

## Behind the Results in Britain

Voters Seemed Apathetic in Campaign; Returns Will Be Studied for Weeks

LONDON, May 27.—To examine the election results in the 630 districts of the British Parliament is not unlike the task that faces the American observer on the morning after a congressional election. What do millions and millions of voters have in common and what was the dominating thought behind their action at the polls? Can a trend be discerned, and what does it mean for other countries?

The size of a majority in the popular vote nationally doesn't mean anything, because each district is a unit, and it isn't important even in America how big a majority a Democrat gets in the South, where there is only one candidate running. The percentage of votes across the nation obtained by either party has none of the significance here that it has when presidential candidates are voted for in America. What is of great importance is the size of the majority in the so-called marginal districts, of which there are about 90. Here the margin of victory in the past for either party has been very narrow, and a switch of a few votes can turn one party out and put the other party in.

Results from these marginal districts will be studied for weeks hereafter, but the overall impact of the election outcome is related solely to the victory of a single party as a whole. For here the party members in the House of Commons select the Prime Minister, who combines both legislative and executive functions and can be turned out of office at any time if the national legislature wills it that way.

When 29 million or more persons go to the polls anywhere in the world of de-

mocracy, it is astonishing how strikingly their behavior fits the pattern of the times and the precedents of the past. Two controlling influences usually determine the outcome—the presence of economic contentment or discontent on the one hand, and, on the other, some strong emotional feeling that can and sometimes does override any economic issue.

The British electorate has experienced a wide degree of economic contentment in the last several months. Hence, apathy was noted during the campaign. The people were not excited about the elections because they had nothing really serious to cause them to protest. Under such circumstances the party in power always benefits at the polls, because the apathetic voters of the opposition are likely to stay away, while the enthusiasm of the incumbent party, through effective organization, usually brings its own followers to the polls.

There was an emotional issue of importance in the campaign—the desire for peace. Both parties had to argue almost from the same starting point—that each could do the better job if entrusted with office. This again helped the Conservatives, for they have not missed a trick on that score. They have argued that a four-power conference is in the offing and that it isn't a good idea to change horses in midstream.

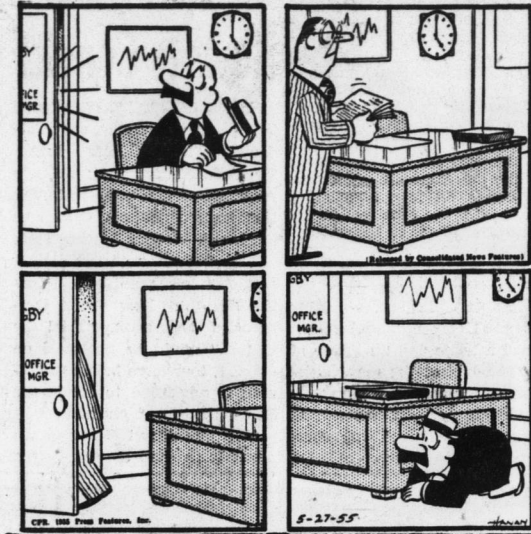
There has been a lot said about the great similarity between the major parties, and some people have professed to see little difference between the Conservative and the Socialist Labor approach. Punch, the leading humor-

ous weekly here, offered a quiz to its readers the other day and one question was: "Number one, explain the difference between the Conservative and the Socialist Labor Parties. Number two, how can you tell?"

But the London Times, the sedate and dignified organ of British political thought, summed it up this way:

"The Conservatives' main concern is to enlarge the national cake; Labor's is how it shall be shared out. The Conservatives believe that in a mixed economy prosperity depends on the spur of incentives and private enterprise; Labor believes that in a mixed economy weaknesses are best met by regulation and control. 'Britain has still to find her exact place in the postwar world and also how best to run herself. The question is under which emphasis at the moment is she likelier to achieve these objects.'"

On the whole Britain is coming along nicely in her postwar evolution, and the British people, while not rolling in prosperity in the American sense, have been getting better food and better clothing and better housing as their standard of living has been gradually raised. When they look back at the horrible bombings of wartime, they react instantly to almost any formula that gives hope of achieving peace. They are the kind of folks who, if put to it, would make the same sacrifices as before, but they have a feeling that somehow another war can and must be avoided. They can, if necessary, bring forth leaders who will say again what Winston Churchill said in the dark days of 1940: "We would rather see London laid in ruins and ashes than that it should be tamely and abjectly enslaved." (Reproduction Rights Reserved.)



### POTOMAC FEVER FLETCHER KNEBEL

Ike is reported ready to name a new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Those are three big ideas—and the job is to find a Republican who favors at least two of them.

British elections are different. One party favors capitalism, the other socialism. Over here both parties praise capitalism—and promise more socialism.

The administration speeds production of warplanes because of Russian gains. Eisenhower officials know just what the Air Force needs. They ought to. They just finished cutting it.

The Senate ditches Ike's highway program for one of Senator Gore of Tennessee. They still like Ike—but they're for Gore more.

Senate investigators hear a \$50,000 bribe was offered for a contract for 7 million sailor hats. Rush order. The hats were needed for the sailors who'll guard the Navy's 60-year supply of canned hamburger.

Television and radio broadcasters finish a Washington convention. They proved to each other that the only thing worse than listening to commercials is listening to a bunch of half-hour speeches without them.

Ike asks Congress for \$12 million to start building an atomic merchant ship. This do-it-yourself craze is contagious. The Government is getting the taxpayers to do more and more of it.

## Close Watch on Market Urged in Senate Report

By the Associated Press

A close watch on stock market speculation is urged by a majority report on the Senate Banking Committee's recently closed investigation of a 16-month market rise.

The report, issued yesterday, stated that if business, investors and the Government use restraint "we have no fear of the stock market upsetting the stability and healthy growth of the economy."

### Close Watching

At the same time, it said: "We cannot rule out the possibility of the recurrence of business fluctuations despite the progress that has been made to cope with the problems of instability. Therefore, the development of speculative trends in the stock market bears close watching."

"The evidence supplied by the hearings, the questionnaires and the staff report indicates unmistakably that there has been an increase in unhealthy speculative developments in the stock market since the fall of 1954."

The New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange and leading brokerage firms declined comment on the report.

To assist in its inquiry the committee, headed by Senator Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas sent out questionnaires to 5,500 brokers, dealers, investment advisers, financial writers, economists and others. It got more than 1,300 of them back.

A dissenting committee report by Senators Capehart, Republican, of Indiana; Bricker, Republican, of Ohio; Bennett, Republican, of Utah and Beall, Republican, of Maryland complained that the majority report was silent on what the 1,300 received questionnaires revealed. The minority report continued: "Ninety per cent of the responses attributed current stock market price levels, in one way or another, to confidence in the Eisenhower administration."

Political in Nature  
"That omission, coupled with the thread running through the report suggesting an impending 'burst' indicate that the report, as well as the investigation, is political in nature and intended to weaken the confidence of the people in the administration of President Eisenhower."

The majority report said the symptoms of a rise in speculative activity are not nearly so apparent as they were in 1929 when the great crash came, "but this is no justification for ignoring their existence."

Among the majority findings: 1. The Federal Reserve Board should have taken more vigorous action in January of this year to curb speculation by increasing margin requirements. "The board apparently recognized this when it again increased margin requirements in April."

2. The role of group investments—purchase of stocks by insurance companies, pension funds, etc.—"is of sufficient importance to warrant a more extensive inquiry." It said there is evidence that these investments reduce the available supply of "blue chip" stocks.

3. Stocks traded outside the national securities exchanges should, as a general thing, be subject to the same rules and regulations as companies whose stocks are listed on the big markets.

4. Prompt and vigorous action should be taken by the Securities and Exchange Commission to curb abuses cited in the sale of "penny" stocks. It said much speculative fever was

## CONSTANTINE BROWN

### Pessimism on Summit Talks

Many Here Feel Conference Will Fail, But Eden's Election May Be Worth It

There are people in Washington's diplomatic colony who will take odds that the summit meeting in mid-July will be a failure.

This belief is based on the series of blasts against the United States—with a few side slaps at Britain—noticeable in the Soviet press and radio broadcasts as well as in the official notes agreeing to the conference. They started when Secretary Dulles mildly suggested something about free elections in the satellite countries. These suggestions stung the men in the Kremlin, possibly because they are looking for a propaganda excuse to doom the conference. Actually, they do not take any more seriously now than they have in the past our official talk of rolling back the Soviet grip on the former free eastern and central European states.

The Moscow and satellite propaganda has paved the way for a Kremlin charge that the West is not acting in good faith.

A Moscow broadcast on May 24 commenting on the Kremlin's position regarding the top-level conference said: "It is completely clear that the USSR is willing to take part in serious and honest talks only if the other side will adopt an equally sincere approach."

The broadcast went on that the top-level conference must not be merely exploratory, but bring about a settlement of outstanding issues "through observance of the principles of coexistence, mutual trust and understanding and by deciding all questions of disarmament."

This is a pretty heavy and indigestible bill of fare for the three days of conferences suggested by President Eisenhower. He has in mind only general talks on the existing troubles to bring about a meeting of minds and suggested that the handling of the actual problems be left to the foreign secretaries.

The men in the Kremlin have known all along, since the invitation to a meeting at the summit was issued by the three Western powers, that President Eisenhower and the Prime Ministers of Britain and France will not indulge in any "epochal settlement of outstanding problems" as was done at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam.

The Kremlin, possessing the best political and military intelligence in the Western countries, must have known that Mr. Eisenhower himself is not the type of man who will make agreements behind the back of his own people. Neither would the present political conditions in the United States allow such agreements to be made.

The publication of a high percentage of the Yalta documents has stirred up Congress and it is safe to say that there will be sincere "bipartisanship" in the Senate and House against any secret deals or further substantial yielding to the Red power.

Our experts on Soviet affairs who have the unenviable job of trying to guess what is in the devious minds of the men in the Kremlin agree that the new violent anti-American campaign presages a failure of the conference. The Soviet is already on record as saying the United States does not want sincerely to settle the cold war. But these experts heard from Moscow, Warsaw and Prague may be nothing more than the customary Red strategy to soften up the Western resistance to the expected Soviet demands for neutral belts and limitation of armaments on the Kremlin pattern.

There is little likelihood, if this latter interpretation is accurate, that there will be any softening up of Washington at least. It is well known that President Eisenhower agreed to the Big Four meeting not because he and his Secretary of State believed that anything constructive would come out of it. They merely responded to strong pressures from London where the Conservative Party headed by Sir Anthony Eden was worried that it might lose the election to the Socialists. Messrs. Clement Attlee and Aneurin Bevan could have made the termination of the cold war their election slogan—and it would have been a strong one. By our yielding to the Eden demands, the Conservatives were able to beat the Laborites to the punch and take away their principal election ammunition.

Although there are many differences between the British and American governments, particularly concerning Far East policies, we much prefer to deal with a British Conservative regime than with the unpredictable and sharply

divided Laborites. And it seems likely that with Sir Anthony in the saddle for another five years he may look at the Far Eastern situation from a different angle than when he knew he would soon face a difficult political battle at home.

Thus, whether or not the Kremlin decides to let the Big Four talks end in failure, our willingness to initiate such a parley may have helped the West's long-range policies by preventing a pro-Red government from coming to office in Britain.

### Guy Farmer Reported Leaving NLRB Post

Guy Farmer reported to have asked the White House not to consider him for reappointment as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board when his present term expires August 27. Mr. Farmer told a reporter yesterday he preferred not to comment on the report.

President Eisenhower appointed Mr. Farmer in July, 1953, to complete the term left by the resignation of Chairman Paul Herzog. Mr. Farmer had said when he became NLRB chairman that he wanted only to fill out the term and then be free to return to private law practice. Before going to the NLRB he was a member of the Washington law firm of Steptoe & Johnson.

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## DORIS FLEESON

### Why Admiral Burke Got the Job

Decision to Replace Carney Comes From Thomas, Who Won Backing

The initiative for the decision not to reappoint Admiral Carney as Chief of Naval Operations and to replace him with Rear Admiral Burke came from Navy Secretary Thomas. The story is illustrative of rifts within the Pentagon of which more will most certainly be heard.

Weeks ago Secretary Thomas confided to friends that his CNO was running the Navy to suit himself. Mr. Thomas complained that his own ideas were being ignored and said he would not reappoint Admiral Carney.

The Secretary indicated that his peeve extended to other senior admirals. He said he was looking among the younger officers for Admiral Carney's successor and mentioned that Arleigh Burke looked good. It was suggested to him that while Admiral Burke was a brilliant officer, he was 93 on the totem pole of line officers and only 53 years old so he could wait. Among his seniors, it was argued, were many who could do a distinguished job.

What attention Mr. Thomas paid to that advice is now apparent. He was helped by several factors.

The President was angry with Admiral Carney for having, though inadvertently, become the herald of a war scare in the Formosa Straits while

the President was talking peace.

The President, who was only a lieutenant colonel when Gen. Marshall reached down many numbers to start him on his meteoric World War II rise, naturally thinks well of such tactics. It is not perhaps well known that, unlike his predecessors, the President has chosen men of junior rank for his Army, Navy and Air Force aides. They are Col. Schulz, Army; Comdr. Beach, Navy; and Lt. Col. Draper, Air Force. Nor has he been promoting them.

Generally speaking, too, the President has been willing to pursue a harder course with his former Pentagon associates than with the wealthy civilians he brought in for his cabinet and little cabinet. He has still to admit that any of the latter have made a mistake, but he has not hesitated to reshuffle the military. Their private joke about it is that, like Roosevelt, Mr. Eisenhower is a traitor to his class.

How much ground Secretary Thomas will gain by his maneuver remains to be seen. Arleigh Burke is a great fighting man with a puckish Irish humor. Mr. Thomas incidentally has no humor at all, but Admiral Burke has already said that he never served with Mr. Eisenhower or played golf with him either. He will learn that such jokes are not appreciated.

## DOROTHY THOMPSON

### Meaning of 'Effective' Neutrality

International Situation Full of Danger Unless Terms Are Precisely Defined

The international political situation holds great dangers in a time when "relaxation of tensions" is in the air, unless terms are more precisely defined.

What, for instance, is meant by "neutrality" and "neutralization"?

The voluntary and deliberate choice of a national state to abstain from external military alliances and base its security on its ability to defend itself is neutrality as between great power blocs. Such a choice imposed upon it by a stronger power or joint government of powers is neutralization.

One may well ask why, if a state voluntarily chooses neutrality, it is necessary for other states to "guarantee" it? Does not this amount to permanent external control, offering opportunities for perpetual internal intervention?

If a limitation is imposed from without, how can it continuously be enforced?

By great-power agreement to keep that state a permanent power vacuum? By treaties? Historically speaking, what have such treaties been worth when or if one or the other party to such an agreement chose to pick the "neutralized" state as a battleground?

Switzerland is a state that has voluntarily and deliberately chosen to make no military alliances. She has succeeded during two world wars in maintaining a neutral status, but only for two reasons. When she made the choice she was no longer exposed to any great-power games threatening her from outside, and she was, and is, in a peculiarly strong position for self-defense, by reason of her Alpine

location, very powerful defensive fortifications, the capacity to inflict serious reprisals if her territory is violated (for instance by blowing up the Simplon tunnel), and a cohesive will to fight if attacked, by any and every means, of which she has repeatedly given fair warning.

In short, Switzerland, small though she is, would be a tough nut to crack, and the gain to whatever power might attempt it would be negligible. She is not a "buffer."

Belgium and the Netherlands were also "neutral" in both world wars, their neutral status recognized by all the powers and guaranteed by treaties.

But Belgium was invaded in both world wars, and the Netherlands in the last one. The "buffers" were the first victims.

The Austrian state treaty creates a neutral status for Austria far more closely resembling that of Belgium than that of Switzerland. Her neutrality cannot, in fact, be defended by herself, but rests on the will of the great powers not to fight each other. In case of general war her neutral status would depend upon the strategic plans of the belligerents.

That would be even more true of a "neutralized" Germany.

Germany, to defend her independence of military alliances, would require the most powerful army on the continent. It would be composed, like the Swiss, of every male citizen and prepared to fight by any and every means if Germany's neutrality was violated. She does not have the geographical advantages of

Switzerland, and unlike Switzerland would be, in case of general war, too valuable an asset to risk to an opponent.

So, if the Russians want a neutral Germany, how do they imagine that neutrality can be defended?

The Soviets undoubtedly want a "neutral" Europe, but they also want it to be a power vacuum. If Western Europe were really united politically, morally, and militarily it would be sufficiently strong to dispense with external alliances. In that case it would not be neutralized, but might be an active neutralizing element.

But a belt of weak and exposed neutral states not able or permitted to plan and create a common defense and deprived of all freedom of choice in foreign policy, would not be a buffer—which would be desirable—but a vacuum which would be a temptation.

If states are not allowed to enter alliances with great powers then they must be strong enough to defend themselves.

Only such a condition is effective neutrality in the highly armed world of the present.

### Senate Backs Limit On Interest Rate

By the Associated Press

The Senate yesterday passed and sent to the House a bill to limit the interest rate on farm disaster and emergency loans to 3 per cent.

The Agriculture Department raised the rate to 5 per cent in January this year, contending some unauthorized borrowers were taking advantage of the low interest loans.

The Senate Agriculture Committee said farmers actually in distress should not have to pay more than 3 per cent.

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