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SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1943

Two Pollyannas

British-American Policy Toward France Is a Joke

Britain and America, though they can afford it just now, have again made one of those blunders which cannot be hidden from a watching world. As a result of dull-witted and uninspired diplomacy, they have given "limited recognition" to the French Committee of Liberation. They must wait, they say, until after the war has been won.

Moscow, on the same day, rushed through the French Committee complete recognition. That, one may say, was only without competition in the realm of diplomacy. But it meant something more fundamental than that. Russia, she tells all people interested in the world, is already convinced that Frenchmen who have always resisted Fascism and Nazism are fit to direct Free France affairs now—and will be fit to direct France into a new era after the war.

British and American policy, from the confusion days in Paris, when the converted Fascist could swing a big deal, has been halting, jumbling, and often chicken-hearted. For fear, apparently, of offending some four enemies, the U. S. State Department dickered away in a series of complete situations. And while we fumbled, with Britain helping us, Soviet Russia was making straight-forward, honest and very bold statements about some phases of her political intentions.

In virtually every instance, diplomatically, Moscow has been ahead of London and Washington. If the Russians do not wind up this war with greater support from the little nations than either Britain or America, then it will not be the fault of the diplomats. It will be only the superior power of our fighting forces that can save us—and that alone, American and British soldiers, with the aid of the kindred forces after, must spread the Anglo-American policies, if any are to be spread. The world cannot be content to hear of "limited" recognition to men who have long risked their lives against the enemy.

For the warring world knows all too well that, if a thin-coated Fascist like Pietro Badoglio rose up, asking peace, he would get full recognition from the British and American governments. And that sort of treatment wouldn't make sense anywhere, not even in Italy. The diplomatic leadership of Britain and America must stir itself, sometime before peace, to the power of arranging food and material for reconstruction will give us great bargaining power in Europe, but it is possible that men with full bellies will feel an emptiness of spirit, under our regime. We have yet to declare ourselves for complete freedom. The captives in Europe, surely, can more readily understand the Russian view than our own. We'd better speed up the speaking of the truth.

Useless Plea

Nazi's Dr. Ley Calls People For Stand, but They're Gone

The voice of Dr. Robert Ley, the Nazi chieftain, is not going to resound through the ages, we fear. It seems to have died, not even the most fanatical of Berlin's madmen will pay heed. For Dr. Ley, making what sounded like a final appeal, asked that the people of Berlin put a stop to panic. He said that Germany must hold out. He shouted that the losses of the enemy had also been very heavy. He was satisfied that the British had discovered with dismay just how strong were the German defenses. The people, he said, whom the words were addressed, they did not hear. They were still, perhaps, in the air raid shelters, expecting the daily visit from the RAF. Or they had already gone, out into the country, to the forests where the bombers never

From Berlin, even before the great raid, strange cargoes were moving out. The German navy was being dismantled, the people tried to escape. A million children had long since departed. The capital was becoming a ghost city. But Dr. Ley still made his plea. The doctor, the British have found a strong defense is yours, they

found more night fighters than ever, and weak, inaccurate anti-aircraft fire. They lost 58 big bombers, with well over 500 young men. But they also plastered their objective. They started the rain of bombs on Berlin, and the final touches will come soon. Sing your lay, Dr. Ley, but it is too late to convince Britons and Americans. The planes will continue to come over, regardless of losses. They know their task is being accomplished. And it is too late, also, to convince Germans. They have seen, heard and felt too much. They know it is no longer any use, so they have fled into the country. The jig is up, Dr. Ley, and as soon as you have realized this, from studying the reaction of your people, you'd better tell your superiors. It'll be easier, if they know.

A Real Loss

Supt. John Lockhart Will Be Most Difficult To Replace

As John C. Lockhart moves up to Woman's College from his position as County Superintendent, Mecklenburg's most prominent educator is already being missed. Mr. Lockhart has actively pressed a progressive system in our schools. In his three years, efficiency has been at a high point, and his contribution has been considerable. He goes into a more responsible position with the best wishes of Mecklenburg, but it will be difficult to replace him. We believe the Greater University has chosen well, in making him Controller of the Great South Branch of Mecklenburg, where the task of locating a fitting successor is going to be more difficult than in normal times.

We wish every measure of success for Mr. Lockhart in his new work, and we like to remember that, in his service to Mecklenburg, he discharged his duties in the best tradition. We feel that he will continue to be an aggressive leader in North Carolina education.

Of Berlin

Youngest European Capital Soon To Be Wiped Out

As the days grow shorter the Allied bombing of Berlin can proceed in rapidly greater safety, and it is reported that over a million civilians have already fled from the city in order to evacuate the German capital. Among the great European capitals Berlin is the great parvenu. London was already a town of some importance when the Romans conquered Britain before the Christian era. Paris was a thriving center during the Dark Ages, Moscow was populous by the 12th century, Brussels and Amsterdam are mentioned in chronicles before Berlin is mentioned, while Rome, of course, is the oldest of all. Berlin does not appear in the history until the 13th century, and then as less important than the adjoining fishing village of Kolln.

Just as Berlin is the youngest of the European capitals it is also the most modern. Very few medieval structures remain, and there is no ancient church in Berlin comparable to Westminster Abbey, Notre Dame, St. Peter's, or the great Gothic cathedrals of older German towns. The many fine streets, public buildings and the modern buildings are almost all of modern structure and design. Berlin is one of Germany's great manufacturing centers, and is more of an industrial center than London, Paris, or Rome.

It would be nothing new for Berlin to be devastated by an enemy. During the Thirty Years' War in the first half of the Seventeenth Century the city was practically destroyed by the Swedes and had to be almost entirely rebuilt. During the Seven Years' War in the Eighteenth Century the Austrian armies penetrated to the suburbs and levied a heavy contribution from the city, which was then heavily bombed and seized by the Russians. The Russians required a heavy ransom before they would retire from Berlin. Napoleon occupied Berlin for more than two years in 1806-1809, an age for which months in 1812-13. The city was the scene of serious riots in the revolutionary movements of 1848.

The city of Berlin went along with the rise of Prussia. Early in the Fifteenth Century the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund, sold the margravate of Brandenburg, in north central Germany, to his friend and ally, Frederick III of Hohenzollern, margrave of Brandenburg. The new Electors of Brandenburg put their seat of government at Berlin. Step by step they increased their dominions by conquest, sometimes by trading, sometimes by inheritance. By appointment, occurs in the moment when the German has lost Kharlov and will have to evacuate the entire Donets valley. It occurs after the night of the worst air raid on Berlin, following the terrible bombing of other German cities, it occurs

Germans Shudder The Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON INSIDERS who have talked with both Secretary Hull and his ex-Undersecretary, Sumner Welles, report they are full of jealousy of the Russian, yet their basic difference gets down to Soviet Russia and future plans for peace.

Hull long has been anti-Russian. Welles has long argued that we must work with Russia—even though we don't agree with her ideology—if we are to win the peace. Welles shared his anti-Russian attitude by placing in charge of his peace-planning group, Leo Pavlosky, a bitter anti-Soviet.

You don't hear much about Pavlosky around Washington, but he happens to be one of Mr. Hull's closest advisers. Born in Russia, Pavlosky was the last secretary to Kerensky's Ambassador Boris Bakmeteff. Pavlosky formerly edited the Russian Review in New York, later a daily Russian paper called Russkoye Slovo, which was anti-Soviet, and after various research studies, became adviser to Mr. Hull.

When Pavlosky's plans for a new world began to bog down, Welles diplomatically maneuvered so that the President appointed a larger peace planning group, including John Hopkins Professor Isaiah Bowman. But the basic difference between Hull and Welles in dealing with Russia has continued. And that is why it may be futile for Welles to undertake a mission to Moscow with Foreign Minister Eden. For any plan he works out with the Russians would almost certainly meet with vigorous opposition from Hull the minute Welles got home.

Russian Problems

Here are the chief problems which will have to be thrashed out with Stalin by whoever goes to Russia: 1. Second Front. This was publicly pledged at Casablanca, and the Russians blame Churchill because the pledge has not been kept. They think Roosevelt wanted the second front, but that Churchill insisted that it be undertaken largely by American troops.

2. The large number of British troops in Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Near East. The Russians think this is to block them from getting a warm water route through the Gulf of Persia. They say that if the British run up their troops for the Near East, why can't they spare them for a second front?

The British have occupied Teheran, the capital of Iran, illegally, say the Russians. The Russians meanwhile have occupied two northern provinces of Iran.

Favoritism To Which We All Subscribe

By Dornen Smith



Reeds At Stake

Himmler At The Helm

By Dorothy Thompson

WASHINGTON I INTERRUPT a series on American Policy to comment upon a highly important development—the appointment of Heinrich Himmler, as Minister of Interior.

Himmler supplants Dr. Wilhelm Frick, in the ministry of the interior, and will have to Reich. Actually Himmler has controlled these forces throughout the Nazi regime. But Frick, a bureaucrat, regarded as relatively mild and moderate, was retained in his position as a facade for Himmler. Frick also had an apparatus that, being bureaucratic with the army, of the previous system retained in it, tended to operate with only veiled terror, inside Germany itself.

The SS has thus been the living embodiment of Nazi ideology—Nordic supremacy, master race, cruelty as a mark of superiority, etc. Actually a physically selected corps, they have been trained to consider themselves biologically the cream of the German race, superior to all other peoples and also to all other Germans. They protect their own lives on this principle—that their blood must be spread for the future of Germany—which was another thing that is roughly true of the Nazi movement.

All of Nazi's, Himmler is most unpopular with the German people. This is the reason why his terror, except against Jews, was veiled inside Germany while naked abroad. Now if Hitler puts Himmler openly in power, with control over the entire internal administration, concentrating his efforts at home, instead of abroad, in other countries—that is because Hitler has something on his mind.

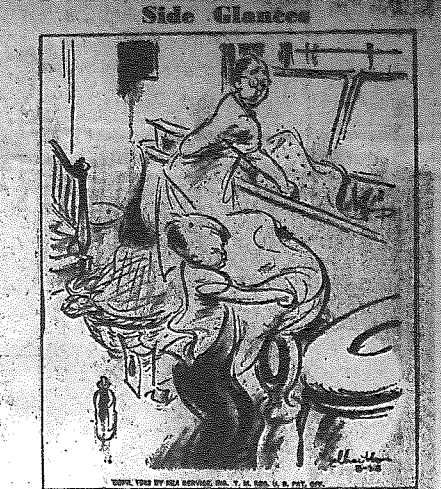
following the fall of Sicily and at the close of the Quebec conference in which new, grandiose military moves have been planned. It occurs a month after the fall of Mussolini in Italy. On the same Tuesday that this report comes we learn that Copenhagen has been occupied by fifty thousand German troops and martial law established for unruly Denmark.

The conclusions that one can draw are: The military defeats that Germany has met and new ones in the making, have forced Hitler to reconsider his position, not only in the occupied countries but in Germany itself. And as the situation is for the Nazis in the occupied countries, these can be entrusted to the army, which will fight for Germany as long as she is fighting and suppress national istings.

But in Germany itself, the army is not trustworthy, and neither is the bureaucracy. The Italian people has not been able to quit the sympathy for them. Hitler thinks the time has come to make a fresh start now and to eliminate the people in line. In this, of course, he is expressing his ancient fear of the people, re-created over and over in the familiar phrase in the Nazi legend, that they, and not the armies, were responsible for losing the last war. The German nation, from now on, is to be treated as though it were itself an occupied country. For, in a showdown, Hitler always believes in the efficiency of the army.

But the appointment of Himmler indicates not only fear of the German people, but other dilemmas. The bombings and mass evacuation must have strained the bureaucratic machinery to the breaking point. A bureaucrat like Frick cannot control it. It needs an improviser, like Himmler. A disorganized apparatus offers the chance of disintegration at the top. Every opposition seizes opportunities, as they arise. Among the top leaders international policy plays a role in the family quarrels in the back.

pled to Italy, Grandi, Ciano and Badoglio saw their chance. When Moscow appeared to Germany, there was no similar quarrel on the right now, and they had their chance. It is significant that the Nazi radio, commenting on the Leningrad affair, said "The Allies are all united now, and they are not united as a departure. They have hitherto said, 'against Germany'." Thus the Manifesto of Free Germans issued from Russia would appear to have had a distinct political effect. The Nazis are fighting for their hands, not only against the military, but against the rear-enclosed enemies inside Germany. If this is pressed home with the most calculated political policies, we can win the war this year.



For Everyman Maps Of World

By Samuel Crafton

EACH one of us carries around in his head his own personal and private map of the world. The average American's map has on it a big area called Sicily, where a major battle has been fought, a little down south of this way there is another huge area called North Africa, where previously a great struggle came to its conclusion. If this average American has a son or husband in either of these places, this map will seem big indeed on the personal and private map, and who will say they're not? Somewhere, up and over to the right, kind of, there is an uncertain space called the Eastern Front, where Russian and German armies have been locked in battle for better than two years. We have been thrilled by some of the events on this front. But even the fact that we refer to it as the "Eastern Front" or the "Russian front" shows that it occupies but a little space on the personal and private map. It is not one front; it is at least six major fronts; on them are a hundred times as many German soldiers as were found in Sicily. To think of all this as one front is like thinking of the country from Portland, Maine, to San Antonio, Texas, as one region.

Of course, the Russian has his personal and private map, too. He sees close up and big, 2,000 miles of battle zone, on which 1,000,000 Germans have been killed or otherwise put out of business in the last seven years. Far away, over the horizon, there is on his map a speck called Italy. He can hardly see it. As for North Africa, news from the region impresses him only a little more than does a hot bulletin from Venezuela. Somewhere, about 7,000 miles directly behind the back of his head, there is another speck, called Bataan. He does not know what it means to us. He cannot know. There is a big splash on his map, marked Sicily. It is on our map, too. But he sees the dead at Bialgrad. We see the victory.

I have missed, in recent debate about the second front and our relations with Russia, an understanding of this human factor. I have after all, a world of people. I have read solemn declarations, in all earnestness, that Russia is not being "constructive," that she "overlooks" the importance of the air front, that she "understands" Sicily. The man wants the Russians to use his private map of the world.

And each Russian wants us to use his map. To be sure, but that does not keep these American expressions from being narrow, even provincial. Only a man standing where we stand could say that the Russian attitude is unconstructive. To a Russian, standing in the Russian front) it does not mean that the Russians overlook and understate very badly. There it seems that the Russians make quite accurate estimates, paying an eager and willing price to do much death for so much victory.

The Russian cry for a second front is a simple cry for help from people who have died with us. We have overcomplicated the issue with our discussions. We have created an "enigma," that maybe she is planning a "separate peace," that maybe she wants to "control Europe." A nation crying out for help is not an enigma. The reason for the appeal is clear as day. It is asking that Hitler be finished off this year is not a nation asking for peace with Hitler. A nation inviting us into Europe cannot be considered, in the same breath, to be plotting to keep us out.

Fumble, Fumble No Foreign Policy

By Raymond Clapper

WASHINGTON IT IS depressing to witness the frightening fumbling of the Administration on foreign policy lately, and its backward-looking obsession with trying to prove that it has been infallible in the past, and to President Roosevelt, in a streak of unaccounted political timidity, throwing into the wastebasket skillful and much needed men like Sumner Welles and Clarence Budington Kelland, and to the exclusion of the imagination, the readiness to look ahead instead of backward, may come from the Republicans. From some of them, anyway.

Certainly there is hope if there is anything typical in the constructive thinking that is valued now by Clarence Budington Kelland, Republican National Committee man for Arizona, in a specific blueprint laid before the National Republican Club at New York this week. He would offer it to the Republican Party conference at Mackinac Island two weeks hence. Somehow I had Bud Kelland down in my books as a rather hard-bitten realpolitik. Whether that was fair or not, he says he has been thinking, searching his soul, clearing his mind of pre-judices, past errors and of the rubbish of inherited ideas. "You don't have to agree with every line of his blueprint to applaud the spirit that is ready to make a fresh start now and to eliminate the old. How much better that the bitter personal spirit and narrow-minded, rear-view thinking that we are getting out of the State Department now than Roosevelt's personal support.

There isn't space enough here to cover the plan, but you could well read it all to stimulate your thinking. Certainly it contains refreshing candor for Republicans to feed on right now, and it is a bad diet for some of the people in the Administration. Mr. Kelland suggests that America's program be shaped around the following main points:

- 1. A trusteeship consisting of Russia, Great Britain, the United States and China to administer territories of our enemies and other nations bankrupted by the war, to preserve order and assist each nation in establishing a form of government of its own choice. With this would go a fact-finding international commission, with the final power of settlement resting with the United States, deliberately arranged after stable conditions had been restored.
- 2. Great Britain, China, Russia and America, in combine to offensive and defensive joint action against any nation endeavoring to breach the peace. Such a combination would be so powerful that no nation would dare challenge its jointly stated will.
- 3. A permanent defensive alliance between the United States and Great Britain. They should act as one in case of attack upon either. This alliance should be permanent and openly declared, as a policy of insurance for both nations.
- 4. Complete solidarity of the Western Hemisphere against any threat to any American nation.
- 5. Underlying all this is a strong American Navy and Air Force plus a standing Army, ready for war, with highly offshore defenses in the islands of both oceans. The Pacific must be an American lake, and in the Atlantic we must have defenses at Dakar and Casablanca, in Iceland, Greenland and Bermuda. We have these now and they must be kept.
- 6. If Republicans can advance a program that will take some such positive direction as this they will have served the best interests of the country—making that they will have served the best interests of the country.