

Forget It Short War?

By Raymond Clapper

WASHINGTON

YOU hear of bets being placed around here that the war will be over in March or some other date in the near future.

If we get any such idea into our heads it will be as harmful and dangerous as it would have been if the oil-producing states had been able to bluff President Roosevelt out of going ahead with nation-wide gasoline rationing.

We are just coming into the period of heavy expenditure of lives and material. North Africa, and every other front that is opened, must be continuously supplied. The 500 ships and 100 planes that are being built for the expedition to North Africa are but the starter. Planes cannot fly without gasoline, and it takes 2,000 gallons to load a heavy bomber. All of the raw materials of the ammunition and other supplies must be shipped from the United States.

They must be shipped through waiting packs of German submarines. Don't think the submarine menace is decreasing just because there is not much activity off our own coast. The German submarines have only moved to where the picking is easier—and Hitler is increasing his submarine fleet all the time, certainly faster than we can be fitting it.

What does that mean back here at home? It means we must have more and more shipping. If we open other fronts after cleaning out North Africa that will mean more ships and more ships mean more escort vessels—destroyers and corvettes to protect them against submarines. Every new campaign means a new supply line that must be operated continuously and protected continuously.

Fortunately we have a running start on general war production. American industry has done a job of fantastic proportions. Because we can slow down on some items in order to put the heat on items that need to be emphasized.

None of these is more important than escort ships. You can build four corvettes, which are really light destroyers, for the materials that go into one cargo ship. The German submarines can sink cargo ships and their cargoes, once they are built and put to sea. When you lose a cargo ship you lose not only that capacity for all future time, and all the material and work that went into it, but you lose also all of the cargo, representing an enormous loss of material. Also you set back the forces in the field which were depending on these particular supplies.

That is the reason why Navy people feel that labor and material put into producing escort vessels and escort ships is a matter that is against putting them into additional ships, without providing adequate escort protection.

It happens that the hitch, the clash, is not so much as the ships themselves as it is with the machinery, particularly the engines. That brings in another complication.

The Air Forces and the ships come into competition for machine tools to make engines—and that is the point where the adjustment has to be worked out. It is a matter that will have to be settled within the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Joint Chiefs of Staff include Admiral King of the Navy, General Marshall of the Army, General Arnold of the Air Force, and Admiral Leahy, the President's personal chief of staff. Apparently it has not yet been possible to reconcile the needs of the Air Forces and the Navy as to machine tools.

The Air Forces program is a large one, and a large one is necessary. Yet the question is raised as to whether it is wise to carry it ahead faster than ships and escort vessels can be provided to insure transportation of adequate fuel, spare engines and parts. Question is raised whether at the pace the war is now moving, it is wise to try to reach a 100 per cent replacement basis for the Air Forces at the expense of escort vessels which are necessary to enable the Air Forces to be supplied once they are on the other side and in action.

It is a question of balance. The military men who compose the Joint Chiefs of Staff are the only ones who can make the decisions. But the importance of making decisions that bring about practical balance, so that all of our weapons can be used to their full effectiveness, is common sense. The concern here is that there not develop a false balance that will impair the total punch of our armed forces as a whole.

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Final Phase Churchill Sees Victory In the Making, Not at Hand

The steward of Great Britain's empire and the distinguished spokesman of the United Nations threw up new rhetorical ramparts against the enemy yesterday. But more than that, he left the defensive position and charged. Winston Churchill built his fame as an orator for the world in days of defeat, when he could boast the defiance of his people. This time, he had news of victories to hurl at his foe.

Boosted by events, he was able to threaten hapless Italy, to picture Germany as a crumbling power. He took his people and their allies by the path of war as ever, but this time every step on the route was a triumph. He took the enemy into his confidence as he outlined new campaigns of destruction against Mussolini's land. He made public High Command information that Hitler's bleeding armies. And he could speak with force, because the bright evidence was at hand.

As he spoke, the amazing Red Armies were charging forward everywhere, endangering the entire German position in the East. And in Tunisia, the Allied forces were moving in for the inevitable kill in North Africa. He could stamp the Luftwaffe as "a wasting asset" unable to replace its losses because everywhere, Allied planes were grasping control of the skies. He dwelt long upon Italy, reviling its leadership, painting bleakly the reward in conflict.

The Prime Minister made the war look good to his countrymen and their comrades in arms, but he did not forget the warning. Though the Axis is losing the power and is being surrounded by irresistible forces, the war is not yet, in his view, a simple matter. He warned that victories might be as dangerous as defeats for Britons and Americans was a highlight of his speech. Because we are now coming into contact with the enemy, the intimidation was, we have only begun to pay the price.

He saw that we need now only more opportunities for contact, and he saw those coming. He saw that in the peace to be made in Europe, the Allies would act with a sense of "corporate responsibility" not to be found at Versailles—in a struggle against Japan. He saw the coming of the end, but before it a long, bloody travails of nations. And he dedicated anew to its task a victorious alliance of peoples.

lose half of their clientele, might object. So, also, might Gaston object to inclusion with other countries, which would mean the end of the long-standing agreement to trade a judge here for a solicitor there.

Once before, upon Mecklenburg's determination to become a separate district, a snag was struck in populous Guilford, which also desired solicitor secession. For the purpose of preventing Mecklenburg's coup unless Guilford could have the same, a bloc was formed, and was successful. Too many changes would reshape too many districts, stir up powerful objections.

But these objections are of political nature, based upon political desires and considerations. They should not be allowed to stand in the path of a progressive move for the betterment of government in Mecklenburg. We want to warn here and now that any barriers thrown in the path of the movement in this county through the Legislature should be recognized by the people as the handiwork of politicians working for something less than the public good.

The Bluff

Free-Spoken Switzerland Too Much for Hitler Just Now

In the old days when his evil star was on the rise, Hitler's growl at the Swiss would have been an unmistakable omen of invasion and conquest. But when his spokesmen opened up to the free men of the Alps last week their guttural threats bore a new meaning. This was a holding device, intended to muzzle the last virtuous voice in Europe. News from the Don and the South Mediterranean was too black to permit the Third Reich to consider a new drive against the Cantons perched among high, inaccessible peaks. And with the increasing strain too great for such an enterprise, Hitler too grumbled at outspoken Switzerland.

They'd better hold their tongues, the message meant. The Swiss part before the masters of Europe was to speak only for the new order, to permit free passage of men and materials between Berlin and Rome, and to safeguard those narrow mountain tunnels against damage which might sever direct connections between the Axis parties of first and second part.

The backhanded slap indicated that Germany still smarts under the little barrage of death from the heights, and the high on Swiss broadcasts in captive France demonstrated that the little nation is in Hitler's books as an enemy. But because there is neither time nor material of war to spare for the enforcement of the German will, Switzerland is likely to remain unharmed. And if the time comes when there is no more German-Italian movement through the Alps as a result of judicious bombing, there should be no surprise. The little Swiss will have answered an imperious challenge.

High Tribute

Racing in Full Swing, but the Horses Are Dedicated to War

The fairland of racing horses, where thrills come cheap and experience dearly, isn't quite the same. Its gay-coated denizens can hear the rumble of war above the drumming of hooves, and that rumble is the silver-green bonanza continues to flow through part-mutuel windows, all take heed of the world outside. For several weeks we have collected evidence in support of our claim. In the very naming of its swift races, the sport has gone to war.

From the low list, a few instances might serve to indicate the trend:

Call To Colors, In Range, Keep Flying, Merry Marine, War Emblem, Battle Smoke, Ace Flyer, Hi Winnie, Sugar Rake, War Melody, Bugler, Private Howie, Loose Cannon, Royal Fleet, Guerrilla, Brown Bomb, British Flag, Battle Lark, Battle Won, War Result, Naval Reserve, Air Raider, Fly Me, Bugle March, Marksman, Peace Fleet, First Attack.

If that doesn't shout that one sphere of the big gambling empire has seen its duty and done it, we're poor observers. You may yowl all you like that our wealth upon their vice every day is a waste, but they're doing nothing to help along with the war effort. But you'd be dead wrong. The few followers of the bangtails have given their horses victory names, haven't they?

Russian Scrap Drive

By Herblock



Trapezeman Lehman

Are We Mother Hubbards?

By Paul Mallon

WASHINGTON

THE other Government officials are looking question marks at Governor Lehman and his new Roosevelt job of food purveyor to the world-at-large. At the time he was chosen, this Government food butler (saying our smaller production has required ships to sail with other cargo in places reserved for butter).

It rationed coffee (after six weeks warning during which hoarders were permitted to stock up, although they really must tell what they have hidden in the basement—they really must). It announced milk production around Washington was short 40,000 gallons a day.

Canned goods were hard to get, as were meats. In fact, officialdom said our food supplies were so short an over-all ration book was in prospect.

We are so straitened that OPA is requiring 300,000 hotels, restaurants and boarding houses to mark down every item served in the month of December, although it furnishes no bookkeepers to do this vast labor and will no doubt be questioned at the quick-guess results it is going to get.

All this has raised the question of whether Lehman is going to get food for anyone, beyond our present obligations. It has also caused the Agriculture Department and OPA rationing officials to wonder how Lehman would fit in with their current domestic food activities.

Furthermore, the President was pondering the chances of a Government food administrator for the United States (an official of General Food and another of General Mills are reported to have been turned down for the job and ex-Congressman Marvin Jones is generally believed to be slated for it).

But how will Lehman, and the new obligations he is assuming through this job—under it or above it? Will he get first call or will our people get it?

The answer seemed to be that Mr. Roosevelt has given Lehman a trapeze, not a job. The New York Governor will swing around the world col-

lecting immediate and post-war requests, but when he alights back here, his real troubles will start when he tries to fill his first order.

The Government's own policies are responsible for many of these food shortages. Take milk for example. There is no other reason than Government policy why milk production of this nation in any time should be falling off.

No national ceiling was put on milk prices, but different ceilings were established for high-price and low-price areas. For instance, Portsmouth, N. H., was a busy shipbuilding center, and has been a high-priced area, and larger cities high-priced zones.

This situation, plus the shortage of help and high beef prices fixed by OPA (causing the selling of many cows for meat) illustrates a Government-made difficulty which is more or less applicable to other commodities.

Somewhat or another, Government officials never seem to realize that a shortage of anything means they have fallen down on their job. They like to blame hoarders and acts of the gods of war.

We'll Filibuster Forever

This talk of amending the Senate rules, to prevent future filibusters, will never be transformed into action, you may be sure. Behind the matter is the fear of Senators that Mr. Roosevelt might try to jam through a peace treaty unacceptable to a strong minority. They want the rules left open for filibusters.

A great majority of the Senate always realizes that each Senator individually may one day have to use these tactics to protect his section of the country against a majority (for instance, New England would filibuster if it gave the South an economic advantage over it).

Don't forget, this also: A difference between a democracy and a dictatorship is that a dictatorship abolishes minorities by persecution and otherwise, while a democracy fosters their rights.

Censors At War

Fighting And Losing

By Dorothy Thompson

WASHINGTON

EVENTS which have happened in the last days force an open discussion on the question of the limits of censorship in wartime.

Such utterances of private individuals, journalists and publicists, have been stopped by American censorship from being transferred to Great Britain. On the other side, the British censor has replied in kind. Whether this is retaliation or connivance is not established.

Some American writers who are regularly published in Great Britain newspapers purchase their writings, have been barred by American censorship from their British market. On the other side, the British censor has replied in kind. Whether this is retaliation or connivance is not established.

The opinions which have been expressed in America and suppressed by the American censor from publication in England have not been military opinions in any sense of which we know. They were the opinions of private individuals, journalists and publicists, have been stopped by American censorship from being transferred to Great Britain. On the other side, the British censor has replied in kind. Whether this is retaliation or connivance is not established.

But other opinions have been suppressed which are critical of our own policy, for instance in regard to Vichy. And it is well known that there is much criticism in England itself of our Vichy policy. Now, in this whole matter there are several factors to be considered.

The first is that the American censor is unable to prevent expressions of American opinion from reaching the whole world, for here are too many channels open through neutral countries. American newspapers and publications, for example, are flown regularly to Argentina. There they are read by correspondents and officials of all countries, including those of our enemies. Excerpts from them are cabled to Berlin as well as to London.

But if an expression of American opinion reaches London by this route, it becomes clear to the London press that the American Government is suppressing it, and the expression therefore takes on a far more profound significance than it would otherwise have, as a more personal and private opinion.

Furthermore, we give German propaganda the opportunity to inform British public opinion of American public opinion, and to inform the British in a distorted manner, lifting a sentence here and

a sentence there and making their own comment on it.

And in such cases the author has no chance even to clarify his meaning, or deny the deductions made by his readers. In the dark, nor does the American censor do the author the courtesy of informing him that such and such an article has been prevented from being transmitted. He therefore does not know which of his writings is being published and which not; he does not know the reasons for his objections; and his own mind is therefore confused.

This issue is of peculiar importance in the United States because here the press—in all its ramifications of newspapers, magazines, and the radio, has come to constitute the only forum of disinterested public opinion outside the Executive, on all the issues of foreign affairs. Congress on foreign affairs is completely dead.

The same cannot be said of Britain, where the Government is continually forced to explain itself and defend itself before an extremely active Parliament. Nor can the British censor suppress parliamentary remarks. The House of Commons is therefore known to the people of the United States. But the articulate instruments of the various lines of thought comment in this country are suppressed, according to the opinion of an anonymous censor.

Now this has one practical effect of extreme disadvantage to our Government, and I beg the Government to consider it seriously.

The moment it becomes known that there is a censorship which lets some things by and suppresses others, everybody that is allowed to go by receives by inference the imprimatur of the Government. Its passage by the censor is a distinction of honor, and the Government therefore becomes by every implication responsible for the wholly personal opinions of the censor, Mr. Dorothy Thompson, or Mr. Swing, or anyone else who has a large British public.

Does the Government wish this to happen? I would like to know. And does it not amount to a limited Gleichschaltung of the American press, without the writers even knowing how they are Gleichgeschaltet?

The larger issue is much more important. Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Expression are written in Anglo-Saxon tradition and in the Atlantic Charter. It is an odd logic that suppresses them while we fight for them.

Dialogue:

Socrates, Glaucon

AND HOW can marriages be made most beneficial? That is a question which I put to you, because I see in your house dogs for hunting, and of the nobler sort of birds not a few. Now, I beseech you, do tell me, have you ever attended to their pairing and breeding? In what particulars?

Why, in the first place, although they are all of a good sort, are not some better than others? True.

And do you breed from them all indifferently, or do you take care to breed from the best only? From the best.

And do you take the oldest or the youngest, or only those of ripe age? I choose only those of ripe age.

And if care was not taken in the breeding, your dogs and birds would greatly deteriorate? Certainly.

And the same of horses and of animals in general? Undoubtedly.

Good heavens! my dear friend, I said, what consummate skill will our rulers need if the same principle holds of the human species!

—PLATO (*The Republic*)

Side Glances



"Guess war is a great leveler—soon as the grew up she said her feet were so delicate she couldn't wear the stoled shoes, but she wears them now and likes 'em!"