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And Evening Chronicle

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Long Fight

Diablic in Aerial Bombs is Nose On the Way Out

This week, with the installation of the ferry service from London to the Ruhr to Africa to Italy and back, is an appropriate time to pause and consider the development of bombardment aviation in the United States (for that's where it was born) and to evaluate the gains of the aerial offensive of the past few weeks against the fierce battle it ceased through many bitter years of peace.

It may be remembered that the first aerial dogfight was fought with small arms; shotgun and pistols were the only arms carried in early days, and the bombing was unknown. Shortly after the end of the World War, however, young American officers in the Air Corps began a quest which led to the humiliation and expulsion of General Billy Mitchell, and the abandonment of literally hundreds of military officers who should have been working in close co-operation for their country.

The tests were many, there was the old battleship Utah in the Pacific (remains unannounced) more ships in the Atlantic, and the doomed concrete bridge near Rockingham, N. C. The evidence was conclusive in one respect, the Air Corps could blow hell out of its targets. But the opposition, centered in the Army and Navy, never gave up. Much of it still refuses to give up, and the aerial offensive being carried on this moment is being fought in spite of their wishes.

In 1933, when the Flying Fortress was designed, Billy Mitchell was gone, and a handful of men, led by General Andrews, Col. (now General) Howard and General MacDill turned to the work of general bombing with a custom-built house of grooves and wings. The job, and it did it well, but it took the Germans to prove that the Fortress, as an example of advanced bombardment aviation, would do the job. In the first horrible shock of German triumph in Europe, nations began frantic, desperate catch up on aviation progress. That America had to scramble as swiftly as the rest was a tribute to the stubbornness of Army and Navy brass hats.

A few days ago, Winston Churchill told Congress that the attempt to bomb Germany out of the present war might not be successful, but that was at least an statement worth trying. That was the boldest statement yet made by a high-placed Allied leader on the whole continent of Europe, and it forestalled the argument that it is now being tried. It may be months before the results are known, but we already know that the long argument, that a record so uncomplimentary to American military, is coming to an end.

Gayda, speaking for the Duce, complains of a lack of exactitude in our demands. Let us then amplify the same in following: the terms are unconditional surrender, and the word in English is Uncle.

Mr. Bradford

The City Loses A Fine Citizen

This community will feel deeply its loss through the death of W. B. Bradford. A native of this country, his life exemplified those sturdy qualities which have characterized Mecklenburgers from the days of the first settlers—Independence of mind, integrity, loyalty, a highly developed sense of responsibilities to God and fellow man. Mr. Bradford's influence was felt in many phases of community life. Most of his adult life was spent as a civil servant in the Charlotte Post Office. During the past several years as assistant postmaster, his abilities to inspire the confidence of his co-workers and to organize their endeavors were reflected in the outstanding record which the Post Office here made throughout the years of his administration. While some men would have retired

The Anti-Strike Law

Will It Prevent Strikes?

By James Marlow and George Zietz

WASHINGTON—The first big question pinned to the new anti-strike law today is: Will it get back to work in the nation's coal pits the miners walked out last week and refused to return? If the present scale of the shutdowns lasts long enough the whole war production effort may be crippled by military schedules thereby wrecked for lack of coal.

In war plants seized by the Government—as the mines have been seized—the law forbids individuals to remain away from work if they decide to do that individually but it provides fines and a jail penalty for those conspiring to lay off work in such a plant. Could the Government attempt to arrest 100,000 or 200,000 or even 15,000 miners who refused to go back to the coal pits even if it was found in some way they all had agreed to stay away?

For labor attorneys say this would be an impossible job. What then? The same attorneys say the Government might act against a handful of mine leaders, holding them responsible under the "conspiracy" provision if it was found they had helped promote the strike.

But the top leadership of the United Mine Workers—John L. Lewis and his Policy Committee—last Tuesday, three days before the anti-strike measure became law, instructed the miners to return to work until Oct. 31.

Only 60 per cent of the 600,000 miners near the week's end had accepted the order and gone back to the pits.

Did the rest of the miners remain home because each of them individually decided to stay home? Or did they pass the word among themselves that they would, or did some one tell them to? That might need plenty of investigating. But suppose the Government acted against that "handful of mine leaders" who might be, for example, local leaders well-known and liked by the miners—would that soften the miners' determination to stay away from work?

Already they have been reported in angry mood by a Pittsburgh district leader who expressed hope they would return to the pits for the sake of the "draft trust" (meaning President Roosevelt's plan to draft strikers from 45 to 65 for non-combat military service) is just like pouring more oil on the fire.

"It doesn't do us any good and several officials from localities have telephoned that a growing attitude among some miners is that they will 'stay out until they draft me.'"

But there are other questions.

Will organized labor withdraw from the war? That would mean that the Government would be without industry and public members? If they do, what will happen to the board which was created to settle labor disputes? Congressional supporters of the anti-strike measure said one of its principal purposes was to strengthen the board's power, but American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations heads have notified the President the anti-strike law is "tantamount to a declaration of war" and might force their withdrawal from it.

Will the law actually prevent strikes in war plants? That is the question actually asked: "out of preventing strikes? Or does the law, which specifically permits a strike vote, actually provide the means by which the Government would step in and nullify the vote?"

In the past the Government could step into a war plant where a strike was threatened and seize the plant. The law now forbids strikes in plants already seized by the Government. But what of the plants not seized by the Government? In the latter case, when a labor dispute arises, the employees' representatives under the law can notify the Government there is a dispute. Nothing is supposed to happen then for thirty days, a so-called cooling off period which the President says might well be a "boiling" period.

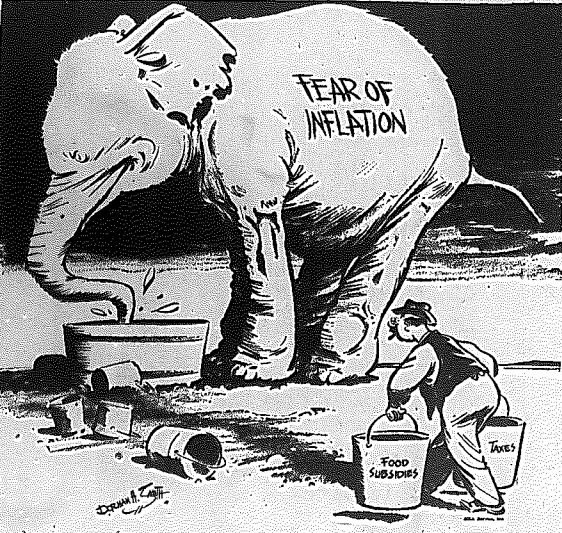
Then a vote is taken on the workers' desires. But suppose there were 200 workers in a plant and 650 voted to continue on the job, while 400 voted to quit. Could the Government compel that 400 to keep working? Labor attorneys say no, that the 400 could quit. If that happened, war production would suffer. But the law also provides that the President may seize a war plant when he finds work has been interrupted there.

Quitting of 400 workers out of 1,000 certainly would interrupt work. Would the Government then seize the plant? If it did, would the provision for holding strikes then apply? And, if it did, would that nullify the strike vote of the 400 and compel them to return to their jobs?

In other words: Is there double-talk in the law which permits one kind of action and then provides the machinery for canceling out the action? Time will give the answer to these questions, perhaps, but while they are being solved war production hangs in the balance.

Our White Elephant

—By Dorman Smith



Big Problems

The Germans Must Answer

By Samuel Crafton

THE opinion of the average American or Englishman on how to treat the Germans after the war is approximately as important as his opinion on crop prospects in the year 1952. For the question cannot be answered now, and is not an American question, anyway. Nor is it an English question. It is a German question, if the Germans want us to treat them gently, then they must form a national plan, among themselves, which might induce us to treat them gently. The responsibility is theirs, not ours.

The Germans are a living mass. Their futures depend, as do the futures of all peoples, on their own decisions, and on their own mistakes, so. It is not up to us to invent a German future. They are our problem, as we are their problem, and it is up to them to solve their problem, as it is up to us to solve ours. If they decide to solve their problem (the special problem of living in a world they have created) by setting up a democratic revolution, then well and good. We shall look that revolution over, and see how we like it.

Another American writer raises the old doubt, that the Germans might stage a false democratic revolution, and erect an insincere, unpurged, unclean republic, as a means of starting all over again. Again, I say, that is a German problem. If they think they can solve their problem by inventing a pseudo-democracy, let them try it that way. It is a matter of indifference to us. If by that choice, they fail to solve their problem, by failing to win our confidence, then they will have to take the consequences, as all peoples must take the consequences of their decisions and their mistakes. Let the Germans talk it over among themselves. It is their decision.

I promise only, as an individual American, to fight to the last breath in support of a real German democracy, should one arise that merits confidence. Well, and if the Germans want such support from millions of democratically-minded Americans and Englishmen, let them set up as they wish to obtain it. That is one of the conditions of their problem. Let them talk it over. Let them ask each other: Do we want that support? Or can we do without it? Again, the decision is theirs and the consequences are theirs.

Side Glances



"Just look at the bill! Mr. Jones sent me for fixing that leak in the shower bath—I'm certainly going to speak to his wife about that!"

The Cutups

Nervous French

By Raymond Clapper

RECENT temperamental antics of General de Gaulle have had a depressing effect here, as they must have had in Washington, because the duel of prime donnas at Algiers warns us of the difficulties that will be involved in the restoration of France. Perhaps it is not going to be possible to work it out in advance. Perhaps we will have to wait for new leaders to rise from the soil of France. The appalling fact is that, in some areas, leadership material is running very thin. You recall the one-time leader of the Labor Party has just repudiated his best leader Herbert Morrison, for the antiquated Arthur Greenwood, in a grudge fight. The Labor Party has almost no leadership material outside of Morrison. Younger men have been snuffed out by the practice of partitioning retired trade-union officials apart and broken down, into Parliament as Labor Party members. The same dearth of good leadership shows in the French situation.

It is of vital importance that a strong France be reconstituted. Britain must have the bulkward of a friendly France on the Continent. That is Britain's forward zone. She could not possibly afford to see the French Republic across the Channel melt. That accounts for the British promptness in picking up de Gaulle and building him up as the leader of the Free French.

While all acknowledge that de Gaulle more than anyone else outside of France represents the flaming spirit of Free France, he certainly is a cantankerous customer to handle. As has been often said, patriotism alone is not enough. The Gaullie syndrome the France that must come to life again, but if he is going to have a part in the process he must work with others, which he thus far has shown no capacity for doing.

If it were possible to turn to other leaders who are coming along to bring up some one else, it would be wise to do so. De Gaulle has made so many enemies, has so irritated his best friends, that it is questionable whether he could swing the job now even if his every whim had been granted. He and Giraud seem to have succeeded in canceling each other out for the real task of leading France after the defeat of Germany.

Meantime, the chief hope lies not in prime donnas but in such practical and skillful negotiators as Jean Monnet, who has the confidence of the British as well as of the Americans. He is in Washington, as a member of the French Purchasing Mission and later with the British Supply Council, Monnet won the confidence of Americans and had the respect and confidence of the White House to a degree that makes him far more useful than figures who live more in the spotlight.

Perhaps the best bet would be to lean on such good administrators as Monnet to carry on the task of leading France. Affairs together until Germany is defeated and the people of France can have an opportunity to indicate their wishes. It would probably be better, instead of trying to have a makeshift leader like de Gaulle, to lean on able second-layer men for the time being. De Gaulle threatened to go away sulking to Brazzaville if his every desire was not met, and perhaps it would be better if he were allowed to do so.

That, as well as the plight of the Labor Party in Britain, and perhaps the state of American politics, especially on the Democratic side, suggests that the problem that the British and Americans face is not all the democracies. Dictatorships frankly rest on the leadership of one man. Democracies must have a flow of leaders, new shoots coming up. But instead we get the dictatorship of a few men who are tired or who have developed temperamental limitations.

Military leadership seems to appear plentifully. We need the same thing politically.

In Russia

Hitler Was Right

HITLER'S intuition seems still to have been working—though only about a year late—on June 23, 1941. For on that day the Führer's machine, with its ominous grinding of gears and clanking of iron, rolled into Russia, the Führer said:

Germany soldiers! You are entering on a hard and momentous struggle. The fate of Europe, the future of the German Reich, and the very existence of our German people now is committed into your hands. Later the world was to become accustomed to repeated "annihilation" of the Russian armies and to Nazi propaganda which said that what the father of geo-politics, Sir Halford J. Mackinder, called the world's "heartland" was all but over. Anything beyond the brutal conquests which led to the fall of France were needed to convince free peoples of the world-scale of Hitler's designs. The attack on Russia provided proof. This threatened a combination of material resources long recognized by strategists as almost synonymous with world conquest.

As Mackinder points out in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, Russia's "most developed agriculture and industries lay directly in the path of the invader. The Second Five Year Plan would have revealed that situation had the German aggression been delayed a couple of years. Perhaps that was one of Hitler's reasons for breaking his treaty with Stalin in 1941.