THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

And Evening Chronicle

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● W. C. Dowd, 1866-1937 ●

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1943

Coming Flood

Coal Strike Settlement Set Off a New Chorus of Howls

Have you heard the first chorus of the new demands from labor groups of all kinds, screaming for new wage increases? And did you expect anything else, after the debacle of the coal miners' settlement? No, there can be no supposing now that the new assaults upon living costs will not be more furious than ever. And they are most likely to be successful. There is a smaller chance, now, to say no to the Farm Bloc, for instance—with the example of the minor victory fresh before us. The same applies to the railroad men and their demands.

The new impetus is already being felt, as a result of the gross mismanagement of the coal situation, and the one blow alone has done more to break down the barriers against the rising costs of living in America than any other one thing. The President, though he speaks unanswerably in favor of subsidy plans, and attempts in that way to keep the economy on an even keel, defeats his purpose by acceding to Labor's demands in the coal fields. Though he rightly opposes the position of the House Ways and Means Committee—fighting against a too-low tax bill, he betrays himself in overly-generous attitude toward any labor group sufficiently strong to bid for new gains.

It is here, in the aftermath of the coal strike settlement, that we face our present danger. What the Treasury was so concerned about—the "extra" billions of money flowing in the country—has become a lesser threat. The one most apparent danger now is that all labor will rise to the presented opportunity, and literally besiege the War Labor Board with requests for increases. Look for them even from the already overpaid workmen in the busiest of war plants. Look for them from all sides.

And watch for the War Labor Board to make concessions—for that is the easy course, now. When the President turned the coal mines over to Harold Ickes, he took his thumb out of the dike.

Fellow Travelers

Reynolds, Close And Poles Vote Against Moscow Pact

During the session in which the Senate stamped approval on the Moscow Declaration a handful of unconverted isolationists stood up to have their say, among them Our Bob Reynolds. As evidence in support of his proposed amendment to the Connally Resolution—and his position against the Moscow pact—he offered a great many letters.

All of them were from Polish, Estonian and Latvian societies in the United States. They commended Our Bob upon speaking forth for the Four Freedoms for little countries. Is this strange company for the Reynolds who so long and so bitterly fought against all immigration, even for refugee children during the blitz? Why, not at all, citizens. The wind changes, and Bob seeks support for his forlorn position. He got it from Poles, Estonians and Latvians, and also from Upton Close.

Just so that the country does not miss the expression of that widely-known commentator on the Moscow Pact we reproduce from *The Congressional Record* his letter to Bob Reynolds. Read him through and reflect:

Hon. Robert Reynolds:

The Moscow Three-Power Pact announcement this morning is a living example of the determination of the administration to abandon all ideals and go into straight power gang. It has no safeguard whatsoever for India or any other people seeking self-government; it legalizes the tyranny by armies occupying small border states and makes possible big states gobbling up of smaller states by merely declaring smaller nations not sovereign. The pact is either a treaty, in which case it is not binding unless United States Senate ratifies it, or it is not a treaty, in which case it is not binding at all. This should be made clear at once to all concerned nations. The pact does not put even the slightest moral disapprobation on the nation which perpetrated the Pearl Harbor atrocity upon us. Above all, the pact leaves Americans entirely in the lurch in their major war in the Pacific. Japan could even now conceivably ask to join the new group before giving up territories seized by violence. The Japs must be grinning gleefully this morning. There are free uses of China's name but no official statement from Chungking. Such is the result of a pact without standards and which is the exact betrayal of the Wilson principle which first set up standards and then asked adherence. The pact shows greatest lapse of moral conscience and ignoring of American interest combined in whole history of American statesmanship.

UPTON CLOSE.

Do you see? Close, Reynolds and the people from the little countries standing in Russia's shadow agree—at least in general. They do not agree in principle; for Bob only hates Russia, dully and unintelligently; Close fears a Jap menace through a loosely-defined treaty; the Poles, Estonians and Latvians wish for their sovereignty. Thus, they keep company.

Do you understand that, if it had been possible, Our Bob would have received many a letter from German and Japanese societies, congratulating him upon his forthright stand? Do you not see that this position of his stirs still a national disunity, and holds out to the enemy his last faint hope of a softhearted peace?

Sage Advice

Thomas Mann Knows Remedy For The German War-Makers

The great author, Thomas Mann, who likely understands his German people as well as any living man, raps for the attention of Americans. He sees the German nation as on the brink of collapse, though economically able to hold out for another year of war. And he says plainly that his race must be controlled by force, and nothing less. He speaks for an organization of world powers based on world law—for the first time.

And then he makes again the searching statement on humanity which has been the theme of a long line of free-thinking men through the ages:

"We cannot expect too much of the human race."

Americans who helped defeat the League of Nations as a great power put their faith in the human race; they expected too much. If peace is to be approached on no other basis, a world order must seem rational from this angle alone.

Thomas Mann is saying: Turn the German loose again or any other nation bent on aggression—and there will be a repetition of war. Set up a world order based on law alone, and it will crumble. Back it with force, and hold the world in line. Human greed is not to be controlled, at home or abroad, without force or show of force.

How often this truth is to be seen, in our city, state, nation and world. And how long the world itself has been allowed to wobble along on its Axis, without control, a sort of political vacuum. So Thomas Mann sees the world's problem: Do not attempt to exterminate the troublesome Germans, nor yet set them free to make a new war. Keep watch over them, with a big and permanent world army.

Over The Top

Chest Campaign a Last-Minute Victory For The Community

The final oversubscription of the Charlotte War and Community Chest fund, an eleventh-hour, whirlwind job, should be a comfort to those who were beginning to feel a sort of civic shame because the City was lagging behind in the campaign. The great success of the drive, which netted $382,205 at the preliminary count, reflects credit upon the community and upon the group of hard-working and efficient Chest volunteers who operated so well under the direction of Fred Huffman, James R. Bryant and Paul C. Whitlock.

Raising the Chest goal, especially in wartime, is a vital part of any community's task, and Charlotte may be justly proud of having done its share, even in face of an exceptionally high goal.

Just in passing, it is interesting to note the part a new war plant, U. S. Rubber Co., is already playing in our civic life. Employees of that plant alone contributed $6,805 to the fund—a sign that the plant is to be of great value to the community, in addition to its part in industrial expansion.

The Chest drive, all told, was a big war job well done. No fighting man, anywhere, could have expected the community to do better.

The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

SHORTLY before the Vice-President of the United States visited Dallas last month, his secretary, bulky, two-fisted Texan Harold Young, wrote to the swank Salesmanship Club in Dallas suggesting they invite the Vice-President to lunch with them and deliver a talk on October 21. Young, who lives in Dallas, knew Salesmanship Club members as Jesse Jones sympathizers, but figured his chief, "the VP," should heard the lion in his den. Also he figured the invitation would cause Salesmanship Clubbers to throw a fit.

Apparently it did. Soon Young received a letter from Club President Dick Brown which politely declined to listen to the Vice-President of the United States on October 21. "Considerable opposition exists on some of the speaker's (Wallace's) recently expressed views," wrote Brown. "And though he might not express those views, the Salesmanship Club would be identified with having sponsored his trip to Dallas. "We would be most pleased," concluded Brown to his fellow Texan, "to have you address the Club on some Thursday when your business or pleasure throws you to Dallas."

In reply, Vice-Presidential Secretary Young wrote: "I am accepting your invitation tendered by the Board of Directors of the Salesmanship Club and shall be in Dallas on both business and pleasure Oct. 21, 1943. Will it be convenient for me to bring a guest?" Again the high-hat members of the Salesmanship Club writhed with worry. Flustered President Brown wrote back:

"Your appearance on October 21, in view of the discussion already raised and the divergence of opinion on Mr. Wallace's views, would surely create embarrassment and might endanger the unity that has always been so characteristic of the Club . . . So let's have a cooling off period and hold the meeting at some time when it would not be identified with Mr. Wallace."

Finally Jokester Young relieved worried Clubster Brown by telling him he was only "having fun" with the "solemn directors." Intimating that Brown should go out to Caddo Lake and get back his sense of humor, Young added: "You forgot that I am a pixie at heart." When Wallace went to Dallas, "Pixie" Young saw to it that his boss spoke to four large gatherings—workmen and ordinary folks—also shook hands with 1,700 people, which beat the hand-shaking records of Calvin Coolidge.

League Of Nations?

Diplomats are watching the Atlantic City food and rehabilitation conference opening today (November 10) more carefully than any other international event in this country. They figure that the pattern it adopts will set the stage for whatever type of world peace organization the U.S.A. may join after the war.

Also they are worried. For the preliminary moves look to small nation diplomats as if the worst features of the League of Nations were being sown all over again. In fact a virtual League of Nations on food and rehabilitation seems to be in the works. Here is what is happening.

Yesterday, one day before the 44 United Nations and Associated Nations meet at Atlantic City, the Big Four—U.S., U.S.S.R., British, China—met in Washington and signed an agreement regarding the organization to be created at Atlantic City. In other words, before the 44 nations assembled, the Big Four had written the general structure they would have in OR.

This structure provides for a sort of assembly of 44 nations, similar to the League's assembly. Also it provides for a Central Committee of four nations, similar to the League Council. This Central Committee will run things. The smaller nations will meet once or twice a year to approve.

This has advantages and disadvantages. The Central Committee will be streamlined and able to act quickly. Also it will have great political power, because food and clothing mean life or death. But among the Big Four the U.S.A. easily be outvoted. The little countries, who have been our staunchest Allies, especially Latin Americans, will not be represented.

Fewer Tires

One thing not discussed at the Moscow conference was rubber tires. If the question had been raised, Russia would have been told that tires on Lend-Lease will have to be reduced sharply. Reason is that U.S. trucks and buses are wearing their tires down to the fabric, and Jesse Jones' long ballyhooed synthetic tires are falling behind schedule. There is plenty of new rubber, but a dire lag in tire production.

Meanwhile, bus and truck transportation has never been more vital. Last year inter-city buses carried more passengers than the railroads (686 million compared with 660 million), though for fewer miles. If they are crippled, the weight would be thrown back on the already struggling railroads. Also, many places would be without transportation, since 54,000 communities have no rail service. The Army, OPA, ODT and the Rubber Director's Office are putting their heads together to find a way out. One solution will be a reduction of tires shipped on Lend-Lease. Russia alone was promised 500,000 this year, in addition to 2,000,000 already delivered.

Note: This commitment, plus the deal for shipping a whole tire factory to Russia, always griped Big Bill Jeffers when he was Rubber Director. He explained the case to visitors by going through a pantomime of picking up the telephone and receiving instructions to ship a half million tires to Russia. Then he would say, "And on the other end of the line is the White House! What the hell can I do?"

Tax Fight

Here is how strained tax relations are between the Treasury, which wants a heavy tax bill, and the Ways and Means Committee, which shies away from heavy taxes: Congressmen will not let able Treasury Counsel Randolph Paul sit in the committee rooms when its own tax adviser Colin Stam is testifying.

This means that no one can ask disagreeable questions of Stam and puncture any ideas on how large revenue can be raised from low tax theories.

Meanwhile the Ways and Means Committee has marched up the hill in favor of 4 cents postage stamps and steep whisky taxes, then marched down again. After weeks of birth-pangs it looks as if the new tax bill would be a mouse.

Another Successful Scrap Drive

—By Dorman Smith

No Salvation

Machinery For Peace

By Raymond Clapper

WASHINGTON

THE first United Nations machinery is about to come into existence with the formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The agreement is to be signed at the White House Tuesday and then all are to adjourn to Atlantic City to assemble the first planned vehicle of international collaboration.

The smoothness of international collaboration will, to a considerable degree, depend on the start made at Atlantic City. Trouble-makers will hope to throw some sand in the machinery. This is a good time to mention one fact that becomes more clear to me the longer I work in Washington—and I think it is supported by many others who have had experience in public life or as observers. Machinery is less important than the will and the individuals.

One of the smoothest and most successful operators in this town is Jesse Jones. He does his most effective work, not by having perfect machinery for it, but by knocking around the Capitol and patting Senators and Congressmen on the back. The result is that he has relatively few worries when the pinches come. The numerous corporations through which Jesse Jones works are mere bookkeeping devices. The machinery is of minor consequence. Bernard M. Baruch once said that he kept few books, although the tax laws now may have ended his simple checkbook method. His rule was that if he didn't trust a man, he wouldn't do business with him.

Much the same goes for Cordell Hull. Here unconsciously I have named three old men who have been around here for years and who have one unusual thing in common. The longer they have stayed in Washington, the larger they have grown and the more powerful they have become. That is contrary to the rule that in Washington time inevitably casts a man aside as a political wreck if he stays here long enough.

The success of these three men is not that they have devised clever machinery of Government. They have not made themselves secure and powerful by making pefect blueprints from which successful Government activities have been built automatically. In fact Hull is notoriously a poor administrator. Baruch won't be bothered with the routine of Government administration, and Jones finds good subordinates to do his work for him.

They have been successful in their large assignments in Washington because they have made machinery secondary, and have depended on the confidence they have inspired, on their contacts, on their ability to make common sense convincing to the other fellow. It is what makes a good business man anywhere and what distinguishes him from the desk man who is a white collar mechanic. Some years ago, during the dying days of the League of Nations at Geneva, when it was but a slightly breathing corpse, I saw the experts and attaches walking in and out of the huge League office building, each carrying a bulging brief case filled with reports and recommendations and hurrying about with a brave pretense of importance.

The league council and the league assembly were in session. You never saw so much elegant machinery. Everybody was wearing an Anthony Eden Homberg, and carrying chamois gloves. The machinery was all humming. But everyone knew it was a dry run. The wheels were turning but they were grinding no grist because there was nothing left at Geneva in those bleak Autumn days of 1937 but empty machinery.

The human beings, the leaders, the men with blood and bone and sinew who could have used the machinery were all gone. They were back home busy preparing for war with each other.

Machinery will not save us this time either. That is the first rule that ought to go down in the United Nations handbook. Men will save us—men with understanding, vision, breadth, goodwill, courage and skill in dealing frankly and fairly with each other. Such men and nothing else will save us from more war after this one.

Side Glances

"I never heard you mention the term before the war, but now your excuse for everything is that you must keep up your morale!"

Waking Up

New Washington

By Samuel Grafton

WASHINGTON

THERE is a new kind of toughness in this town. I have spent a rushed day in the capital, with various officials, and there is a cockiness, a confidence, a healthiness, I did not always feel on previous visits. It is the kind of change which might escape an observer who lives in the capital continuously.

I was trying to put this change into words when I came across the official Soviet review of the Summer's fighting on the Eastern front. One paragraph in that Soviet statement jumps at the reader with sparkling force. After describing the failure of the German July offensive in the Orel-Belgorod regions, the Soviets say: "The results of the Summer battles showed that this new German strategic plan was based on an unreal estimation of the relation of forces, was adventurous from beginning to end, and failed disgracefully."

That is contempt. But it is not contempt on ideological grounds, it is not contempt of the Germans as Fascists. It is professional contempt, the contempt of a good shoemaker for a bad shoemaker. It is detached and objective contempt.

If you would understand why the Russians have been so successful, you could do no better than read that paragraph five or ten times. Everything the Russians have done is in it. Their curious ability to estimate the enemy's forces, without blinking; then to estimate their own, also without blinking; then, to work out, objectively and unemotionally, a policy which precisely fits the relationship between the two, attempting no more than can be done, but no less, either; all this is revealed in the one comment on the Germans. And if you are fortunate enough to see the brilliant new Army film, "The Battle of Russia," you will see this kind of thinking actually pictured on the screen.

All the world knew, for example, that tanks could beat foot soldiers. The French, as an intelligent people, knew it. Their enemies, as soon as the tanks appeared. The Russians wondered whether tanks could beat traffic jams in the narrow streets of cities; traffic jams created by foot soldiers hurling hand-grenades from windows out they could not.

During the first Winter of the Leningrad siege, when the city was cut off, the Russians saved the town by building a temporary 100-mile-long railroad on the frozen surface of Lake Ladoga, thus obtaining a supply route. Everybody knows you can't build railroads on water. The Germans knew it. They considered the lake their ally. They depended on it. But what of water when it becomes ice? The freezing of the water had introduced a new factor into the situation, and the Russians took precise, methodical, objective advantage of that new factor. The profound difference between water and ice had escaped the Nazis.

That is not genius, unless clarity can be called genius. The chief lesson of the Russian campaign to the Western world ought to be that a cold, unblinking examination of facts, understanding of facts, is the first step toward control of facts. From understanding there follows plan, and the courage to apply plan.

Well, back to Washington. The feeling I had here on the trip was that we are finally getting out of the romantic daze in which we have been trying to live for a generation. We are at last making policy as a cobbler makes shoes. The future which follows the Moscow Declarations is not going to be a future of hunch plays and bright ideas. It is, I think, going to be based on a real "estimation of the relation of forces." We realize now that Franco is not a force; that while frozen water may sometime come in handy, an Otto of Austria will not; when you lean on him, nothing is there.

Memories

The Last Peace

THE first request for peace in 1918 came from the chief of Germany's three satellites, Austria-Hungary. On Sept. 15 the Austro-Hungarian Government sent to all nations, neutral as well as belligerent, a request for a "non-binding" conference on peace. Hostilities were to continue while the conference was being held. The next day President Wilson replied that the United States had clearly stated its peace terms, so that no conference upon them was in order. On Sept. 29 Bulgaria signed armistice terms.

On Oct. 4 the German Government came into the picture directly, and asked Wilson to invite all belligerent states to enter into peace negotiations. Germany accepted Wilson's peace program as set forth in the Fourteen Points, in other addresses, and especially in the Metropolitan Opera House address. Germany requested an armistice in the meantime.

On Oct. 8 Wilson asked the German Government if, in accepting his peace principles, it wanted to negotiate only on their practical application. Also, did it speak only for the group in Germany which had conducted the war in the past? Also, he could not propose an armistice to the Allies while German armies were upon their soil.

On Oct. 12 Germany replied that it suggested discussions only on how the Wilsonian peace terms were to be worked out. It was a new German Government now; it spoke for, and was supported by, the majority of the Reichstag. Germany was willing to evacuate all foreign territory.

Thereupon, on Oct. 14, the American President stated his attitude. There could be no discussion of armistice or of evacuation details, because these would be fixed by the military authorities and would be such as to insure the assuring Allied and American supremacy in the field. Nor could an armistice be considered while Germany was pursuing its inhuman submarine warfare and its spoliation of districts being evacuated. And the German people would have to get rid of the "arbitrary power" which had so far controlled them.

On Oct. 20 Germany replied that it expected the armistice terms to safeguard the existing military situation, but trusted the President not to approve of any demands "irreconcilable with the honor of the German people." Orders had been given to end the submarine warfare and any evacuation practices contrary to international law. A German ministry had been formed from and responsible to the Reichstag, and a bill had been introduced to give the Reichstag the power over future war decisions.

Therefore, on Oct. 23, Wilson told Germany he was submitting its peace offer to the Allies, but warned again they would demand unconditional surrender if the "military masters and monarchical autocrats" of Germany were still in power. On Oct. 27 Germany replied that it appreciated all this, and awaited the proposal for an armistice. On Oct. 30 Germany sent further details of steps taken to make its governmental system democratic. On the same day Turkey signed armistice terms.

On Nov. 4 Wilson told Germany that the Allies accepted his peace principles with two exceptions. The question of the freedom of the seas was to be left open, and Germany would have to pay for the damage wrought by her aggression. On the same day Austria-Hungary, with which Wilson had been negotiating separately, signed armistice terms. The German peace delegates arrived at Marshal Foch's headquarters on Nov. 7, were received Nov. 8, completed their arrangements the next days of the harshness of the armistice terms handed them, and signed them on Nov. 11.—Editorial Research Reports.