THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

And Evening Chronicle

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● W. C. Dowd, 1865-1927 ●

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Fourth Term

It Already Casts a Shadow Across a War-Busy Nation

Yesterday, on the tenth anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's rise to power, the shadow of the future lay across the land. Of all the decade of dissonance, there was no year to rival the time of crisis held by 1943—and already that year is marked by the coming of 1944 and the Fourth Term. The new term, drawing only a Presidential smile in press conference, is a great deal more than a political possibility for the United States. It is tangled with the hopes and dreams of all the world.

The chances look good that the peace will be written in 1945, and that magic hour will fall either in the fourth term of Franklin Roosevelt's reign or in the time of the New Republican rise (under Wendell Willkie or John Bricker). And the people of Europe and the Far East want to know in what time the peace will be written. The world is anxious about the extension of the New Deal into the post-war world—and for the selfsame reason there is unrest in Washington.

A crafty political warrior, the President will leave friends and foes to battle, Fourth Term out for themselves. Should he now renounce Term Four, he might bring peace to his opponents, and find Congress in a friendlier mood. But such an announcement might also bring chaos to his own party, as his influence decreased and group fought group for power. It is a virtual cinch that the President will keep his secret to himself.

Meanwhile, without need for secrecy, Candidate Willkie renews his public activity. The first presidential primaries are less than a year away, and Willkie may be expected to enter almost all of them (in 1940, he entered none). Of other Republicans, Taft, Vandenburg and Dewey are out of the picture. Minnesota's Governor Stassen will soon be in the Navy; Willkie is left with Bricker in the GOP stable. One of these men will seriously challenge the President. Willkie may have an excellent chance to defeat him.

In the light of those shadows across the land, the very effort for war is affected; victory soon or victory late becomes a sort of political goal. For, if Franklin Roosevelt calls for a Fourth Term after the war is won, his chances of winning will be the less. If he goes into the race with the world still burning, he has every right to expect victory. For, under the shadow of the future, Americans think they see a better way to conduct the peace than under the New Deal. They see no better way to make war than under Franklin Roosevelt.

Competition

Gandhi's Fast Isn't the Only One Going On in These Times

This week, after 21 days of fasting in the story-book palace of the Aga Khan, with anxious physicians fluttering about him and half the world concerned for him Mohandas K. Gandhi came to the end of his ninth attempt at political blackmail by a hunger strike. His fast was successful, in that he weathered a dangerous crisis and emerged in a passable condition. It was unsuccessful in that it failed to break the will of the Indian Government.

Gandhi is still interned and probably will be until the end of the war. His three weeks of hunger were fit no help to his followers; indeed, the failure of the fast as an instrument of his soft-pedal power politics may detract from Gandhi's power in the eyes of his people.

He fasted for a principle; one upon which few Americans are capable of passing judgment. Uncomplainingly, he subjected his aging body to self-inflicted punishment, that his cause of a free India might be advanced. He lived through his ordeal, and still failed.

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On the day Gandhi finished his fast and gave himself up to his doctors, there came a story from the West Indies of the seventeen British sailors who had just been rescued from the open seas of the South Atlantic. They, like Gandhi, had suffered for 21 days, but not from choice. Since a Nazi submarine had blasted their ship in Mid-Atlantic, they had drifted helplessly. They also served a cause, but without a pained expression of martyrdom.

These sailors fasted, too, but for no political purposes. They starved and died and fought storms by night and burning sun by day for their very lives. They would not have thought themselves to be fighting for freedom; and certainly they were not, in the Gandhi fashion. To us, the fast of the seventeen in the South Atlantic seems more convincing than the staged act of suffering in the great palace at Poona. It is easier for us to believe the seventeen carry a message of truth.

Plebiscite

Chief Anderson Gets Support For His Merit System Plan

If evidence was needed that Charlotte is concerned over conditions in its Police Department it was offered yesterday. In the record crowd packed into the Civil Service Commission hearing of two suspended policemen were many of the City's leading and representative citizens. They were on hand to express their confidence in Chief Walter Anderson, and to lend their presence as moral support. It was an unusual occasion.

Every year the Police Department has known suspensions; ordinarily they draw little attention from the public. In the case of Officers Severs and Hailey, however, there were several factors to stir the City consciousness and compel its interest. There was the half-defined issue of Chief vs. labor union, the newness of the Chief to his job—and, most important of all, the Chief's outspoken declaration that his department would be placed on a merit-and-efficiency basis, regardless.

That statement by Walter Anderson caused little public comment, except in editorial columns, but citizens of the community who feel a concern for good government took the words to heart. That they did, and that they remembered, was evidenced by yesterday's crowd. The case, for the several stated reasons, assumed an importance out of all proportion. But in the infraction of what might be considered minor department rules, the City found an issue, and was quick to take sides: The people want their Police Chief to proceed with his clean-up program in his Department. They have cast a vote for efficiency at any price.

Turning Point

Jap Pays Ever-Higher Price For Contact With U. S. Power

Now the Jap can ruefully reflect that it was in the cursed sea of Bismarck that his great war caught up with him, and he knew for the first time that he would certainly meet disaster—and that it would not be long in coming. For the stunning victory of American air power over the Jap armada in that area is not simply an inspiring victory; it begins a new phase of the war against Japan. It is the prophecy of Admiral Halsey, beginning now to seem like the incredible truth.

It was not all-important that the enemy lost his 22 ships, 55 planes and 15,000 men. Though that was a terrible price to pay in any engagement, the Jap can still stand such losses, especially in manpower. For his armies are scarcely touched, and his planes are certainly more numerous than we had assumed. His shipping pool dwindles, but at sea he is still powerful. What was of far greater significance than the numerical losses was the percentage of loss. The Jap's battle casualties seem to rise geometrically, when he is long engaged with our fighting men.

This, certainly, is the kind of victory Admiral Halsey had in mind when he shocked his colleagues and delighted the people back home with a prediction of victory over Japan in 1943, and his roar that the Jap warriors were only monkeys in uniform. Perhaps the Admiral talked out of turn, for this one victory does not mean the fall of Tokyo; but it becomes apparent now that he foresaw a point in the Pacific war after which the law of diminishing returns would set in for Japan.

He saw that, as the enemy continued to send inferior weapons and men against growing American power, victories would become easier and greater for us. He saw just such a day as dawned in the Bismarck Sea, when an entire armada was sent to its doom at the price of four planes. Because of victories like that to come, there need be no island-by-island conquest. There is an easier way.

An Army Of Mercy

The Long Shadow Of One Man

By Dorothy Thompson

WASHINGTON

IN a time when one man movements have thrown the whole globe into fearful war, let us consider the influence of one man who founded a world-wide institution which, in the midst of war, is a rallying point for the conscience of mankind.

Jean Henri Dunant was a Swiss. He was a citizen of a country that for nearly a hundred years had never known foreign war. He was a citizen of the world's oldest and most stable democracy. This democracy was founded upon humanistic and religious principles, and on these principles had achieved that which has perennially been considered impossible in Europe; a federation of peoples of three separate races and nations, without a dynasty or monarchal principle to hold them together; a Republic, founded upon an Oath of Fellowship; a state and a community based upon the twin principles of Liberty and Duty.

Jean Henri Dunant was a true citizen of this state. He believed in international peace and in the possibility of achieving it. He was also what would be called today an "emotionalist."

War horrified him. And he saw, even at that time, that war was becoming more terrible from year to year. He was not a powerful statesman who, from a position of mastery, could create a new world order. He concerned himself with a small question; he limited his field of operation to one in which he had had a tremendous emotional experience: a battlefield. In the Franco-Austrian war, he had seen, at the Battle of Solferino, wounded men, left to perish; heard cries, moans, and pleas for help that met no response.

He raised the question in his mind whether even in war these were not some laws of humanity above war. And out of his troubled heart and stricken conscience, he wrote a pamphlet, a book, describing that battlefield and saying, "I hope I may live to see the leaders of the Military Art of different nationalities agree upon some secret international principle, sanctioned by convention, which, once signed and ratified would serve as a basis for the creation of societies for the aid of the wounded in the different European countries."

Now this one man alone, appealing to the noblest instincts in all men, had an immediate response. But he did not exploit it for his personal ambition. He had felt in himself the pressure of an idea, the urgency of a need, the desire to help. And that was why his idea could be accepted all around the world. The seed planted grew. A small committee was formed. The committee called a convention; the convention had 26 governments participating, democracies and dictatorships.

This convention created the International Red Cross, a private institution, privately controlled, but under the support of governments from the beginning. In the midst of world power politics an international brotherhood was formed. And this new fraternity, based upon humanism and conscience, laid the foundations for some international law.

This fraternity adopted a flag. There was one national flag in the world that recommended itself. It was and is the only national flag that bears the Christian cross, and nothing else. That is the Swiss flag. A White Cross on a red field. It is the only European flag that has never been connected with any racialism, dynastic ambition, imperialism, or conquest. It is a flag under which Germans, French, and Italians live and forget that they are different peoples. The colors in this flag were reversed . . . a red cross on a white field. And immediately this flag became a flag of nations, under which, in war or peace, there was one humanity.

That was 79 years ago. And today an insult to this flag is considered by everybody to be the greatest crime against humanity.

The story of Jean Henri Dunant is the fulfillment of the words of Jesus, that "He who loseth his life shall lose it, but he who loseth his life . . . shall find it." Jean Henri Dunant lost his own personality in a movement. But the movement is "the lengthened shadow of one man."

The flag that once flew only over battlefields now flies wherever there is disaster, from fire or flood or famine. Wherever it shines it declares that men are brothers. It defies the principle of total war. It declares that there is no such thing—that even in total war there are human principles. It protects the wounded, and the prisoner. As the one man, Jean Henri Dunant, was the antithesis of the one man Hitler, so the Red Cross is the antithesis of the Hooked Cross of Nazism.

This flag is kept aloft by millions of private individuals. The Empire over which it flies has no armies, no tax-collectors, and no boundaries. All can join this Order of Mankind, by the work of their hands, the risk of their lives, and the gift of a single dollar. This month the American Red Cross seeks to raise a fund of $125,000,000. It is not enough. One can have no higher ambition for ones country than that, in the midst of its bitterest and most decisive war, it shall outdo every nation in its support of the Red Cross.

Insomnia

—By Herblock

Co-Operation Is Easy

Now Is The Time

By Raymond Clapper

WASHINGTON

AN expert is someone who makes things sound complicated. Experts make the organization of victory seem so complicated that they discourage people into thinking that perhaps such a difficult task better not be attempted.

Of course the questions are complicated. Every question that comes before the Supreme Court is complicated. But the court itself is a simple, broadly inspired institution that anybody can understand. It exists to handle complicated border-line questions. Likewise it is precisely because post-war affairs are so complicated that we need an organization, such as a continuing conference of the United Nations, to deal with them.

The fact that the questions are difficult, with much to be said on both sides, is exactly the reason for having an international institution to handle them—not a reason against it. As President Eric Johnston of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce says, tomorrow's world will be an international world.

If you don't have something like a United Nations organization, you will have anarchy, with every nation trying to chisel out its own place just as Premier Sikorski of Poland is running from London here and back and bickering with Moscow, trying to muscle out a safe place for Poland after the war. Of course it is complicated, with the big powers intent on strategic frontiers regardless of the little fellows.

But are these issues to be fought out by propaganda and pressure and power politics under conditions or anarchy where international blackmail is a common weapon? Or is not the fact that these problems are complex, with much justice on both sides, a strong reason for trying to place them inside an organization with technical facilities and deliberative processes? Suppose Supreme Court cases were fought out in political campaigns instead of inside the courtroom?

We should remember that it was the issue of Poland's territory that set off this war.

You can't talk about abandoning force in this world. You can only offer an alternative to force, as the Shotwell Commission to Study the Organization of Peace says in its third report, just issued. Force, says this realistic and practical, but broad-visioned report, is inescapable in human affairs. It cannot merely be abandoned. It must be controlled and used.

War has been used for exploitation and conquest. But it also has been used to maintain rights, to uphold principles on which civilization advances. War has been used as the last resort by which a nation could settle its disputes, defend its rights, or remedy its wrongs. These are necessary functions, for which provision must be made in any society—as the Shotwell Commission's report emphasized. No nation can give up its right to make war, no matter how stupid or costly this method may be, until a substitute has been provided which can serve these purposes.

An international police force is necessary to restrain aggressors. But that is not enough. We must have a method for settling disputes, for remedying an unjust situation and for changing an unsatisfactory status quo.

Where do you start? You start by calling the United Nations into continuing conference—not to set up those permanent institutions, but to do emergency work on a small scale as a provisional body now.

Lady In The News

From The Christian Science Monitor

IT IS possible to write more knowingly of Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek after she has addressed Congress and shared a press conference with President and Mrs. Roosevelt, but even before that many persons were more eager to see the Generalissimo's wife than any other visitor who has come to the United States in many a long day.

Partly it's because what Wendell L. Willkie said about her irresistible charm when he came back from China.

Partly it's what Mrs. Roosevelt told friends about Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek's confidence in herself and other women as world peacemakers after she had visited the Generalissimo's wife in a New York hospital.

Partly it's what Pearl Buck has been writing for a number of years about Chinese women's good fortune not to have been spoiled by male chivalry. Largely it's because of what Emily Hahn tells about the Soong family's use of Christian doctrines in her book, "The Soong Sisters."

The Christianity which Charlie Soong, the father of Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek, learned about from his Methodist foster-parents in Durham, N. C., back in the 1880's was nothing to be memorized and put away. When Mr. Soong went back to China he married a descendant of Hsu Kwang-ki, one of the first Christians in China.

The mother of the Soong children is described by Miss Hahn as "a Spartan disciplinarian" who used as her authority the Church. "The children must behave because of God," was her attitude.

After an American education at Wesleyan College for Women at Macon, Ga., where she tagged along with older sisters, four years at Wellesley College, and ten years in social work in Shanghai, Mayling Soong was married to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek in two ceremonies, the Christian and the Orthodox Chinese.

Mrs. Soong had opposed her daughter's marriage because the Generalissimo was not a Christian. She asked him if he would be willing to become a Christian. His answer was that he would try. He would study the Bible, he promised, but he could not promise, sight unseen, to accept the Christian faith.

Three years later the Generalissimo took time off from his military duties to join the Church. He had studied the Bible as he promised and found in it the satisfaction that Mrs. Soong had predicted. Moreover, he had discovered, he said, that the best of his officers were Christians.

"Since his baptism," Miss Hahn reports, "the Generalissimo has been as regular as his duties permit in his attendance at church. He finds comfort and guidance in prayer, taking refuge in a period of quiet on his knees whenever he has an important decision to make. Every day when he rises at 5:30 he says his prayers as unfailingly as he writes in his diary and that is a part of his daily routine that he never forgets."

Simple Simons

Fight Or Die

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

I MUST catch up on my obscurantisms. Mr. Herbert Hoover argues that there is a shipping bottleneck which limits the number of men and the quantities of munitions we can send abroad. Therefore, says he, we should turn some of our soldiers back to farming for the year, and some of our munitions factories back to producing farm machinery. That will solve the food problem. Solve it cheaply, too. The price we'd pay would be merely to postpone our offensive for a year.

It turns out there's nothing to solving this food problem during a war. All you have to do is not fight the war, just yet. It is so simple and has escaped us all.

I say it is obscurantism when a shipping bottleneck, which holds up the war, becomes the answer to the farmer's prayer. This would be the first case in history in which we would solve one war problem, food, by the lucky discovery that there was a still harder problem, shipping. I say it is obscurantism when it is proposed that we eat on the war's hard luck.

Of course, if somebody solved the shipping problem, that would smash Mr. Hoover's food plan to splinters. It is a strange solution which depends on non-success in another field. The thought might even occur to some mighty riveter, working on a cargo vessel, that if he broke too many records he would be taking the food out of his children's mouths. Mr. Hoover's hope that we can solve our problems easily is apparently based on his conviction that our problems are too hard to solve.

Other obscurantist devices go further. Senator Bankhead wants all farmers furloughed out of the Army for ten months. That would men ten per cent of the ground forces. The Senator doesn't even care if we do have the ships. So, while Mr. Hoover's plan would take men out of the Army for want of ships, Mr. Bankhead's plan could conceivably leave ships idle for want of men. Then, I suppose, a third statesman might suggest that their crews be used for farming.

Underlying all these obscure proposals is the outrageous theory that it is somehow abnormal to have shortages during a total effort. The opposition actually regards shortages as a sign of failure, when, obviously, in a country as rich as ours, they are a clear sign of success in mounting a war effort big enough to reach down deep. You can't have it big and cozy, both; just big is all.

If it is not big enough to hurt, it is not total. It's interesting that the obscurantist attack on the food problem is a direct attack on totality. It says, in so many words, take men out of the Army. You couldn't have a clearer obscurantism, so to speak. The Administration is willing to sacrifice food to totality. The obscurantist opposition is willing to sacrifice totality to food.

And, while charging Mr. Roosevelt with bungling, it subtly changes the terms of the problem on him. It says: "We could solve the food problem; all we need is a smaller war effort." But Mr. Roosevelt is trying to do it in terms of a bigger war effort. The two problems are not the same problem. The opposition is not merely proposing a different food plan; it is proposing a different war.

Mr. Roosevelt could solve the food problem, too, in terms of a smaller war. Anybody could.

It might be supposed, also, that if the opposition wants us to fight with fewer men, it would be in favor of a second front. It should want to fight while the Russian offensive is going on. That offensive means lesser pressure on us in the West, just as our offensive would mean lesser pressure on Russia in the East. But one scans Mr. Hoover's texts in vain for support of instant offensive action. He wants to fight the war both with fewer men, and at a later date.

Visitin' Around

Phylas And Slow Time Work a Miracle

(Barbee's Grove item, Stanly News & Press)

Our Sunday School has been progressing fine our the leadership of our new superintendent, Phylas Hartsell. We have changed the hour of Sunday school from 10 o'clock fast time back to 10 o'clock slow time. This is due to shorter days and colder weather. Remember this and come on and join us in our Sunday school work.

Side Glances

"I always did think making us kids take dancing lessons was silly, but in war time, wasting all this shoe leather is treason!"