THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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The Snake In The Garden

IT may be that Henry Wallace has made his last appearance before one of those star-studded left-wing rallies in Madison Square Garden. He was greeted with the customary ovation when he got up to speak, but soon his shocked listeners heard him voice the opinion that Mother Russia is due at least a share of the blame for the present sad state of world affairs. Boos and catcalls sounded in the Garden and once or twice Mr. Wallace was drowned out by his hecklers.

A few of Mr. Wallace's legion of critics may pat him on the back for his courage, but most, we suspect, will chide him for playing cheap politics. They will point to his own interpolated remark to the effect that most Americans "outside of New York" have lost sympathy with the Soviet Union and charge that he was taking up a new "American Line" to further his personal political ambitions.

Those who accuse Mr. Wallace of playing politics, smart or otherwise, seem to us to ignore the record. Mr. Wallace has a positive genius for putting his foot in his mouth, and has probably cost his patrons, Messrs. Roosevelt and Truman, far more votes than he ever earned them. Mr. Wallace, indeed, is the most unpolitical public figure we know. He says what he thinks, and whatever we might think of the mental processes by which he arrives at his usually unpopular conclusions, we would be the last to deny him high marks for honesty and integrity.

We wouldn't even accuse Henry Wallace of inconsistency on the basis of his Madison Square Garden address. Mr. Wallace believes, along with a good many other sincere patriots, that America should have worked harder at bringing the suspicious Soviet Union into the family of nations after the end of World War II. He has deplored a foreign policy that accepted the division of the world into spheres of influence. East against West, as inevitable. He has refused—and still refuses—to accept as valid the premise that we can't do business with the Russians because they happen to be Communists.

Because he believes these things Mr. Wallace has found himself traveling in the company of the country's Russophiles, including that small body of card-bearing Communists who, we suspect, were largely responsible for giving him an unpleasant evening in The Garden. This has happened, at one time or another, to every prominent liberal in the country, and always the journey ends in a brawl. There comes a time when the liberal discovers, as Mr. Wallace has, that the Comrades are as illiberal as the Liberty League: in the Communist doema Mother Russia's virtue is beyond question.

What Mr. Wallace called for in New York was a national effort to view Russia through "American eyes". We should not be pro-Russia, pro-Britain, or pro-anybody, and by the same token we should not be anti-anybody. We should seek to end Russian aggression, but we should not condone it by aggression of our own. This was too strong for the extremists of the left; so, we suspect, will it be for the extremists of the right.

About the worst that anybody can say of Henry Wallace, it seems to us, is that he is a confirmed idealist. And we can remember a time when that would have been considered a compliment.

Politicians Are Always Conformists

A veterans group in Savannah, undertaking an assault upon a city political machine entrenched through 25 fat years, has tagged itself "The GI People's Party." The young gentlemen plan a campaign in the Athens, Tennessee manner, although they hope to avoid the shooting. And they are, according to their official pronouncements, ready to welcome any citizen to their ranks regardless of prior condition of military servitude or previous partisan affiliation.

This is in sharp contrast to the more exclusive veterans movement in North Carolina, which is open not to people, but only to Democrats. The GI Democrats, are now officially committed to working their miracles within the one-party framework. Due to the laziness of the season, and a natural reluctance to interfere with the established order of things, they will support candidates of the regular organization in the general elections this Fall.

This has prompted North Carolina Republicans to inquire why the GI Democrats should close the doors against members of the GOP, some of whom also served their country during the war. And this in turn, has prompted *The High Point Enterprise* to inquire of North Carolina Republican officials why they do not establish a GI Republican organization, or at least revive the moribund Young Republican group.

All of this is an interesting exercise, but essentially futile. There is little evidence that the GI Democrats are planning to undertake anything like a crusade against the North Carolina way of life. They would like to turn the old guard out of office, of course, and replace it with rising young politicians from their own ranks, but they do not contemplate altering the one-party system. Desirable though it may be as an abstract goal, this is not yet the time for a determined office-seeker to attempt to batter down the ramparts of the Democratic monopoly. It is far easier for the ambitious young to take over the existing political machinery than it is for them to start out from scratch and build an entirely new organization of their own.

This, indeed, is the practical consideration upon which all Third Party movements have foundered in the South. Men with political ambitions are never willing to take the risk of non-conformity as long as there is a chance that they may achieve their ends within the comfortable confines of the traditional organization. Men without political ambition are not politicians, and no party ever gets to first base without professionals to guide it.

This newspaper favors a two-party system for North Carolina. But it also recognizes that, at this reading, at least, it will gain converts only among those who have nothing to lose by advocating political heresy.

A Visitor From Fort Mill

EDITOR BRADFORD of *The Fort Mill Times* has devoted a fourth of his front page to a satirical account of his recent visit to Charlotte to purchase a "roll of tissue for my kazoo, a spoke for my bicycle, and a recording of 'Old MacDonald Had a Farm'." When he had disembarked from his car, after parking it in an unloading zone, Editor Bradford was caught up in the throng of pedestrian traffic crossing The Square and deposited against his will on a bench in front of the First Presbyterian Church. Here, after wringing from the visitor a confession that he was from Fort Mill, an elderly citizen opened a conversation in this fashion:

"Fort Mill, hey?" Then he looked me over from head to foot. "You look pretty much beat up," he said, "but if you hadn't told me where you're from I wouldn't have known that you had been drinking." "I'm not drinking," I said, futilely. "Heh, heh," he chuckled, "Don't hand me that. Fort Mill's where the people drink all the booze. Why some time ago I read in the paper where Fort Mill sold as much as other South Carolina cities ten and fifteen times its size."

There follows a sort of nightmare sequence, in which Editor Bradford repeatedly tries to break away from his inquisitor, only to be hurled back upon the bench by the surging crowds. He attempts to explain that seven out of eight pints of liquor sold in Fort Mill go to Charlotteans, that his town has churches, mills and schools as well as liquor stores, that he himself is a teetotaler and a deacon. The old man on the bench only nudges him in the ribs with his cane and asks slyly, "Could you let me have a half a pint, now?"

Finally, fighting down an urge to take the old man's cane and wrap it around his neck, Editor Bradford arises and delivers himself of a sermon:

You are exactly like all the other Charlotteans who are on the verge of going mad on the subject of liquor. Everytime Fort Mill is mentioned you smack your lips and your head starts spinning in anticipation. You keep all our stores empty all the time, but don't give yourself credit for the purchases. When you see a Fort Millian you watch him closely to see how badly he staggers, and, when he doesn't, you are amazed. You figure he's bound to be a drunkard. Why, just look at all the stuff they sell there. You can't see for enough in front of your nose to realize that if it weren't for your patronage, probably every store would fold up. And that's the way most of us in Fort Mill would like it—no stores. Local purchases would scarcely keep a hole in the wall going. You remember what I say the next time you meet a man from Fort Mill. Chances are you have consumed ten times as much as he has since FDR repealed prohibition.

To which we, hanging our head on behalf of our fellow hypocrites, can only add a faint "Well said, Brother Bradford."

Another Voice

A Traitor To Her Sex?

WE second the motion of *The Salisbury Post* which wants a psychiatric examination of the sixteen year-old Chicago girl cashier who is charged with the theft of $13,000 from the firm for which she worked.

Admitting that she took the money, the girl told police she had spent $3,000 for clothes and $10,000 on her teen-age boy friend.

Glancing at this unusual set of facts, *The Post* says that "the fact that she gave her boy friend more than three times as much of her loot as she spent on clothes for herself sets the young woman apart from the generally accepted standards of her sex and indicates that somebody ought to look into her mental status."

So be it. And when the psychiatrist finishes with a thorough job on this young lady, even as *The Post* suggests, we sincerely hope he will have a few minutes to spare to look over her employers. The fact that they selected a sixteen-year-old girl to handle large sums of money suggests that they may also have some complexes themselves.—*Shelby Daily Star.*

Ganging Up

The United Nations—II

Peace Can Be Realized

(NOTE: This is the second of two articles on the United Nations by Charles W. Tillett, Charlotte attorney, member of the American Bar Association's special committee on organization of the nations for peace, and national authority on the United Nations. The articles originally appeared in The Democratic Digest, official organ of the Democratic Party, under the title, "The United Nations Up To Date".—Eds., THE NEWS.)

THE Economic and Social Council does not have the public attention and interest that is commanded by the more dramatic Security Council. Many students feel, however, that in the long run its work will be much more important in the matter of maintaining world peace than the work of the Security Council. In fact, some students go so far as to say that if the Economic and Social Council does its work well the Security Council in time will almost become an inactive organ.

The work of this Council is so varied that many people become hopelessly confused in considering its activities. These activities are complex because the Council is charged with the duty of discovering those world problems which may be the causes of future wars and recommending solutions for them. As the saying goes, the causes of war are "not only few but also many." For example, the causes of World War I as listed by Professor Quincy Wright in his work entitled A Study of War, issued sometime ago by the University of Chicago Press, include: the Russian or the German mobilization; the Austrian ultimatum, the Sarajevo assassination; the aims and ambitions of the Kaiser, Poincare, Izvolsky, Berchtold, or someone else; the desire of France to recover Alsace-Lorraine or of Austria to dominate the Balkans; the European system of alliances; the activities of the munition-makers, the international bankers, or the diplomats; the lack of an adequate European political order; armament rivalries; colonial rivalries; commercial policies; the sentiment of nationality; the concept of sovereignty; the struggle for existence; the tendency of nations to expand; the unequal distribution of population, of resources, or of planes of living; the law of diminishing returns; the value of war as an instrument of national solidarity or as an instrument of national policy; ethnocentrism or group egotism; the failure of the human spirit.

If these were the causes of World War I, we can rest assured that these sorts of complications and many others can be the cause of what everybody recognizes to be potential World War III. In its effort to eliminate these causes of World War III it is inevitable that the work of the Economic and Social Council will be complex.

Three Categories

HOWEVER, an understanding of the work of the Economic and Social Council to date will be made much easier if we keep in mind the three principal categories into which its activities have so far been divided. They are: the calling of international conferences; studies of important existing problems; relationship of the United Nations with various specialized agencies. If we classify what the Council has done since it was organized last January under these categories, we will, I think, get a comprehensive and fairly clear understanding of what it has done so far.

Under the heading of the "calling of international conferences" there should be placed the calling of the International Conference on Food which convened in Washington last May 20, and the calling of the International Conference on Health which convened in New York in June. As soon as certain preliminaries have been complied with, an international conference on trade and employment will be called to meet in Cuba and it is anticipated that this conference will lead to the establishment of an International Trade Organization.

Under the heading of "studies" should come a number of activities. Before its first adjournment the Council appointed six Commissions on the following subjects: Human Rights; Economics and Employment; Social Matters; Transport and Communications; Statistics; and Narcotics. Under the Human Rights Commission there was established a Subcommission on the Status of Women.

All of these Commissions met in May, went deeply into the subjects assigned to them and made comprehensive reports to the Council. Space does not permit even so much as a mention of the multiplex matters covered by these reports. However, since it is of such intense interest to women, it should be stated that the Commission on Human Rights made extremely important recommendations in respect to the improvement of the status of women in the world of tomorrow and attached as an appendix to its recommendations the report submitted to it by the Subcommission on the Status of Women. This Subcommission stated that in order for women to achieve the fullness of life that they are entitled to they should be granted equality with men in all fields of human enterprise including political, civil, social and economic rights. Among the subjects dealt with in the report are marriages, including an insistence on the adoption of the system of monogamy; guardianship; nationality; property; and education.

Atomic Energy

OF course, the study that transcends all other studies in importance is the one now being made by the special commission appointed by the General Assembly to study the control and use of atomic energy. One can say with profound sincerity and conviction that upon the success or failure of that commission depends the life or death of civilization. Obviously, a matter of such exalted importance should be dealt with prudently and slowly. That is precisely what has been done. When this commission has finished its work it will make a report of its recommendations to the Security Council. The Security Council will, it is assumed and devoutly hoped, be guided by this report as it deals with the peril to world peace and security now acutely present on account of the discovery of atomic energy. Unless the interests of peace direct otherwise, the Security Council will transmit the Atomic Energy Commission's report to the various organs of the United Nations to be considered and utilized by them in performing the duties assigned to them by the Charter.

Under the heading "relationship with specialized agencies" come matters pertaining to such agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization; International Labor Organization; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; Provisional International Civil Aeronautics Organization; Commission on Narcotics; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund; United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; International Trade Organization.

For The Future

I THINK that one might say that the following is the United Nations in a nutshell as of today.

The General Assembly, composed of representatives of 51 nations, has been organized. It is the right and duty of these representatives to discuss on the Assembly floor any question relating to the maintenance of peace that may be brought before it by any nation. The next meeting is set for Sept. 23.

The Security Council is continuously in session and it is now a firmly established fact in international relations that any nation can bring before that body any complaint of an international character endangering peace that it has against any other nation regardless of the size and power of the nations involved.

There is continuously at work an able Secretariat whose duty it is—as international citizens—not only to make the United Nations work, but to gather information about international affairs and lay this information before the proper organs of the organization.

The deep concern of all the men and women who compose these organs of the United Nations and its committees and commissions is a peace that will recognize the dignity and value of the human person, and social progress toward better standards of life in larger freedom.

You can say that in spite of all this, war is still a possibility. But you are compelled also to say that on account of these things, for the first time in modern history enduring peace is a definitely reliable certainty if all the people and nations of the world will support this organization.

Barnet Nover

Berlin—Ghost City

BERLIN

THE heart of Berlin, once a flourishing metropolis, looks like nothing so much as a three-dimensional enlargement of a picture of the craters of the moon. The visitor standing in the vicinity of Unter Den Linden and the now ironically named Siegesallee—the path of victory—sees all around him only incredible emptiness and fantastic desolation. There is, outside of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (neither of them more than a tenth the size of Berlin) no grimmer spectacle than what has happened to this city that was to be the capital of the Nazi new order which Hitler had assured the Germans would last a thousand years. And there is no greater witness than Berlin today to what pre-atomic air power could do when fully unleashed.

Oddly enough, the statue of Bismarck, Moltke and Von Roon, the trio who led Germany to victory over France in 1870, are still standing. But the real monument to them and to that policy of blood and iron which found its most fearful expression in Hitler's Third Reich is Berlin itself. In the heart of the city and for many miles around there is hardly a building that is wholly habitable. On every hand one sees acres upon acres of ruins. The most astonishing fact about these ruins is that they are inhabited.

FOOD IMPORTED

Within this ghost city that was a great world capital, Germany's greatest industrial center, her commercial and financial heart, more than three million men, women and children continue to live and breathe and have their being. The industrial plant that was Berlin is sixteen months after its occupation operating at a mere 6 per cent of capacity. Only a fraction of the many thousands of stores and shops and service establishments that once flourished here are again operating. Food for practically the entire population of Berlin has to be brought in from the outside and in the case of the 910,000 inhabitants of the American sector, from great distances.

Yet the people who live here show no desire to move. They live in cellars and in bombed houses and wherever they can find a roof over their heads. They double up and double up again, clinging with incredible tenacity to this city which to them is still familiar despite all its strangeness. They eke out their meager rations—not enough to prevent a fantastic rise in tuberculosis and other diseases—with what they can forage from field and forest and through black market operations. They gather horse chestnuts which can be turned in for money and an extra ration of flour made out of the inner nut, and gather cigarette butts which, with the cigarette the standard, have a monetary value. Whole families go out to the Grunewald and other forested areas in the vicinity to cut wood to heat their homes during the coming Winter when the coal shortage promises to be as severe as was the last.

There is enough work for all who are able-bodied. Yet so many suffer from malnutrition that the military authorities in our zone have recently been forced to the expedient of beginning to train women for police duties since, somehow, the stamina of the women of Berlin has not declined to the same extent as that of the men. The great majority of men (this is true of most German cities) are either very young or very old. The job of making the wheels go round is an extremely difficult one. So that the people may be fed at least a minimum diet, order must be maintained, the essential services kept operating, schools established and public health looked after. Given the physical condition of Berlin, the task of the authorities is Herculean.

FOUR BERLINS

But on top of everything there is the fact that Berlin—like Germany—is not one, but four. The American, Russian, British and French zones are replikas in miniature of the four zones in which the Reich is divided, the one very great difference being that there is free movement of individuals and goods, such as there are, from one sector to another. Another difference is also important. While the differences within the Kommandatura tend to reflect even on extremely minor matters having to do with non-political matters such as sanitation, health, food and finance, the difficulties that are constantly encountered at the level of the Allied Control Authority, the job of running Berlin is somehow achieved.

STRUGGLE TO CONTINUE

The only way these deadlocks in the Kommendatura can be eliminated and the four Berlins be reintegrated into one is for the people of Berlin themselves to be given a larger measure of local control. In this connection next October's municipal election is of the greatest importance. But until that government is set up and is really functioning the world-wide struggle between Russia and the Western powers will no doubt continue to be mirrored in the Kommandatura, where also however, the best hope has been demonstrated that co-operation with the Russians, while difficult, is not impossible.

Samuel Grafton

A Crisis Of Faith

NEW YORK

THE country is going through a crisis of faith. It is seeking something to hang on to, and it is not finding it. There is a note of queerness in much that is happening today, which is inexplicable, except as a sign of some kind of deep disorientation.

Men sell their securities at a time when department store sales are 60 per cent higher than a year ago; and the only comment all the experts are able to agree on is that there is something queer about it; men sell because of an uneasiness, way down, operating at a deeper level than statistics can reach.

BAFFLING STRIKE

Something of the same queerness and unaccountability seems to surround the trucking strike in New York City, a strike in which there has been almost no negotiation, for day after day. It is a baffling strike, for there is almost no contact between the parties; the employers are stubborn, and the men themselves won't listen to their own union leaders, howling them off the platform, and leaving the Mayor as a lonesome go-between. And while it may be straining things to compare the striking truckers with the securities sellers, there is a certain similarity on the level of pessimism, of disbelief, of lack of faith.

For we are in a moral crisis. I find myself remembering the personnel manager of a large aviation factory who tried to explain what seemed to him a strange apathy of unrest running through his work force. "It's not more money they want," he said. "They quit suddenly, because maybe they've moved, and have to walk a half-mile to a bus line, instead of a quarter-mile. Or they quit now without really knowing why they are quitting, and they can't quite tell us when we ask them. It's as if," he said bitterly, "they don't really believe in airplanes any more."

The crisis in faith affects the political parties, too. There was, first, that sense of falling away in Democratic strength, noted in the Summer, notably the collapse in California, when party managers, turning expectantly to areas in which there used to be hundreds of thousands of Democratic voters, suddenly found them to be not there any longer, gone, vanished, like the little people of the night.

NOT GOP GAIN

For a while the Republicans confidently expected the missing Democrats to turn up in the ranks of the GOP, but lately a word of caution has gone through Republican circles, too. The Democratic loss is not a sure Republican gain; the elections which have just been held in Maine have turned in a moderate Republican victory, but the vote was the lightest in sixteen years, a fact which supports the theory that there is a falling away from both parties, from politics itself.

I do not use the phrase "a crisis of faith" lightly; it seems to me that all these small signs are appallingly important, eerie indications of an internal dislocation among men who have discovered that in this gay postwar world they are sentenced to fight each other on the unkempt battlefield of inflation, and perhaps to struggle with the rest of the planet as well. No expert has yet had that trick to why men sell stocks; or fall away from their old political parties, or shout down their own union leaders, but in the internal chemistry of man, dislocation does produce dislocation, and men who have lost a world to which they had looked forward now feel lost themselves.

SEEK DIRECTION

The queerness which is upon us is the queerness of being lost, and men stop short, and wait, and listen amid the contemporary cackle for a voice which will have in it the authentic accent of leadership and direction.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round • Hannegan And Truman Are Drifting Apart

(Note—Drew Pearson today presents the brass ring, good for one free ride on The Washington Merry-Go-Round, to Postmaster General Robert E. Hannegan, the man who nominated Harry Truman.)

WASHINGTON

AMONG those close to the White House, the betting is strong that Robert E. Hannegan will bow out as Postmaster General and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee shortly after the November elections. In fact some of the palace-guardsmen are very much hoping that he will.

According to all ordinary rules, Hannegan has every reason for resigning. His health is bad—seriously bad. His doctors have warned him that he must get out or risk shortening his life. His wife is insistent that he resign. She is fed up with politics and Washington.

Perhaps even more important from the political viewpoint, the man Hannegan put in the White House has twice gone out of his way to anub him—though probably there was inside palace politics at the root of both snubs.

When Truman flew back from voting in the August Missouri primary, Hannegan and his hated Cabinet rival, Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, both were waiting in St. Louis for transportation back to Washington. The Presidential plane stopped to pick up Snyder but left Hannegan to come by train.

Snyder's Inferiority Complex

THE Secretary of the Treasury suffers from acute inferiority complex whenever Mr. Truman goes any place without him. In fact, it is a standing joke around the White House that when certain people call on the President, Snyder rushes over and sits around outside the President's door in order to be first to find out what was talked about. This is especially true when Hannegan is a visitor, following which Snyder's chief aim is to counteract whatever Hannegan has proposed.

When Snyder finally finagled his way aboard the Presidential yacht for the Bermuda trip, Truman decided, as an after thought, to invite Hannegan to meet the yacht on its return to Hampton Roads. When Hannegan arrived, great pains were taken to convince newsmen that he and Snyder were getting along like a pair of fraternity brothers. White House Secretary Charlie Ross even managed to keep a straight face when he announced to newsmen that Hannegan and Snyder had been conferring on the yacht "all afternoon."

Real fact was that the two men met only briefly, and then in a large group which mingled around the President.

"Hannegan and Snyder haven't enough to talk about 'all afternoon'", cracked one man who was along, "unless they spent it calling each other names."

New Dealer Hannegan

CABINET insiders say that regardless of his relations with Snyder, Hannegan has now become the most hard-hitting, pro-Roosevelt member of the Truman Cabinet. When Jim Farley was Postmaster General, he confined his Cabinet advice largely to things political. The same was also true of Frank Walker.

But Hannegan is an aggressive, sometimes a disagreeable battler on policy matters—especially New Deal policies. He believes that the best politics come from giving the country the best policies. All the money he raises from Jackson Day dinners, all the organization work he does with local Democrats can't win a victory, argues Hannegan, as long as fumblers mess up policy around the White House.

Snyder Wins Out

BUT a conservative minority, led by Snyder and supported by War and Navy Secretaries Patterson and Forrestal (one a renegade Republican, the other a renegade Wall Streeter) frequently wins out. Secret of their success is that Snyder slips in and has the last word with Truman.

One reason Hannegan and the man he put in the White House are drifting apart is that the Postmaster General tells him blunt, disagreeable things. Snyder, on the other hand, tells him things he likes to hear. Hannegan's frank criticism makes his chief uncomfortable. Snyder, on the other hand, has an easy-going mediocre mind which makes the President feel at ease. He doesn't relish being surrounded for too long by superior intellects.

These are some of the factors which make Capital observers think Hannegan will quit in November.

However, as Harry Truman himself once remarked: "Bob is a fighter. He hates to lose."

And those who know him best believe Hannegan will continue on, battling from the most advantageous point—the inside—to keep the man he put in the White House on his original path, pledged to follow Roosevelt.