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And Evening Chronicle

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MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1942

Ends And Means

Philip Murray Explains Labor's War Aims

The audience gathered in the Armory murmured appreciatively and rose to its feet: the band struck up a spirited march. One by one, the dignitaries appeared on the stage. There they were: the President of the Charlotte Ministerial Association, the Mayor, the Governor of North Carolina, a former Governor and U. S. Senator, and the President of the University of North Carolina. And who was their companion, that tall, white haired gentleman with the deep-set eyes? A cabinet member, perhaps. Or an ambassador. No? Then surely a national leader of the Democratic Party. No lesser personage would rate such an all-star battery of welcoming speakers.

It was hard to believe until they called him by name: Philip Murray, President of the CIO, a labor leader. Charlotte and the State of North Carolina were honoring a labor leader on the eve of a great CIO drive to unionize completely and raise the wages of Southern cotton textile workers.

And how many years ago was it that the citizens of many a Southern community were meeting labor organizers—or agitators, as they were called at the city limits and welcoming them with brickbats and shotguns? It may be an embarrassing question, but how many of these same dignitaries would have been on hand to greet the president of the CIO five years ago? Dr. Frank Graham might have been there, but within 24 hours the conservative bloc on his board of trustees would have been after his pelt again.

It was the war, partly. Back of Philip Murray hung a banner that told the whole story. UNITED WE STAND. And sure enough, we were standing united.

The circumstances of Mr. Murray's appearance in Charlotte were fully as eloquent as the principal speaker. And in commenting on the speech, one feels a self-conscious restraint, a sort of determination not to say anything that might disturb the amicability of the occasion. We shall not, for instance, accuse Mr. Murray of sanctioning the membership of Communists in his unions. Yet Mr. Murray made no exceptions to his charge that the whole press was conducting a "shameful campaign of anti-labor hysteria." He singled out the press to castigate yesterday. He called newspapers professional faultfinders. But this is a side issue and we only mention it by way of saying, "No hard feelings."

More Money . . . .

Far more significant was the basic policy of the CIO toward the war-time shortage of consumer goods. The CIO, Murray pointed out, will continue to meet the rising cost of living by demanding higher and higher wages. It will also ask for "adequate" price control and rationing, but one gathers that this will be only a token effort. You don't get very far with Mr. Murray by suggesting that as long as wages are tied to prices, neither will stop going up. And he is skeptical about labor's ability to get the Government to do anything about price control and rationing. He thinks the CIO will have to insist on getting more and more money. Where it will end, Philip Murray cannot predict.

What Philip Murray refuses to admit is that there is yet a surplus of buying power among the workers. He does not recognize the imminence of an economy under which there is more money than there are goods to be bought. He did not mention inflation.

No Labor Draft . . . .

Mr. Murray is equally skeptical of proposals to draft labor.

"You cannot regiment labor alone," he said. "You cannot regiment labor without losing freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly."

It is not clear just why such a draft would suspend the Bill of Rights. As a matter of fact, the nation already has drafted several million men in all walks of life without compromising our basic freedoms. Before this war is over, it is likely that millions more will be drafted to fight, if not to work. Mr. Murray failed to explain just how the draft threatens the basic American freedoms.

"It's a Cut"

Mr. Murray's greatest effort, of course, was his defense of the 40-hour week, with time-and-a-half for overtime. He admitted that the original intention of the law had been to limit hours of work by prescribing punitive penalties for work done in excess of 40 hours.

But he was careful to explain that labor no longer sees the law as a measure to restrict hours and prevent unemployment. Labor has come to think of the 40-hour law as simply a blanket increase in wages and it looks upon repeal proposals as a suggestion that wages be cut.

It matters little now what the sponsors of the law had in mind. When this nation passed from an economy of unemployment into one of a war-time shortage of labor, the meaning of the 40-hour law changed also. Even to mention the former intent of the law is painful to Mr. Murray and his associates.

For Victory

This must be said of Mr. Murray's speech in Charlotte. Only by understanding the attitude as well as the specific policies of his organization can this community work in unity and harmony toward winning the war. Once a man is understood, hostility and antagonisms are easily put aside. Charlotte and Philip Murray agree on what Cameron Morrison rightly calls the only public issue of the day—achieving victory.

To that end Philip Murray yesterday made a noteworthy contribution.

Trespasser

Politics Leaves Its Trail Through State Institutions

The many-sided Morganton case seems to be, from the testimony of two doctors formerly on the staff of the hospital, clear on one important point. At Winston-Salem last week Dr. Robert L. Garrard's recommendations included mention of "less interference in the management of the hospital from outside sources."

Pressed for particulars, Dr. Garrard was reticent. But he did say, "It's the same at Morganton as at 98 per cent of our institutions. The superintendent is somewhat a part of the machine, and there is interest politically (the interest, we take it, of the politicians in the institution's patronage) . . ."

The testimony of the other former staff-member, Dr. J. H. Fitzgerald, was led by the questions of Committee Member Word H. Wood to the topic of that obnoxious notice posted on the bulletin board at Morganton during the last election. The notice called on all employees to chip in five per cent of one month's salary to the Democratic campaign fund. Dr. Fitzgerald insisted that a contribution was not compulsory—he himself had made none—but he agreed with Mr. Wood that the effect of the notice was to suggest the advisability of employees making a contribution on pain of being fired or getting in bad with the powers that were.

Political pressure at Morganton could be applied from two sources—from the Burke County bailiwick of Harry Riddle, a director of the institution, and from Raleigh, seat of the Democratic State Committee. If it takes the form of exerting or trying to exact political contributions from employees, it follows in all probability that to get their jobs, they had to have the recommendation of some politician, or at least had to be of the Democratic persuasion. It likewise follows, as Dr. Garrard speculated, that what is true of Morganton is true of other State institutions.

And that, incidentally, is a shameful thing. It is shameful in the sense that politics is a consideration in the selection of employees to care for the aged, the sick, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the tubercular, the insane. It is doubly shameful in the sense that any politician or political party would have the bald nerve to ask, in reality to demand, contributions from a class of people who are paid hardly enough to subsist on—at Morganton, $20-$30 a month for "nurses," $40-$50 a month for male attendants.

And here, then, is a recommendation which, almost without further evidence, the Board of Inquiry could bring in unanimously. Let Morganton and other State institutions as well be posted against political trespassing. In simple decency it has no place there.

Happily, the consolidating of sixteen housing agencies into one Washington bureau releases a large part of the alphabet, as nothing irks another commission for winning the war like waiting around for initials.

Ignoring A Shortage

By Paul Mallon

WASHINGTON.

MR. LANDIS' Office for Civilian Defense — the one which developed tetpichotean and badminton tendencies — is circulating now an elegant booklet prepared by the War Department telling how cities, railroads, airdromes may be camouflaged.

It sounds pretty good until you get down to advice about how to conceal an airfield and then you find that the second recommended method is to:

RUBBER SHORTAGE IS IGNORED

Sprinkle the runways with chopped rubber, precolored or sprayed.

If there is a rubber shortage which is causing all the trouble about tires, this booklet pays it no attention, saying only:

"At least one of the large rubber companies is said to have facilities available for grinding and supplying approximately 15 tons of this size rubber per day without interfering with current schedules."

The War Department is a big place and a lot of other divisions there including the air corps would prefer to have their rubber spread on the wheels of airplanes than chopped up and put on runways.

> **Pressure is pouring in upon Congressmen from the farm belt, asking some definite statement from draft headquarters about exempting farm labor. Some government bureaus privately estimate that the farmers will lose 600,000 workers this year through allurement of high-paying factory jobs alone. All government authorities predict a continuous decline in available agricultural workers from now on.**

UNIFIED AIR FORCE DEMANDS SMOOTHED OUT

The White House has smoothed away some congressional demand for a unified Army-Navy air command to some extent. Certain Senators advocating such a course have been called in one by one and told by the President that Admiral King, General Marshall and General Arnold are working closely and in a fine spirit. This personal co-operation, the President maintains, has effected a unified command without officially establishing one.

SENATE GROWS WEARY OF ITSELF

Even the Senate is tired of itself. In these wild war times, the Upper House has spent three weeks sighting the right of one of its members to his seat. Generally only 12 to 20 of the 96 Senators have been present to hear the argument about Senator Langer. Leaders planned to recess for two weeks at Easter, but have given up the idea because the case has delayed legislation.

House leaders have become so disgusted with the long-winded similar trials of judicial impeachment in the Senate, that they have privately adopted a policy against impeaching judges whenever possible.

> **Proof that the Red scorched earth policy has left Hitler's invaders wallowing in ashes of "the breadbasket of Europe," is contained in the Berlin press. These government controlled mouthpieces are now warning the German people against "exaggerated expectations" of food from the Ukraine. They naively attribute the shortage there to "low yields."**

WINANT MAY BE NEXT LABOR SECRETARY

Next Secretary of Labor will probably be John Winant, the ambassador to London, but not until he has finished in London and Miss Perkins wants out. . . . Jap announcements that it is pressing interned Germans of conquered South Pacific territory into local administrative duties, says the lack of organizing local affairs in the conquered regions is "terrific" which is being handed around as good news here. . . . So extensive is the black market in British food, the ministry has employed 800 inspectors, which is a forecast of what will be required here when rationing starts.

The "Primitive" Yugoslavs

By Dorothy Thompson

NEW YORK

A YEAR ago today, the Yugoslav people, surrounded on every frontier by the legions of the Nazis and the Fascists, rose, overthrew an appeasement government, and joined the free world.

On the surface, it was an act of purest quixotry. The Yugoslavs did not have a chance. Why, then, did they choose again to spill rivers of blood? The question is terribly important, for people do not see their fields laid waste, their homes destroyed, their sons slaughtered, for a hopeless cause.

YUGOSLAVIA NEVER BELIEVED THEY COULD LOSE

The answer is that the Yugoslavs, neither then nor now, believed that they would lose. Yugoslavia might lose. But not the cause with which they allied themselves.

> **Recall the circumstances: Poland had fallen; France had fallen; everything attacked had fallen or was falling except Britain. The question was whether the Yugoslavs would allow their country to be used as a base of operations against Greece. Their neighbors, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, had bowed before the Germans. Turkey was neutral. Russia was not in the war. The United States was far away and her position questionable.**

What then did the people of Yugoslavia see before them? They saw defeat. Why then did they fight? Because they also saw resurrection.

PRIESTS WERE LEADERS IN UPRISING

The uprising of the people was spontaneous, but it was not without leadership. Where in the people was the leadership? For one thing, among the priests—the priests of the orthodox church. In Serbia a pure church and close to the masses of the people and the army, the Catholic priests in Slovenia, and some in Croatia. The church is always cautious. But the religious heart has the deepest wisdom. It knows that death is a part of life, and that the full man "so lives that he can die any moment." Therefore, the choice of the Yugoslav was not whether he would die, but what would live. And what did he believe would live? He believed nationhood, and personal and political freedom and the idea of equality would live.

He was not impressed by the Fascist-Nazi legions. He believed they had no future.

> **Without allies Yugoslavia knew she had allies. For these primitive peasants — as they seem to western Europeans — were closer to the spirit of the times than the rolling hordes that threatened them. Their sons had gone to America, into coal mines and steel mills, lumber camps and harvest fields, and brought back a picture of a great dynamic country pledged to freedom and seeking to build a new Equality. So although we were not in the war, they believed in America, and joined us before we joined them.**

They believed in Russia. Russian politics concerned them not at all. They believed in a dynamic emanating from Russia, impelled by faith in the future of the common man. So they joined Russia before she joined them.

IS IT PRIMITIVE TO BE REALITY?

Are these Yugoslav peasants "primitive?" Is it "primitive" not to be impressed by smooth machines, technical progress, consummate skill—if they are all devoted to a soulless cause? Is it "primitive" to go straight to the heart of reality, with the "sense they were born with?" They believed in themselves and in another dynamic than that of the Fascists. They believed that with whatever setbacks, nations of people are striving for full nationhood, and persons are striving for full manhood, and that peace can only come in a world of full nations and full men. Is that "primitive?"

> **These people, close to the soil and to reality, had a prescience of events of which there was as yet no sign. At that time there was little unrest in France, and the conquered small countries. They lay shocked and supine. Who could tell then that another Polish army would soon stand on Russian soil? Who could tell then that Russia would soon be smuggling arms to Poles, and that there would be guerrilla warfare and sabotage over enormous areas of Europe?**

The answer is: They could tell. They knew it. They might have answered Hitler in his own words: "If a people but desire freedom, weapons will grow in their hands."

NAZIS OFFERED THEM OTHER NATIONS' LAND

They and every other country had been offered by the Nazis slices of their neighbors' land. If they would but bow down and worship Hitler. But the South Slavs knew that that, too, is not the dynamism of our times.

And how right they were! A horsetrading in peoples brings its own revenge. Poland and Hungary shared in the betting of Czechoslovakia, only to become victims themselves. Then Rumania was split up, and the long claimed Transylvania promised to Hungary. But the Rumanians delivered more troops to the Nazis than the Hungarians—so now they are demanding Transylvania back—and threatening to fight each other.

Was it "primitive" that the South Slav peasants were not taking any of this sort of thing?

The least primitive statesman of Southeastern Europe, Count Teleki, Prime Minister to Hungary, told me in the Spring of 1940: I am a Transylvanian and a Hungarian. But I would rather wait two generations for the return of Transylvania than get it from the Nazis, as the price of betraying Yugoslavia. And he killed himself, rather than make that deal.

To the Yugoslav guerrillas, fighting in the mountains this testament from America's great writer, Thomas Wolfe, who alone of all understood the dynamics of these times:

> **"To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing; to love the life you have for greater life; to find a land . . . more large than earth, toward which the conscience of the world is tending—a wind is rising, and the rivers flow."**

Mr. Doughton's Mild Suggestion

(From The Congressional Record of March 18)

Mr. RICH. Has the gentleman made any estimate of how far this nation can raise the debt limit and keep from going into bankruptcy?

Mr. DOUGHTON. No; I would not attempt to do that. I am sure that we can, and will increase the debt limit just as far as necessary, to fight and win this war, but in connection with that I emphasize, and repeat again and again, that while we are doing that, while we are increasing the tax burden of the present generation by borrowing and issuing Government securities, piling up mountain-high obligations that future generations must meet, there is a solemn obligation resting on representatives of the Government, and the Congress of the United States, to make a determined effort to cut down all non-essential Government activities, not connected with the national defense and the conduct of the war, to that end.

Mr. RICH. I agree with the gentleman 100 per cent, but why do we not get some recommendations now from the Administration for the elimination of a great many of these new agencies, New Deal agencies that can be dispensed with, which have been set up in the last ten years, and then we could chop them off. Cut them out entirely. The country would be better off if we eliminated them.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The gentleman from North Carolina does not have the responsibility of being an intermediary between the Congress and the Administration and consequently he cannot give that information.

Mr. RICH. The only reason I say that is because of my very high regard for the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, and I think he would have 100 times more influence with the Administration than I would, and I am hoping that he would go there and demand that the Administration cut them out.

Mr. DOUGHTON. The gentleman from North Carolina has never considered that he is capable of even advising, much less demanding things of the Administration but he does sometimes make suggestions, and this is a moderate, mild suggestion. I would not egotistically consider that I am capable of recommending, but I do make mild suggestions.

Mr. RICH. If we had more men like the gentleman from North Carolina, I am sure we would be in a much better position today.

Side Glances

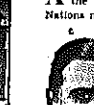
"Look—the first forkful I dig for the new garden and up comes a swell worm! Which is more important, fish or vegetables?"

India Needs New Spirit

By Raymond Clapper

NEW DELHI, INDIA.

APART from all other considerations, the military needs of the United Nations make it urgently desirable that the Cripps mission succeed in infusing new spirit into India.



Here is an enormous potential power, scarcely tapped in a military sense. Actually, Indians have everything at stake in preventing Japanese conquest here. But they are inclined to overlook that, because of preoccupation with their own grievances. The result is that this rich area—two-thirds the size of the United States, with three times our population, and with great human and natural resources—is neutralized. It could be a mighty factor, like China, in saving a free world.

ANOTHER POWER COULD COME INTO THE WAR

Unquestionably, that is the big chance which Chiang Kai-Shek saw in his visit here, and which Sir Stafford Cripps sees. Success by Cripps would mean almost the equivalent of another power coming into the war on the Allied side.

There is no conscription here. In the last war, India furnished over a million combatant and labor troops for Allied effort. If a political readjustment now could make Indians feel like the Chinese that, in fighting the Axis, they were saving their own country, that would make all the difference in the world. The United Nations then would have help beyond the present India forces, which are confined to the usual professionals from the northwest, mainly Punjabis.

Likewise, it would throw new life into the present lethargic industrial war effort. That is the chief purpose of the Johnson-Grady mission from the United States. That mission will be enormously more effective if Cripps is able to infuse a new spirit or urgency here.

It is felt to say there has been some expansion for war production, but nothing like what is possible if machine tools, technical and skilled forces, are brought in to assist. Textile and shoe production are both contributing. Also steel, but its capacity could be greatly expanded.

"BUSINESS AS USUAL" STILL GIVES TROUBLE

There is still considerable spirit of "business as usual." The influential, British-owned journal, New Statesman of Calcutta, is editorially criticizing some big industrialists for opposing a "scorched earth" policy in event of Japanese attack. The New Statesman says they are doing India a "terrible disservice in exposing and spreading defeatist mentality" when India has NOT been invaded, and when there is no reason to raise the question.

But Gandhi is also warning against a scorched earth policy.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce of India are informing Cripps that they are for any interim solution which will unite India and strengthen the war effort. These influences are powerful, representing several billion dollars—probably at least four billion of British investment. They are opposed to making a permanent settlement now but are agreeable to any temporary arrangement if Hindus and Moslems will support it. They realize that the war must be won, and that India can do much more than at present.

CRIPPS MUST BRING ABOUT TERMINATION OF SLACKNESS

Cripps could revitalize India as the Nelson War Production Board revitalized American effort. The big task is to get rid of slackness.

The Government has yet to step in to break up wheat hoarding by big operators. Delhi seems casual, leaving the drive to British Army Headquarters and the American Command, with no sense of Government and people driving hard behind them.

None of this is news to the Axis. But it would be news to the Axis, and bad news for it, if the Cripps mission succeeded in really bringing India into war and unfreezing this huge potential, so strategically placed between Europe and Asia.

Visitin' Around

Dobbin Slops Out

(25 Years Ago Item, Daily News & Press)

Tuesday morning a horse, belonging to Arthur Teeter of Oakboro, was frightened by a passing train on the Yadkin railway and ran with the wagon to which he was hitched, up South street, turning corner at Lutheran Church, and then on up Second street, passing along the sidewalk in front of the Farmers' Hardware Store, where he came near running over a few pedestrians. He was dragging only two wheels of the wagon along the walk, the single-tree struck the plate glass window at 5 and 10 cent store, smashing one large pane. The horse was finally caught further up the street. Mr. Teeter later telephoned from Oakboro that he would reimburse those who suffered any damage from the runaway.