approved February 8.
S. 1592* (Wagner-Ellender-Taft)	To establish a *national housing policy* and a long-range construction program. See Publication #44.	Hearings before Senate Committee concluded in January; Committee report and Senate vote awaited. Hearings to be scheduled before House Committee on Banking and Currency.
H. R. 4761* (Patman)	To provide for *price ceilings on new and old houses,* allocate materials for home construction, give preference to veterans, etc. See Congressional Statement of January 30, 1946.	Hearings before House Committee concluded in January. Reported favorably with amendments February 14.
H. R. 5270* (Spence)	To extend the *Price Control* Act for one year from June 30, 1946.	Hearings before House Banking and Currency Committee due to begin on February 8, 1946.
S. 1349 (Pepper) H. R. 3914 (Hook)	To raise the *Minimum Wage* and to clarify the Child Labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. See Congressional Statement of October 24, 1945.	Reported favorably by Senate Committee on Education and Labor February 14 with amendments; hearings before House Labor Committee concluded in November.
S. 1178* (Pepper-Morse) H. R. 5221* (Woodhouse)	*Equal pay* for equal work irrespective of sex. See Congressional Statement of October 30, 1945.	Hearings before Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Education and Labor concluded in October. Report awaited.
S. 1510* (Murray) H. R. 4437* (Ramspeck) H. R. 4437** (Dirksen)	To retain the *U.S.E.S.* under federal operation until June 30, 1947, and then to return it to states under federal standards of an amended Wagner-Peyser Act. See Congressional Statement of January 19, 1946.	Hearings before Senate Committee on Education and Labor adjourned in November. House on January 29, substituted H. R. 4437 (Dirksen) for Ramspeck bill. Dirksen bill returns U.S.E.S. to states by June 30, 1946.
S. J. Res. 9* (Capper) H. J. Res. 62* (Sumner)	To enable *D. C. Citizens* to vote for President, Vice-President, and a number of Congressmen to be determined by Congress. See Congressional Statement of September 25, 1945.	To be considered further by Senate Judiciary Committee on February 25. Defeated last year in House Judiciary Committee by vote of 8-7.
S. J. Res. 61** (Radcliffe) H. J. Res. 49** (Cravens)	The so-called "*Equal Rights* Amendment." See Congressional Statement of September 28, 1945.	Reported favorably by Senate Committee in January. Reported favorably by House Committee in July, 1945.
S. J. Res. 138* (Barkley) H. J. Res. 311* (Spence)	The *British Loan.* See Stumbling Block #11.	Referred to Banking and Currency Committees of both Houses.
No legislation as of February 15	*UNRRA* appropriation of remaining 600 million of $1,350,000,000 authorized in December.	Prompt action in both Houses needed to assure continuous flow of supplies.
S. J. Res. 135* (Murray) H. J. Res. 305* (Merrow)	To provide for U. S. participation in *UNESCO* (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and to authorize an appropriation therefor.	Referred to Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees.

Have You Seen?

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. Subscription price $1.00 per year.

MEMOS, background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with a bibliography and discussion outline included. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies $4.50; 100 copies $8.00. The most recent are:

Trade, Jobs, and Peace, an analysis of world trade and its relation to the peace and security of the world.

A National Government to Meet Today's Needs, a discussion of the need for the reorganization of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government.

United Nations: The Road Ahead, a comprehensive picture of the present status of the UNO and all that is needed to strengthen it.

Fifty Nations Agree: The United Nations Charter, a detailed analysis of the Charter and how the United Nations Organization will operate.

Valley Authorities: Shall We Establish Regional Developments, a pro and con discussion on the problem of valley authorities, discussion outline and bibliography.

Government and Our Minorities, how Government can help to equalize opportunities for minorities in the U. S.

25 YEARS OF A GREAT IDEA, an attractive, illustrated 38 page history of the League of Women Voters. 25¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. Price, 100 copies 75¢; 1000 copies $6.00. The most recent are:

Have You Caught Up with the Atom? A quiz designed to provoke thought and promote discussion on the need for support of United Nations.

Is Lending Money to Britain Good Business for Us? An illustrated sheet with explanations on the projected loan to Great Britain.

KNOW YOUR TOWN'S FUTURE, a 34-page booklet with a discussion and outline for a survey of your community with particular emphasis on the need for planning for the future. 25¢ per copy.

TOOLS for individual members or discussion groups.

Progress Report on Atomic Energy, a summary of recent legislation regarding the domestic control of atomic power and problems. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

The British Loan—Improving the Basis for Postwar Trade, a complete explanation of the U. S. loan to Britain and why it was negotiated. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

What To Do With Atomic Energy, a six-page discussion of the atomic problem, the opinion of scientists and the government's attitude toward it. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

Factors in Labor Picture, a discussion of labor problems facing labor, management, and the general public. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

The Murray Full Employment Bill, pros and cons on the bill for a high level of employment now before the Congress. Price 3¢. Minimum order 5.

Will Your Dollar Buy Enough? Facts for discussion of the problem of inflation, higher wages and higher prices. Price 5¢. Minimum order 5.

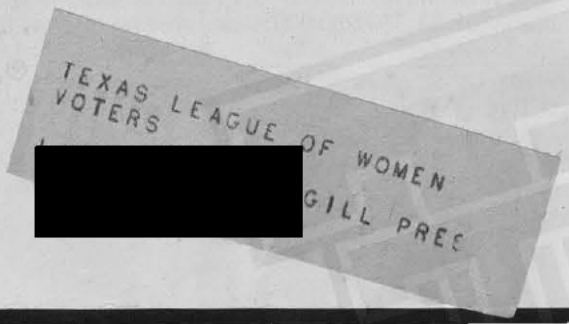
First Step in Peacebuilding: Food, a 3-page discussion of Europe's food needs and its challenge to the United States. 3¢ a copy, minimum order 5.

Local Leaders Handbook, a 20 page loose leaf handbook to guide presidents and board members of local Leagues on problems of organization. Price 50¢.

Let Freedom Ring, illustrated membership pamphlet explaining the League. 50 copies for $2.50; 100 copies for $4.50.

We Can Do It, folder for use in finance interviews. 100 copies $1.50.

Tips on Reaching the Public, specific information on Board responsibility for making news, and rules for preparing newspaper copy. 10¢ per copy.



L. Ruggles

ACTION

JANUARY 1947

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

"WE" or "THEY"

By Beatrice Hirsch Haas

ONE way to describe the purpose of the League of Women Voters is to say that it helps people to remember that this business of government is what "we do" and not what "they" do. In order to realize that government is something that touches us very closely, and something that we can control, there is no better place to begin to work than with our city or county government.

League work in our localities is not only interesting but rewarding, for the problems are specific and the results can be concrete and tangible. There is another important angle to local work often overlooked and that is the opportunity to interpret to the public the work of its officials.

Public service is notoriously a thankless job. The man who makes a success in his chosen profession or his private practice is respected and applauded by his fellow citizens, but the man who sometimes sacrifices opportunity for personal gain by choosing to serve the public interest seldom gets credit and often gets blame. We lose a great many able public servants because we fail to give them the backing they deserve when they courageously do a good job in the public interest.

The place to begin interpreting the work of public officials to their communities is right at home. How many of the top people at work in your city or county government do you actually know? I do not mean—"do you know their names?" But have you ever met them or do you only think of them when you pay your tax bill or when you vote?

Have you ever taken the trouble to go to your city hall, for example, to tell the head of the health department that you appreciate the campaign he is putting on to clean up the restaurants. Of course, he is hearing from those people who object to his efforts to protect the health of the people, but it is to be doubted whether he ever hears from the people who will benefit.

Whenever you, either alone or with a group of League members, decide to get to know your public officials better everyone will benefit. You will learn a great deal from them and they will do a better job because of your interest.

The League in my town has, for years, had representatives at every meeting of the city council and county commission. When we first started attending these meetings we were always welcomed with the question, "What do you ladies want?" For months this went on. Each time we patiently explained that we wanted only to understand our city and our county governments and the problems their officials faced. They could not believe us, because we were the first citizens they had ever seen in those council chambers who did not want something! Everyone else who came wanted a road paved, or a tax adjustment, or a traffic light at his corner.

Of course, we have gone many times when we *did* want something. But, as one high state official put it: "You (the League members) are the only ones who come to me only to help in the public interest. Everyone else wants something for himself."

As a result of working continuously and closely with our local officials several things have happened.

First, the officials have picked up many ideas from the League and used them as their own. In fact, some of the best work the League has done has not been publicly credited to it.

Second, we have been able to interpret to the public the work of the officials. Those who are doing a real job in the public interest are encouraged to continue.

Third, we have learned what improvements are needed and consequently have been able to develop a League program that reflects the real needs of our community.

Fourth, the League has gained the respect and confidence of the community because it has proved that it gets the facts before it takes a stand, and because it works with public officials as far as possible.

Fifth, when citizens find they can influence their local government it is a logical and short step to try the same job in state government and then in the national government. If a League is politically effective in its local community, state and national officials who are elected from these communities are well aware of the fact.

Work with local government is being neglected in many places and yet it can be very rewarding and most exciting. Good government, like charity, begins at home.

For that last-minute Christmas or New Year's gift
or for a present to yourself, why not give

TRENDS

$1.00 per year. We will send a gift notification card.

MRS. LEONARD HAAS

Introducing—

Two years ago Mrs. Leonard Haas, now national treasurer, was chosen *Woman of the Year in Civic Affairs* in her home town of Atlanta, Georgia, as a tribute to "her sustained and creative interest in government." The committee which bestowed the honor paid verbal recognition to the importance of the work Mrs. Haas had done in and through the Atlanta League of Women Voters since 1930.

"More than any one person she is responsible for stirring the political apathy of residents. Her genius for working with people and infecting others with her enthusiasm for work has resulted not only in innumerable civic reforms but in an entirely new attitude toward citizenship in the community."

Mrs. Haas was the only woman appointed by Governor Arnall to the Commission to revise the Constitution of Georgia. She knows what activity in local government means for she has participated in campaigns for permanent registration, prison reform, home rule, civil service, and other progressive measures.

And yet the personality of this charming southerner is anything but that of a formidable reformer. Her thinking is clear and logical, she expresses herself directly and forcefully; yet she possesses great tact, her sense of humor is keen, and she refuses to regard herself too seriously. With all her civic activity she manages to find time for her husband and two growing sons.

New Year's Resolutions

By a member of the League of Women Voters

This New Year, again, as so often before
I'll firmly resolve to try to do more
To further the League and to get out more votes,
To read Memos and Briefs, and to act on my notes.
And then if there's anything left of me
For husband and home and nursery,
I'll truly endeavor to treat them right—
And not talk the League *both* day and night.

It's Fun to "Find Out"

Are you one of those League members who has been anxious for more information on governmental problems, but didn't know quite how to get "all of that wonderful League material"? Would you like to know more about economics, taxation, United Nations, atomic energy, and many other subjects?

If you haven't been able to get downtown to League meetings, you don't have to miss out on the League completely, because now you can bring it right into your own living room, by following these suggestions:

Contact about a dozen of your neighbors and see if they aren't eager for such information. Arrange a meeting date—possibly early one afternoon while the children are in school. Ask your local League president to arrange to have a Board member come to your meeting with samples of literature, program suggestions, and other helpful information.

You won't learn all about any subject, but you will be amazed to find how many facts you can pick up in one hour's discussion of United Nations. You'll be agreeably surprised, too, when you pick up your evening newspaper and find articles on United Nations much more readable. You will feel certain the newspaper articles are much better written, but that will be because you know more about United Nations than you did the last time you read the paper. Why not try this idea out on your neighbors? If you would like to do this, call your local League president and ask for the advice and help of the local League Board, since your work to be effective will need to be fitted into the planning for your community.

The February issue of MADEMOISELLE *will contain pictures and a story of the League of Women Voters in various colleges. League daughters will be especially interested in seeing it.*

ACTION

January, 1947 Vol. III, No. 1

Published bi-monthly by the League of Women Voters of the U. S., 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Free to members Subscriptions $3
ADA BARNETT STOUGH, Editor Additional Copies 5¢

Entered as second class matter, under the Act of March 3, 1879

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"He Who Moulds Public Sentiment—"

"Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

—Lincoln.

The above quotation, applicable in all of League work, is particularly so in relation to the League's program on atomic energy. The League program carries two items, put there by a Convention, firm in its decision that atomic energy was the foremost problem the world must face. Developments toward control are as follows:

Domestic Control. "Domestic control under a civilian agency," the first objective stated in the League program, has been accomplished with the help of the League. Congress passed and the President signed the McMahon bill, and the Atomic Energy Commission with David Lilienthal as its chairman has been appointed.

International Control. The achievement of this goal is a longer, slower project. The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, of which Mr. Baruch is the U. S. member, has been at work since June. The United States has proposed an Atomic Development Authority to own raw materials and control all production of fissionable materials. The Russians have presented a plan for outlawing atomic bombs. A Scientific and Technical Committee of the UN Atomic Energy Commission has agreed unanimously that a system of international control is technically possible.

The Commission has now voted to set itself a December 31 deadline for the presentation of a report to the Security Council. If no agreement on a plan is reached by that time, presumably there will be majority and minority reports.

The League Job. While the members of the UN Commission are working to achieve a plan which has the approval of the United Nations, the League has a golden opportunity to do the basic educational job which is so seriously needed. Legislative approval for an international agreement will be only the last step in a long process. Before a majority of the members of Congress vote "Yes" there must be public support for the proposal under consideration.

There has been talk, talk, talk, about atomic energy, but in how many communities have citizens really analyzed the essentially political problem of controlling it? How many citizens have a nodding acquaintance with the basic principles of the Lilienthal report and the U. S. Proposals to the Atomic Energy Commission? How many know what the Russians are proposing? How many have related the specific horrors of John Hersey's "Hiroshima" to what is going on in the UN Atomic Energy Commission and to the responsibility of the U. S. Congress?

This then is the necessary League action: to provide information, and to build public opinion through stimulating public discussion.

* * * * *

Two recent League publications are designed to help League members understand and discuss the problem. They are Atomic Energy Act of 1946, 5¢, and World Control of Atomic Energy —15 Months After, 5¢.

Books of the Month

Congress at the Crossroads, by George B. Galloway, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, $3.50.

A very thorough study of Congress as it exists, why it acts as it does, and what methods have been proposed to make it more effective. George Galloway has been the staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and has been in an excellent position to observe recent Congresses. At a time when the democratic process has a great challenge to meet, the book is particularly significant. As the 80th Congress convenes and the provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 are put into effect, *Congress at the Crossroads* will be an invaluable reference aid in interpreting what goes on.

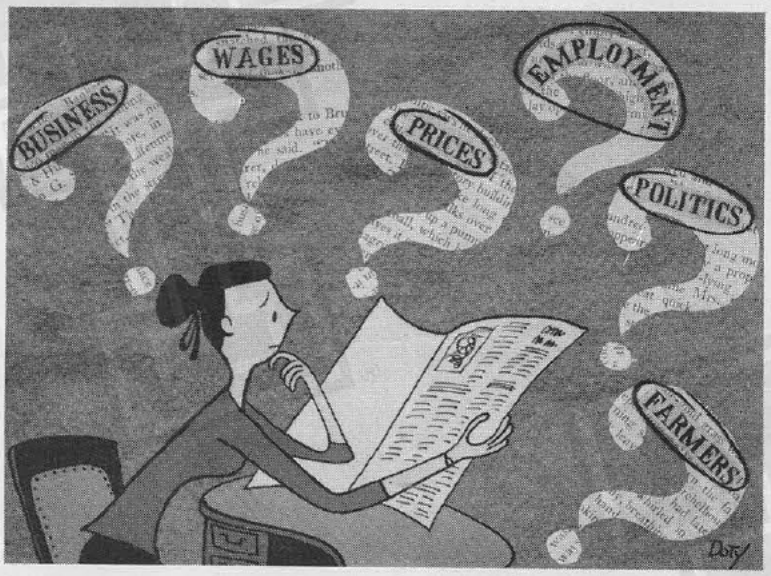
For Us the Living, An Approach to Civic Education, by John J. Mahoney, Harper & Brothers, New York City, $3.00.

This book is a blueprint for getting on with the "unfinished work" of education calculated to perpetuate and improve the workings of democracy, which the author carefully weighs and defines. It is a strong statement of the need for an improved program of citizen education.

Economics for Everybody

The League has taken the economic books off the shelves, swished off the dust, and turned them inside out. And now it is saying: "Look!—these long words and pedestrian sentences that have scared the daylights out of people are a China wall which has been keeping us from entering a perfectly fascinating territory. Actually, what these books are saying is as simple as this . . .", to prove its point the League produces "How the Wheels Go 'Round, an Economic Primer."

That there can be no doubt that economics can be fun, the League has gone even further. It is telling the story in pictures. The "dismal science" economics has been given a decided face lifting in ECONOMICS FOR EVERYBODY, a 35mm slidefilm * which will be ready for use in January. As soon as you see this delightful film strip, you'll be entranced at suddenly realizing, perhaps for the first time, that you yourself are a major actress in the everyday drama of economic affairs. A whole new way of looking at the world around you will be revealed.



From the slidefilm "Economics for Everybody" *

Within the League there has been agreement on some aspects of an economic program. We have worked actively in the field of taxation since 1934. There was a clear mandate by the last convention for activity in support of a tax and fiscal policy designed to promote the economic health of the country. The League has also supported legislation designed to deal with the war and post-war problem of inflation. The convention voted support of conservation, and continued support of a housing program. Yet on the broader aspects of an economic program there is no clear consensus at this time. Before the next League convention we shall want to examine suggestions for governmental action to promote economic stability, and find agreement within the League on what policies to support.

It was made clear at the last convention, that the League had an important job to do in "promoting public understanding" and in emphasizing that the whole economic problem be considered in making national decisions.

This January will see the first use by government of the new techniques designed to help the country make domestic decisions in the light of the over-all economic picture; the Economic Report of the President, as provided in the Employment Act of 1946; the Joint Resolution of the Budget, as provided in the Organization of Congress Act. Therefore January is the month for the League to start its campaign to get everyone talking and thinking about economics. The League's slidefilm will be available. Discussion outlines and other tools will be provided from the national office.

This is a project in a field in which leadership is badly needed. It is a field in which the cross section of outlook and opinion represented by the League membership is an important factor. For as we within the League, with our various ideas on economic questions, find ways of resolving our differences, and discover areas of agreement; as we stimulate the entire community to think, we can help the people of the country to do likewise. Economic health and stability in the interdependent countries of the world depends greatly upon the achievement of that goal in this country.

Economics is now a "must" as a basis for informed citizen action. The League joins the whole country in striving for ways to achieve our economic objectives. Everyone should be shown the importance of thinking in these new terms if political decisions are to be made wisely. And "the Ladies, God bless 'em" are the ones to do the job.

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* Published for the League by Film Publishers, Inc., 25 Broad St., N. Y. C. 4, with speech notes and guide at $2.50. Each state League has a limited number for free distribution.

Federal Aid to Education

The League of Women Voters has supported and will continue to support the Thomas-Hill-Taft bill for federal aid to education, which failed to reach the floor of either house in the 79th Congress. It will be introduced in substantially the same form in the new Congress, and still contains the best possibilities for successful passage of any measure presented in recent years. The bill, if passed, would make it possible for needy states to bring their standards of public education up to a certain minimum. The funds would be distributed according to a definite formula based on the number of children in the state, ability to support schools, and the effort they are making to support them.

There is scarcely a community in the nation which has not felt this year an acute shortage of qualified teachers. One of the reasons for the shortage continues to be the low level of salaries, as compared with opportunities in other fields. While the current educational crisis has other than financial aspects, the lack of funds is undoubtedly most important at the present time.

The evidence is great to show that many states are too poor in economic resources to maintain schools at a reasonable minimum standard. Those who have considered the problem have, almost without exception, concluded that some federal aid is greatly needed if we are to give the children of underprivileged areas anywhere nearly adequate preparation for life.

Besides the Thomas-Hill-Taft bill there is another bill sponsored by Senator Murray which would go much further in giving federal aid to education. Senator Murray has said that its purpose is to encourage thinking in broad, general terms about the educational system in this nation. It would provide greatly increased expenditures for all forms of education, from elementary through higher educational institutions and in addition would provide for school construction programs, scholarships for worthy students, camping programs and research. It would provide funds for non-profit private schools, as well as public schools. It would gradually make available up to nearly two billion dollars per year for its whole program.

Although the Murray bill is stimulating thinking about education, the League of Women Voters does not support it. One of the important reasons for the League's position is our long-term stand against the use of public funds to further religious and private purposes, as such grants under the Murray bill would do. There are also some serious administrative problems connected with such an ambitious program.

Federal aid to education is a subject in which the League has long had an interest and we will watch with care the actions of the 80th Congress in this field. We will continue to urge that federal aid legislation such as the Thomas-Hill-Taft bill be passed without delay.

Members-at-Large

Have you friends in these states in which there are no Leagues: Alabama, Delaware, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, or Wyoming? Or in Idaho, Mississippi, and Virginia, which have no state League? Please send in their names to the national office of the League of Women Voters, so that we may invite them to become members-at-large. They will receive regularly selected League publications and ACTION *magazine. They will be very helpful in the organization of new Leagues.*

Publications Service

A system by which any person or organization may subscribe to the printed publications issued by the national office of the League of Women Voters has just been inaugurated. The series will run from April 1 to April 1, and will cost $3.00 for the year. Persons who wish may subscribe on January 1, 1947, by sending to the national office $3.75 and for this they will receive printed publications from January 1, 1947 to April 1, 1948. Those who wish to subscribe after April 1, 1947 will subtract (from the amount they send in) 25¢ for each month that has elapsed. For example: April 1, due $3.00; May 1, due $2.75, etc. No subscription will be accepted for less than $1.50.

All subscriptions will expire at the end of the League fiscal year, April 1, 1948, and at the end of each fiscal year thereafter.

This is the opportunity for which many League members have been asking. Your local library, your doctor's office, and your school will probably want to take advantage of it. Tell them about it.

League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington 6, D. C.

Please find enclosed $..... for which send me your printed publications from ..... 1947 to March 31, 1948.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

Your Congressman Goes to Washington

As January first approaches, your Congressman, having settled his personal affairs, will begin to pack up and get ready to leave for Washington. More than likely he is a newly elected Congressman for whom life in the nation's Capital holds all the allure of a new adventure. Many are the problems he must face and the adaptations he must make as he begins his career.

On arrival he must set up an office to assist him to deliberate and legislate for the country as a whole and to intercept and interpret to him the opinions of the constituents he has been elected to serve. When the bell sounds for the opening of the 80th Congress, your Congressman's first vote will probably be on adopting for the body the new procedures and the new committee structures voted in the Reorganization Act of 1946. The modernized rules were designed to make it easier for him to carry out his duties. He will serve on fewer committees and consequently can give more attention to those of which he is a member. He will be freed from considering "chicken feed" bills which in the past have taken valuable time. He will have more staff assistance, and more research facilities at his command. He will be better paid for the work he does.

If yours is a newly elected Congressman he may not yet have committed himself to the subjects in which the League is interested and that situation in itself suggests an opportunity, perhaps a responsibility, to you, a League member in his district. Rare indeed is the new member of Congress who knows all about international trade, atomic energy, taxation, budgets, immigration, United Nations, housing, and the many other pressing problems on which he must make decisions. On some of the issues he may have strong opinions and be confident that they reflect the consensus of those he represents. On other issues his mind may be open and most receptive to ideas from his community. Once he gets to Washington and his opinions become formed the more difficult it will be for you to get his ear and his consideration. A letter from you in his office or study in his home town will probably receive more attention than the same letter received during his first hectic months at the Capitol.

To meet your Congressman personally, to assure him of your interest, and to wish him success, even though you do not discuss particular subjects with him, is a good idea. A letter from you thereafter will be identified with your name and will carry just that much more weight.

The road ahead of your Congressman during the next two years will be difficult because the majority leaders in House and Senate will be of a different political party from the President. Legislative programs will run the risk of veto by the President. The President's responsibility under the Constitution of initiating legislation will be difficult for him to discharge.

Such a situation makes it all the more imperative for League members and all citizens to be vocal in their opinions so that both Congress and the President will be aware of a strong public opinion supporting or opposing them as the case may be. No democratic government can flourish unless there is effort by citizens concerned only with the public interest, and unless such efforts can find a way to bring their influence to bear on government. So when your Congressman goes to Washington, go with him in spirit. Let him know when you approve of his action, and voice your disapproval with reasons when you disagree. Government of the people demands that the people make their voices heard.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of ACTION published bi-monthly at Washington, D. C., for October 21, 1946, in the District of Columbia, *ss.*

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Ada Barnett Stough, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of ACTION and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, League of Women Voters of the U. S., 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Editor, Ada Barnett Stough, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Managing editor, Frances Mount Mason, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Business manager, none.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) League of Women Voters of the United States, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, Pres., 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. James A. Scarborough, Sec., 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Leonard Haas, Treasurer, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is ——. (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

ADA BARNETT STOUGH, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of September, 1946.
[SEAL] DOROTHY W. WRIGHT.
(My commission expires Aug. 15, 1951.)

Have You Seen?

TRENDS, published bi-weekly by the Washington office, an invaluable digest of trends in thought and activity on measures of national and international importance. $1.00 per year.

MEMOS, background information and explanation of the arguments pro and con, with bibliography and discussion outline included. 10¢ per copy; 50 copies $4.50; 100 copies $8.00. The most recent are:

How the Wheels Go 'Round, an Economic Primer, a clear, understandable, presentation of basic economic facts and problems.

Full Employment and Democracy, a discussion of the theories on the responsibility of government for employment, the national debt, and the stabilization of the nation's economy.

Is Politics Your Job? What it means to be effective in the field of political affairs.

The Housing Problem, a statement of the facts on the housing shortage and a discussion of the proposals for meeting the crisis.

Trade, Jobs, and Peace, an analysis of world trade and its relation to the peace and security of the world.

United Nations: The Road Ahead, a comprehensive picture of the present status of the UN and what is needed to strengthen it.

25 YEARS OF A GREAT IDEA, an attractive, illustrated 38-page history of the League of Women Voters. 25¢ per copy.

BROADSIDES, simply written single sheets for wide distribution, to spur citizens to action on vital issues. Price, 100 copies 75¢; 1000 copies $6.00. The most recent are:

Now—It's Up to You, illustrated flyer urging citizens to face their responsibility in combating inflation.

Have You Caught Up With the Atom? A quiz designed to provoke thought and promote discussion on the need for support of United Nations.

KNOW YOUR COUNTY, Questions and discussions to guide Leagues in making a survey of their county government. 25¢ per copy.

KNOW YOUR TOWN'S FUTURE, a 34-page booklet with a discussion and outline for a survey of your community with particular emphasis on the need for planning for the future. 25¢.

BRIEFS FOR ACTION, four to eight page printed "tools" containing up to date information on current problems. For use by individual members or discussion groups. Price, 5¢ per copy; 50 copies $2.25; 100 copies $4.00.

World Control of Atomic Energy—Fifteen Months After, developments toward international control, explanation of the various proposals, and a discussion of controversial issues and problems which must be solved.

Atomic Energy Act of 1946, contains the provisions of the law which sets up the machinery for the domestic control of atomic energy.

The United Nations on the Way, a discussion of the development of United Nations, its accomplishments, and the problems it faces, illustrated with chart of organization.

Reorganization of Congress, 1946, gives in detail the provisions of the Act to modernize and streamline the Congress.

GENERAL TOOLS

If We Want To Air Our Views, illustrated pamphlet designed to help Leagues to plan and put on radio programs. Price 10¢.

Let's Have a Discussion, deals with the techniques and methods of conducting discussion groups. 10¢.

Group Discussion in the League of Women Voters, pamphlet on the underlying purpose of discussion groups. 10¢.

How to Start Neighborhood Discussion Groups, mimeographed ideas and suggestions. Price 12¢.

Political Effectiveness, mimeographed agenda for a one day school. Price 3¢, Min. order 5.

Local Tax Study, mimeographed guide for a study of taxes in a community. Price 6¢.

Program. The League Program adopted at the 1946 Convention, including the Current Agenda, Platform, explanation of program items, and a description of how League program is made. Printed, 8 pages. Price, 5¢ per copy; 50 copies $2.25; 100 copies $4.00.

Open the Door To. The new finance folder for use in finance campaigns. Price $1.50 per hundred copies.

Tips on Reaching the Public, specific information on Board responsibility for making news, and rules for preparing newspaper copy. 10¢ per copy.

Let Freedom Ring, illustrated membership pamphlet explaining the League. 50 copies for $2.50; 100 copies for $4.50.

All orders except those from Leagues must be prepaid

ACTION

MARCH 1947

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

The League in a Troubled World

By DELIA MARES

THE troubles of our times go deeper than the events. Such problems as the international control of atomic energy, or the stabilization of our national economy, are bewildering enough in themselves. But beneath them lies the search for a common philosophy, or even a common approach on which we can rely as we attempt to resolve our national and international conflicts. What facts are relevant, which are unimportant? What "experts" can be trusted? Is majority opinion always right? When shall we accept what is possible, when shall we insist on a principle? What principles do we believe in? What part do emotionally colored words like "Fascist," "Communist," "democracy," "capitalism," and "socialism" play in shaping our thinking?

The dawning realization that the American way of life is only one among many has deprived us of our former assurance that our political and economic ideas provide the final answers. We are no longer certain that our American patterns are equally good for other peoples and other lands. At the same time we are uncomfortably aware that our policy or lack of policy will influence the whole course of future history. No wonder people are troubled.

As Americans, our characteristic reaction to bewilderment is action. And since government is life's common denominator in the 20th century, it is political action on which we embark. Every organization wants to "do something"; forums, legislative programs, resolutions on national policy, letters to Congress are the order of the day. Yet talk and activity in our numerous organizations simply serve to dull the insistent question: "What does constitute a sound policy?"

But as the more thoughtful citizens begin to realize, ill-considered action may do more harm than good. Without some basis of moral principle on which to determine what action is desirable, the urge for action is easily diverted by skillful spokesmen for special interest groups into the channels which will promote those special interests. Our political loyalties, our economic loyalties are all too readily translated into action which may divide and weaken us.

Moreover, without some emphasis on broadening and deepening information as a basis for action, we run the risk of mistaking activity for achievement. Sooner or later our ineffectiveness becomes apparent to us, and we run the risk both of having wasted our strength and of feeling such frustration that future action becomes difficult.

It is the special merit of the League of Women Voters that it has avoided these two pitfalls of the characteristically American urge to action. The League's dedication to the common welfare as the criterion by which governmental action must be judged provides a moral discipline by which to determine what action is desirable. The League's emphasis on an informed public opinion as the basis of forming sound policy provides the intellectual discipline by which to determine what action is effective. Unlike the many organizations which emphasize action alone, the League is constantly examining itself, devising new approaches, enlisting new people, training others, in the light of how the common welfare can be promoted; how effective policy can be achieved.

In this lies the League's unique function in our national life, as well as its strategic opportunity for a wider service in the countries where women are just becoming active participants in the political scene. The emerging world order will have to rest on a few generally accepted values, and America's present position of leadership demands that we comprehend which of our values can have meaning for peoples other than ourselves. In his extraordinary book THE MEETING OF THE EAST AND THE WEST, Professor Northrop has defined those aspects of American life and thought, held in common with Western civilization, which have universal meaning. Preeminent among them are the moral discipline of seeking the common welfare as expressed in freedom of opportunity for all individuals, and the intellectual discipline of the scientist's constant search for new facts and a deeper understanding of the meaning of facts. In its acceptance of these guiding principles, the League of Women Voters symbolizes the universal values of America and of Western civilization.

People outside the League often wonder at the absorbing loyalty of so many of its members. They would wonder less if they understood that our loyalty goes beyond the organization to the principles which the organization strives to embody; principles which have been challenged and found valid. The profound satisfaction of participation in League work is not simply the American's love of activity; it is the satisfaction which arises from faith in a philosophy which offers some hope of resolving our problems in a constructive way.

For the foreseeable future there will be a place in our country and in other countries for an organization which can mobilize the practical idealism of women for the improvement of government. The continuing influence of such an organization will depend on its direction by those moral and intellectual principles which are the glory of our civilization.