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New Phase

Berlin Finds War Changed Since Last She Was Hit

The sacred soil of the Third Reich, upon which the saintly Herman Goering has promised no simple bomb would fall, has suffered untold horrors under bombing of the Royal Air Force for two years. In the West, great areas lie in rubble and ruins; many an industrial center is no more, many key cities are no longer fit for war service. But Berlin has escaped lightly.

Not since November, 1941 had the sirens wailed there, and the war-weary people scattered for the shelters. For 433 consecutive nights, there had been sleep for Berlin—if its millions could forget the crowded hospital trains with their broken burdens from the East, and the growing hardships of life in the time of Hitler's war. But on Saturday, the calm was disturbed. The Englishmen were back up there again, as Berlin knew and she would be.

This time they plastered the city with unbelievable fury. Bigger bombs from more planes set off bigger fires, and lay waste huge sections of the city. And there was almost no resistance to meet them. Where once there were countless searchlights to sweep the sky, there was now only one pitiful little finger of light. The anti-aircraft fire was light, no one knew why, and the British dropped their bombs as they wished.

It was the coming, perhaps, of a new phase of the war. British air power, aided by American production and the appearance in increasing numbers of American air forces in England, has risen above that of the Germans. If Hitler still has a great air force of effectives, he has it tied down in Russia, in Africa, and in the conquered lands. When the test came, there was no defense for his Berlin. And when he struck back at London, the effort was picaresque. The balance in the air has shifted.

If this is the time of a new war of attrition by trading bomber blows, the outcome is certain to result in victory for England and the United Nations. London has seen her days and nights of greatest shock. Berlin has only begun her test. And if the German capital is not the important military objective that the industrial cities of the Ruhr have been, her pounding will still serve to notify Hitler's people that the end is near. Even nearer than they had dreamed.

Encore

Habitual Criminals, as Well As Drunks, Need Discipline

Representative McDougle's habitual drunkenness bill, designed to make life hard for Mecklenburg's perennial tipplers, drives at the heart of Charlotte's most cherished weakness of the flesh. City Police Court records for 1942 will show that the drunks led off the motley assemblage parading before the bar of justice and in 1942, a lean year for local crime, they did themselves up in 10,000 cases.

Of a total of 10,214 cases in the court, 3,688 of the defendants were drunks and in addition there were 87 cases of drunken driving, 170 drunk-and-disorderlies. A great number of them came up time and again kept out of jail only because of the humane limit on their sentences. Monotonously, the repeaters come back. One famous character, the Negro, Mann Smith, sports a record of 82 appearances in recent years.

Obviously, a bill such as Mr. McDougle proposes would depress the drunk business in the courts. It would provide for stiffer sentences for the repeaters. That, of course, is a step toward justice for the law, and to clear the courts for other business. It seems to us that the bill should become law, not only for Mecklenburg, but for all counties.

But we trust that the General Assembly will not stop there, short of the goal of reform. North Carolina is sadly in need of a similar law aimed at habitual criminals, to empower courts to rid society of persistent law-breakers for long periods. Legislation based on New York's famous "Laws" would provide the relief needed by the state's courts. Perhaps the sentence for habitual criminals is overly severe, but a good, stiff penalty is the indicated remedy for the problem. As a threat and cure for continual

delinquency, such legislation is unopposed, in addition it bolsters the total authority of any government. Perhaps the drunks who have aroused Mr. McDougle are not actually criminals at all, but mere psychopathic cases. But inasmuch as they run afoul of the law, and inasmuch as the great tribe of their brethren burden society, their constant attendance in court calls for control. It should be answered.

Slim Chance

Senate Brevis An Old-Fashioned Storm for Minister Ed Flynn

The savage attacks upon Ed Flynn from the Senate chambers may or may not forecast failure for the President's move to appoint that worthy as Minister to Australia; they do indicate that Flynn and his character will emerge so battered, and torn, that if he does reach Australia he'll be in no condition to attend to the business of diplomacy. For the Senate, in its present mood, is well beyond control.

Boss Flynn's tribulations serve as a reminder that Franklin Roosevelt has had a remarkable record of failure in his attempts to push through major nominations. The Senate, despite the overwhelming strength of the Democratic Party during his time, has been consistently rebellious toward the President. With its accustomed classiness based upon the principle of "Senatorial Courtesy," it has thrown many a candidate, and there are many another.

Democratic Senators from a non-home state can give automatic rejections simply by calling upon this tradition. In '39, the Senate turned down Floyd H. Roberts as a district judge in Virginia by a vote of 72 to 9, in a sign from Senators Glass and Byrd. In '34, the President was forced to withdraw a Louisiana nomination obnoxious to Huey Long.

The President has often avoided rejection by withdrawals, and has had difficulties, even with favorite sons like Rex Tugwell, Harry Hopkins, and Tom Meany. The confirmation of Flynn's nomination is thus certain to meet strong opposition, and if it is finally obtained, it will be against the will of virtually every Republican member. Against the New York delegation, the support of New York's delegation, he hasn't a chance.

That's the record, and if it indicates that Ed Flynn is not likely to receive confirmation, it not only proves that the Senate jealously guards its authority. It is proof that the Senate's authority often accomplishes the good purpose.

Forgotten

New Caswell Should Be Made Possible, and Not Delayed

The official survey of the problem of North Carolina's Forgotten Children bids fair to bring to an end the long campaign waged by our Miss Dorothy Knox against a careless or unknowing state. A study of the facts, we feel sure, will cause the necessary consideration by the General Assembly, and those facts will speak loudly for immediate action. The commission will discover, first of all, that North Carolina's mentally defective children who receive no public care outnumber those presently being cared for in our institutions. It will discover that Caswell Training School is taxed to the limit, and has been for a number of years. It will likely note the need for a similar institution of about the same size, and may well recommend that it be opened as soon as possible.

Officials will also find that many a child who has been sent to the institution, and that several of them, like Charlotte's John Coe, have made their own attempts to bring it to official attention. There is no danger that the pressing problem will not be solved, and the State's interest of the public will not be demonstrated. If the lawmakers, after investigation, are loath to postpone action on the expansion of the State's facilities for the care of the mentally defective, no permanent postponement. Granting that new construction will be impossible now, does not remove North Carolina's obligation to make provision for their care when a similar law is enacted. The responsibility has long been unnumbered and ramble now that the next Legislature will do the job. Provisions should be made now.

Poor Man's The Best Surrounded By Enemies

By Raymond Clapper

WASHINGTON IT IS A nice kettle of fish that our boy from Kansas, Lieut.-Gen. Ike Eisenhower, has got into in North Africa, with an uncomfortable number of Germans in front of him and a horde of sniping foreign politicians at his back.

On this mess in North Africa, the attitude of officials here has been that the less said the better. They have been quite frank in discussing the situation with correspondents sufficiently interested to inquire, but they have discouraged public discussion. However, it is all coming out from London, and the smell is beginning to be noticeable.

In Kansas language, the British want to set up de Gaulle and the French National Committee as a kind of puppet trustee French Government with its temporary seat in North Africa. This new French Government would assume title to the French empire and to the French assets which have been impounded and would get itself set up on into France eventually and take over.

The United States is opposed to setting up any French National Government now. Our Government believes that decision should wait until the end of the war when the French people are liberated and can choose their own Government. In the meantime, we would prefer to see General Eisenhower devote himself exclusively to the North African military campaign, while depending on local French authorities there to continue their normal governmental functions. We don't want to recognize a French National Government headed by de Gaulle or anyone else at present.

That, roughly, is what the trouble is all about. London newspapers are beginning to get it about it. Some of our people think a campaign is on to discredit General Eisenhower and make way for recognition of the de Gaulle-backed French National Committee. The sniping is so active that our military is

concerned because it distracts General Eisenhower. He has a full-sized military job to do over there without trying to work his way through a vicious sample of transplanted French politics.

That's the picture without any soft music, and the censors may stop it from going outside the country as they stopped what I wrote about India. If you butter it up and sprinkle sugar on it they'll let it out. But if you try to tell it straight, the censors put a full stop against you and your name is mud. I always suspected that was the State Department's work.

A rather light political censorship has been in effect out of North Africa. We have had practically nothing reading out of there on this funny business except Ernie Pyle's two highly informative and eye-opening dispatches. How they got through is a mystery. Somebody must have been helping, because nobody else has got out. Radio commentators over there are pathetic with their attempt to tell the facts through censorship, which allows only broad mysterious hints to get through. You have assassinations and reported plots of assassinations and then nothing but censored mystery.

Most of us have been inclined to ride along with the policy of letting the North African thing alone. A hard military operation is ahead. We are in a delicate diplomatic situation. You don't want to throw monkey wrenches around just to pretend that the press is still free. It is coming out from London with a British accent. Nobody will know now whether it would have been better or worse to let the facts out in the first place instead of allowing them to fester under suppression. You give the Government the benefit of the doubt as long as you can.

This is only the first of such inevitable controversies. We need a technique of handling them without inflaming them into international incidents of a size that threatens what all of us have at stake.

Side Glances



"Honestly, my phone hasn't rung of an evening for so long I jiggle it every night to make sure it's not out of order!"

Freedom's Jest

Indian Cutups

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

BATTING around town, you meet people from every corner of the world, and you sit down to chat with them, and you hear things. The following information is unverified, but it is from first-rate, first-hand sources, and sort of worth-while.

You hear that American troops have made a marvelous impression in India. Not one of them, so far as I know, has taken a stand in a public square and declared his position on the Atlantic Charter. But such messages may be communicated in other ways. A characteristic American soldier-pat in India is for four or five of the boys to hire a rickshaw, they have them in India, too, and put the poor Indian puller in the seat, and haul him through the streets.

The boys would probably be horrified if they thought they were making a political point, but to what? The situation in England, which has gone over very big.

American soldiers are also considered extraordinarily polite. Though local shortages of some goods have been accentuated by their free-spending habits, the boys invariably include nearby Indians in their treating rounds, in cafe and restaurant. The impression you get is that to a rather stiff and formal East-West relationship, a wholesome, Mark Twainish kind of American upsurge has been added.

I don't know the political significance of the above except that it is what Broadway would call a "rest" on the situation in England, where the local people are extremely friendly with our soldiers, starting a few Americans.

Another little Indian item was a story that in at least one mill town, the mill owners give their workers two months' vacation when they went on strike for national independence last summer. Yes, I know the significance of that one. It means that the revolutionary ferment in India is truly awesome. It is a genuine thing of "revolution" in strictly class terms that we have forgotten that other kind of revolution, like our own, which is a genuine movement for national liberation, and class support and aid.

The word "revolutionist" has imperceptibly come to mean someone in an unpressed suit.

In a revolution for national independence, there are plain people and also revolutionary gentlemen of property. Washingtons and Jeffersons. This is the kind of revolution that the Daughters of, in our country, are daughters of. It is the kind of revolution we hope will break out through occupied Europe. It is the kind of revolution we had too much of a "mob" feeling about the Indian freedom movement. That has not helped us to understand it, and may have to some Westerners a little too optimistic about the ease with which it can be put down.

Any assumption, based on the above comments, that the water is in favor of Indian independence is a complete error. Yet, it has interested and surprised me to see how many Frenchmen helped the Germans out of terror, coercion, or stupidity. Such Frenchmen are Frenchmen still.

But they do draw a line between the small French palooka who fled because he was worried about his person, and those big ones who used their prestige, dignity and official position to get other Frenchmen into collaboration. That, they say, no Frenchmen had to do, unless he wanted to. Such Frenchmen are unforgotten and unforgivable. This seems to me a very proper line to draw.

The French situation is not nearly so confused as some of the critics theorize.

Red Light Ahead

Rule By Bureau

From Nation's Business

EVERYMAN has his conscience told these troubled days. Indeed, "Am I impartial?" Am I so selfish that I can not accept them? These are the questions with which faces civilian regimentation. This, this mixture of patriotism and penitence runs deeper than the story of our nerves of our national life.

The distinguished historian Ferrer, in "The Principles of Power," makes clear certain phenomena in our own domestic economy of 1943.

Any form of government, or its administration, he says, gets its sole authority from custom. What the people have often accepted in respect for their rulers is to them the "legitimate" kind of government. That is why the French people once voted against the election of their chief executive by popular choice. They were accustomed to an aristocratic-nominal.

Today, in the United States, there are many manifestations of these historical principles. It is one reason why far-reaching plans are not wholeheartedly accepted. The principle of rationality and of sacrifice is accepted, yes, but administrative methods are so contrary to the traditional ways of doing things that there is widespread unrest.

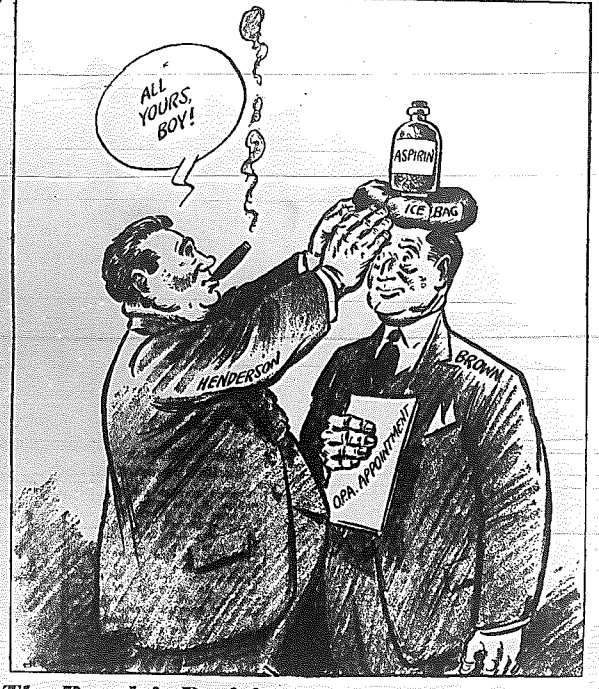
The sudden emergence of a bureaucracy with powers is the root of the matter. As long as bureaus and commissions confined their work to research and reports, the American people made no issue of the practice. Now, with Washington agencies invading the fields of local affairs, with regulations carrying fines and imprisonment, with the administration of justice, the people, not recognizing them as "legitimate," that is, as the accustomed methods, cry out against them.

Three examples come to mind: The fixing of contracts in non-war work by Executive decree, between employer and employee, as in the Montgomery Ward case; the limiting, by Executive order, of the amount a man may earn; the rationing of fuel oil on the basis that a citizen must not own more than a certain amount of such fuel. These radical measures are yet accepted by the people as "legitimate" government.

The lesson today is that, in meeting war's emergencies, our government is best rather than worst. That the people have not accepted that they intend no different and unusual form of government. The burden is on them that they do not intend "to make the government more democratic than the government has been."

Coronation

By Herblock



The People's Decision

What Of North Africa?

By Dorothy Thompson

WASHINGTON WITHIN the last few days the North African political question, which has heretofore been surrounded by a mysterious secrecy, has at last been partly unveiled and is open to the discussions of a major international issue.

The article called from London by Geoffrey Parsons Jr. to the New York Herald Tribune and Raymond Dorel to the New York Times, and the report from North Africa of the CBS correspondent, Charles Colville, all reveal serious points—confusion in North Africa, and a sharp divergence of opinion between America and Britain.

And, apparently, not only between America and Britain. London reports that the Russian want to be consulted on the situation in North Africa. All the Governments in view are interested, as they consider our handling of affairs in North Africa as a precedent for what we may do elsewhere.

This rumour has always maintained that political agreements between the Allies are as essential as military agreements. It is now clear that the military preparations and military collaboration in North Africa were admirable; the political preparations and collaboration, unimpressive. What a vacuum they left is only now demonstrated, and it was nothing less than the gift of the defeated monarchist movement in Europe—that the reason it could move in the Comite de Paris, it was because no effort had been made on the part of the Allies to consolidate the democratic, modern, and unimpressive French forces upon which alone we can rely in the long run.

Our dilemma in North Africa has derived from the fact that we have insisted on dealing all Frenchmen, even fascist Frenchmen, as potential collaborators with us. That was the policy of Vichy. However it may have been justified as merely diplomatic maneuvering, it was necessary to a defeat for the cause which we occupied North Africa, and, actually, Mr. Hull announced its discontinuance. But the only way in which it could clearly have been discontinued was to recognize General de

Gaulle and the Fighting French, and insist upon their integration into any system set up in North Africa.

One cannot avoid the impression that the American State Department, as persons in it, have from the St. Pierre-Miquelon affair, although the Fighting French have rendered us great services, is completely and stubbornly snubbed by the American State Department.

The political effects of this sort of behavior will be disastrous unless the policy is changed. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace on the one side, and Mr. Willeke on the other, cannot go on presenting our struggle as a peoples' war for the century of the common man, if the State Department snubs it, it is war of the enemies of the common man all over Europe.

The State Department policy can wreck the underground movements, organized from one end of Europe to the other. At the outbreak these movements were unions of all the resistance forces from the Communists through the conservatives. They are not only national but ideological. They are pro-French, pro-Norwegian, pro-Dutch. They are also anti-Fascist and anti-Communist. The only common factor coming into our ranks former collaborators and known Fascists, these movements will all look to Moscow, as the one place where the line is clear.

General de Gaulle and the British, who are certainly no Communists, have had the political pressure apparently to accept a defeat for the cause which we run it is a defeat for the nation. This is not true, because their policy is not the issue.

If it is desirable to achieve unity of purpose in the war, both inside the Allied countries and between them, then the basic policy of the State Department must reflect the opinion of the country and its elected leaders, and not the opinion of the country and that of the State Department.