THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

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"Nobody Can Sav We Believe In Being Brutal"

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A Handbook For The Atomic Age

THE entire editorial space of the current issue of *The New Yorker* is devoted to a detailed account of the first atomic bomb explosion at Hiroshima written by John Hersey, Charlottean once removed (his wife is a native). In a brief note, remarkable for its understatement, the editors of *The New Yorker* explain that they regard Mr. Hersey's report as "unusually important." In our judgment it is the most important document to come out of World War II; for the first time the story of the split atom is told in terms of the human beings who felt its full force.

Mr. Hersey's report is a collection of case histories detailing the reactions, physical and mental, of five residents of Hiroshima: Miss Toshiko Sasaki, personnel clerk at the East Asia Tin Works; Dr. Masakuzu Fujii, general practitioner who maintained a private hospital; Father Wilhelm Kleinsorge, German-born Jesuit missionary; Dr. Tertumi Sasaki, surgeon on the staff of the Red Cross Hospital; and Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Methodist parson and graduate of Emory University. The experiences of these people on August 6, 1945, and in the days that followed, varied widely, as did their injuries, and perhaps the only thing they have in common is that they all survived and were able to recount their dark adventures to an amazingly perceptive American writer.

Mr. Hersey sets forth the facts of Hiroshima's destruction in cold, familiar statistics; 100,000 killed, 100,000 wounded, out of a population of 240,000; 62,000 out of 90,000 buildings totally destroyed, another 6,000 damaged beyond repair. But here, for the first time, is the story behind the figures—the story of a city that vanished in a matter of seconds at 8:15 o'clock on a clear morning when three planes passed so high overhead air-raid spotters could not hear their motors.

There are occasional literary touches. ("There in the tin factory, in the first moment of the Atomic Age, a human being was crushed by books.") But primarily this is journalism, unique only because of its excellence. There is no conscious effort to shock, no projection of the author's emotions into the story. Instead Mr. Hersey relies upon simple descriptive sentences like these:

"The rain cleared and the cloudy afternoon was hot; before nightfall the three grotesques under the slanting piece of twisted iron began to smell quite bad."

"Now many people walked in the streets, but a great number sat and lay on the pavement, vomited, waited for death, and died."

"He reached down and took a woman by the hands, but her skin slipped off in huge, glove-like pieces."

"Their faces were wholly burned, their eyesockets were hollow, the fluid from their melted eyes had run down their cheeks. . . . Their mouths were mere swollen,pus-covered wounds . . ."

Mr. Hersey chronicles the terrible disorganization that followed the blast, when great fires raged across the city and the stoic wounded lay in rows and waited for medical aid that never came. He tells of Toshito Sasaki pinned in pain-streaked darkness beneath the rubble of the tin factory; of Mrs. Nakamura digging for her children in the ruins of her house; of a young girl who held her dead baby in her arms for four days; of Dr. Sasaki, the only ambulant doctor left at the Red Cross hospital, trying desperately to treat the festering wounds of the 10,000 persons who staggered, or were brought into the battered building; of the little Methodist preacher running across the flaming city searching for his wife and pausing to apologize to the wounded for his own lack of apparent injuries.

Yet all of this is almost clinical. There is nothing in it to arouse pity for individual victims, or anger at the Americans who proudly spoke of the disaster they had wrought as a triumph of "know-how." Nor does Mr. Hersey allow himself the luxury of editorializing; he draws no conclusions as to the possible social and political effect of the bomb; he simply provides a detailed statement of the facts of man's newest and most efficient method of destruction. He draws his sole moral implication by indirection, quoting a passage from a report forwarded by one of the Jesuits at Hiroshima to the Holy See: "The crux of the matter is whether total war in its present form is justified, even when it serves a just purpose. Does it have material and spiritual evil as its consequences which far exceed whatever good might result? When will our moralists give us a clear answer to this question?"

Mr. Hersey has written, and the sophisticated, irreverent *New Yorker* has published, a handbook for the Atomic Age which should be required reading in Washington, Moscow, Paris, London, Lake Success, in every place where men believe that war is still practical, even if it is a little more expensive than it used to be.

The Perversion Of A Principle

THROUGHOUT all the various investigations of the Pearl Harbor disaster both Army and Navy clung to one central point: General Short and Admiral Kimmel, senior commanders on the ground, were directly responsible for the acts of ommission and commission, and even the bad judgment of their subordinates. As a result both these military men were cashiered and disgraced in accordance with the principle that rank has its responsibility as well as its privilege.

That seemed to us a sound principle, but it has suffered a strange perversion in the Army's investigation of the Litchfield atrocities. That there were atrocities no one has denied, but if any officer of the United States Army had any knowledge of them the various courts martial couldn't discover it.

The Litchfield Depot commander, Colonel James Kilian of the regular establishment, was found innocent of knowingly permitting guards to inflict "cruel and unusual punishment" upon American soldier-prisoners. But "cruel and unusual punishment" did occur at Litchfield, and the Colonel was in command there, just as General Short was in command at Pearl Harbor. He was therefore held responsible, *and fined $500!*

The inference here is clear enough. The United States Army regards the torture of soldier prisoners as a minor offense, comparable, say, to drunken driving. Colonel Kilian really should have been more careful, but, after all, *c'est la guerre.*

We can think of no worse propaganda for the Army's current recruiting drive.

Notes On Outside Interference

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM CLARK, a Texan, finds that existing legislation does not effectively implement the Constitution's clear guarantees of civil liberties. "Federal action in most of these (civil liberties) cases hangs upon a very thin thread of law. It is like trying to fight a modern atomic war with a Civil War musket."

Lamar Caudle, a Tar Heel who is Attorney General Clark's assistant in charge of the Criminal Division, concurs in his boss' view, adding: "Disrespect for the law, it is true, is the concern of the community in which it breaks out, but it is also a threat to all Americans everywhere and an attack on our established institutions—an attack upon your Constitutional guarantee and mine."

Neither of these able Southerners referred directly to the recent outbreaks of racial violence in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and elsewhere in the South, but the implication was clear enough. In effect, they spoke in rebuttal to the unusually violent Southern outcry against "outside interference." And, of course, they gave an inferential boost to the often-defeated Federal anti-lynching bill which is bound to be revived in the next Congress.

Mr. Clark and Mr. Caudle certainly would be the last to argue that their region has any monopoly on civil liberties violations. Their files are bristling with gloomy reports from all parts of the country as the United States moves into the usual postwar period of casual violence. But apparently they recognize that it is only in the South that it is necessary for Federal authorities to defend their right to handle such cases.

It seems to us the most sensitive Southerner must recognize the logic of Mr. Caudle's remarks. To argue that Federal action in cases where local authorities are unable or unwilling to protect the rights of American citizens is improper "interference" is to argue in favor of regional anarchy. The South, it has always seemed to us, has a right to demand freedom to meet its responsibilities in its own way, but when it fails to meet them it must bow to a superior authority. After all the region is part of the United States and bound by its basic laws: that issue, we thought, was settled back in '65.

As usual after Armageddon, the specter of the munitions profiteer now rears its ugly head. And magazine writers of the '20s can begin to dust off the old one, about "merchants of death."

After dark on the old frontier: A rattlesnake has been evicted from a Montana nightclub, as a line had to be drawn somewhere.

Thanks to the American genius for finding cozy names for things, we now have a "decontrol" board. It sounds so much prettier than "parole."

A beer shortage in Baltimore has forced discontinuance of pop symphony concerts, as who wants to be overcome by the sad, sweet strains of Strauss with nothing to cry into?

The publicists of Hollywood seem less alert than usual. None yet has billed a Radioactive Blonde, and warned the public to sit 15 rows back from the screen.

The First Year

MacArthur's Report On Japan

(NOTE: The War Department this week released an official report by Gen. Douglas MacArthur on the first year's occupation of Japan. Complete text of the communique follows.—Eds., THE NEWS).

TOKYO

FIRST and above all else, the gigantic military machine of the Japanese Empire has been completely destroyed. Its fighting power had been temporarily nullified by the war, but a tremendous military organization, manned by millions, still remained at the time of the surrender. Its liquidation required the disarming, demobilization and disposition of approximately 4,000,000 organized and armed men in the home islands and 2,500,000 abroad. In addition, it was necessary to retrieve from overseas approximately 2,000,000 civilians and to repatriate to their homelands from Japan 1,000,000 Allied nationals.

Within the early weeks of the occupation, Japanese soldiers in the home islands were disbanded and returned to peaceful pursuits. Today, after a single year, the remnants of the overseas forces, scattered over thousands of miles, are streaming home and the work of repatriation is drawing to a close. Nine million have been processed, in this time. For magnitude, thoroughness, speed and precision, this has constituted a demobilization and repatriation which has not precedent in history.

To insure further the destruction of Japan's war-making power, thousands of military and civil aircraft and millions of weapons of various calibers, with vast quantities of ammunition, have been seized and disposed of; remnants of the Japanese Navy have been taken over and are being destroyed or held for Allied division; and every element of Japanese industry utilized for or capable of adjustment to the making of implements of war has been either destroyed or brought under our complete control. Thus, from a material standpoint also, Japan's war-making power and potential is ended.

Reshaped Government

RAPID and effective strides have been made in reshaping the Japanese Government to conform to the principles inherent in a democratic state so that the people might readjust their lives to compose a truly democratic society. A new Constitution has been evolved after many months of widespread public interest and unrestricted debate which was submitted to the people by the Emperor and Government of Japan, is now in the process of democratic legislative action toward adoption or amendment.

Designed effectively to curb abuse of power by individual, class or Government, it places sovereignty squarely in the hands of the people upon whom it bestows the full measure of human freedom. The masses of Japan are no longer regimented—no longer enslaved.

The Japanese citizen no longer cringes in the presence of police or other public authority; his home has become his castle, free from unwarranted intrusion, observation or violence; he registers his opinion on public issues, uncontrolled except by his own conscience; he enjoys the right of assembly and petition; he worships as he chooses, in accordance with his individual religious faith; he enjoys the untrammeled right, individually or collectively with his fellow workers, to demand correction of unjust labor practices and conditions; and Japanese children, 18,000,000 of whom are presently enrolled, enjoy the right to liberal and free education in 40,000 public schools, now open and dedicated to the study of the arts and sciences and the historical truth and the development of enlightened thought.

Electoral Freedom

ELECTORAL discrimination has been removed, and the electoral has expanded by reducing the age limit from 25 to 19 and enfranchising the women of Japan. The general election held on April 10, 1946, was a vivid demonstration of democracy on the march. As far greater number of those eligible to vote participated in this election than in any other election in Japanese history. The women of Japan took their newly gained franchise as a serious obligation—sharply broke from their traditional retirement within the family circle, and elected 39 women members of the House of Representatives, an accomplishment without precedent in political history.

Reform has been instituted in every element of the Governmental structure and in every phase of Government administrative procedure, to root out existing evils of entrenched bureaucracy which inevitably lead to totalitarian controls. Those who in the past preached the doctrine of militarism, expansionism and intense nationalism and shaped the policies responsible for Japan's collapse, have been purged and barred from Governmental service to afford the people a new leadership.

To dislodge the economic hold which certain vested interests have long had over Japanese economy, the corporate and personal resources of the fourteen major families, including the four big Zaibatsu groups, with approximately 1,200 firms linked in this system, are being liquidated. All principal officers and influential members of this industrial empire are being ousted. Thus the economic stranglehold upon the people in restriction of free enterprise, made possible by close alliance between Government and concentrated wealth, is being inexorably broken.

Roots Of Feudalism

STRIKING at the roots of feudalism, an agrarian reform program, now under way, will enable about 2,000,000 tenant farmers of Japan to purchase the lands they now work. Shaped to break down the large land holdings into two and one-half to ten-acre parcels, with their disposal provided for under conditions which will permit their ready acquisition, this program will correct one of the notorious evils which has long plagued individual economy and held in serfdom the underprivileged agricultural workers of Japan.

The task is by no means complete, but a decisive advances toward the achievement of our major objectives has been made.

Quote, Unquote

WE know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions and to bring about disrespect for our Government. Why should we blind ourselves to obvious facts—Attorney General Tom C. Clark.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round • Administration Linked With PAC, Bosses

(Note—While Drew Pearson is on a brief vacation, his column will be written by several distinguished guest columnists—today's by Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee.)

WASHINGTON

THE American people are tired of being pushed around by their public servants. They are tired of being deceived by those in whom they have reposed public trust. They are tired of being offered political bribes of their own money. They are tired of living in a perpetual state of phony emergency. They are tired of seeing the value of their hard-earned dollars decreased by a spendthrift Administration which for fourteen years (most of them peacetime years) has spent more than it had to spend.

Americans are tired of paying unnecessarily high taxes to support a profligate and stupid bureaucracy operating on the theory so elegantly phrased by one of its chief exponents that the people are "too damned dumb" to understand what their bureaucratic chaperones were doing. They are tired of seeing the policies of the Government of the United States dictated by a group of counterfeit "liberals" who are actually exponents of an alien and radical totalitarian philosophy of government and some of whom have been exceedingly dilatory, to say the least, about taking out naturalization papers.

The foregoing observations are based upon information acquired by and thrust upon today's guest conductor of this column during a series of trips which have taken him into almost every corner of the United States during the past four months. A concise summary of these observations is that the people of the United States have determined to get the present Government of the United States out of their collective hair.

On the basis of that appraisal of the determined objective of the people, here, in the language of the normal proprietor of this column, is a "prediction of things to come," namely:

Republicans Constructive

THE American people, for two principal reasons, will elect a Republican Congress in November.

1. Because they have come to realize that the Republican Party offers a constructive and practical program for getting the Government out of the people's hair and Republican members of Congress by their recorded votes as well as by their public declarations during the past two years have proved that this program will be written into law as soon as a Republican majority takes control of Congress.

2. Because the present Democrat Administration (which is anything but democratic) has proved its utter inability or unwillingness to maintain an orderly, prosperous and free economy at home or a respected position of the United States abroad.

The Republican program for the restoration of an American system of representative republican government in the United States has been described adequately by public declarations of Republican spokesmen and implemented by Republican votes in Congress. All citizens who are sincerely interested in knowing the details of that program have had ample opportunity to learn them—and they will have additional opportunities as the campaign progresses toward a decision in November.

In this connection, mention should be made of the Administration propaganda line to the effect that the Republican program is negative and destructive rather than positive and constructive. (According to latest official figures there are more than 40,000 Administration press agents on the Federal pay roll and some of them are skilled craftsmen and, probably, they have been able to deceive some gullible citizens who do not realize that their own taxes are being spent to deceive them.) It should be remarked, however, that when a dentist pulls an abscessed tooth the operation may be destructive to the tooth and the abscess but it is quite constructive to the patient.

Democrats Disintegrating

THAT the present Democrat Administration is an abscess on the body politic is proved by many evidences of its disintegration and decay.

There is the case of Representative May of Kentucky, Democrat chairman of the powerful House Committee on Military Affairs, involving indications of the misuse of political influence in the award of war contracts and misuse of public funds—plus evidence that ammunition supplied to American forces abroad was defective and caused needless sacrifices of American lives during the Battle of the Bulge.

There is the case of Democrat Representative Coffee of Washington State who admits receipts of $2,500 from a successful bidder for a war contract and who insists the $2,500 was a campaign contribution and not a payment for services rendered although it was reported neither as a campaign contribution nor as income.

There is the case of Democrat Representative Curley of Massachusetts under conviction by a Federal court but nevertheless elected Mayor of Boston by the political machine of which he is the boss.

There are the formal and public assertions of Comptroller General Warren, a lifelong Democrat and former Democrat member of the House, to the effect that billions of dollars of public funds were wasted during the war because of the Administration's slipshod methods of handling war contracts.

People Robbed

AND finally there is the public announcement of the Pendergast-PAC Machine alliance formed under the public sponsorship of President Truman himself to "purge" Democrat Representative Roger Slaughter of Missouri who had refused to follow the Truman-PAC party line in Congress.

By lending the prestige of his high office to the Pendergast-PAC alliance against Mr. Slaughter, Mr. Truman confirmed assertions repeatedly made by Republican spokesmen to the effect that the choice presented to the voters this year is a Republican Congress on the one hand and a Congress controlled by the PAC on the other. For that clarification of the issue the nation owes thanks to Mr. Truman.

Meanwhile it may be taken for granted that the evidences of inefficiency, extravagance and possible corruption revealed so far in the cases listed constitute only a peephole view of what will be exposed to the pitiless light of day when Republicans take control of the investigating committees of Congress.

The people are entitled to know who robbed them, how and of how much; and they should know before the Statute of Limitations expires in any more cases. They will find out soon after the new Republican Congress assembles in January, 1947.

Marquis Childs

Interlude Of Peace

CATAUMET, Mass.

IN SPITE of the latest crisis, blazoned in black headlines in the newspapers and proclaimed on the radio regularly on the half hour, America is relaxing in this first Summer of the peace. Relaxing, you might say, with a vengeance.

There is a kind of urgency about it. If this is to be only a brief interlude of peace — and that gloomy foreboding sometimes bears down heavily—then we are determined to squeeze the last drop of goodness from it.

The winding roads, here on Cape Cod, are lined with cars. The public beaches are crowded. The "No Vacancies" sign hangs out, as in every other resort area throughout the country. To care for those who were disappointed during the Summer, many hotels will remain open through September and October.

DECEPTIVE PEACE?

But for those who seek it, there is peace and quiet. We look out through the pines to the stretch of sand and the blue water of our small arm of the bay. Our sailboat heads out toward the channel, moving stiffly in the swift breeze. The peace may be deceptive, but if it is, we cannot help for a time welcoming the deception.

"Earth could be fair." That is the phrase which recurs again and again. Sitting on the shore of this playground that projects out into the Atlantic, you think of the long sweep of the American earth. The fir-bordered lakes of Wisconsin and Minnesota. The Rockies and the great parks where thousands upon thousands of tourists get at least a glimpse of splendor. Then, across the divide to the Pacific slope and all its wonders. Here are Americans by the million, playing, relaxing.

It seems so far from the cauldrons of Europe, where hate and jealousy bubble more fiercely than ever. Although we've learned painfully that it is just next door, Trieste seems a million miles from Cape Cod. What is it that has made the difference? Is it our space and our natural wealth? Is it the fact that we could make more or less a clean start, breaking with the old nationalist rivalries? Is it, as our isolationists like to tell us, merely the fact of our physical isolation?

"Earth could be fair." I think back to a few days spent last year in Yugoslavia. Again and again, people came up to me on the street and in restaurants, looking around cautiously first, then speaking in an undertone to ask if there wasn't some way they could come to America. For the old, it was a last desperate prayer. For the young, it was a distant gleam of hope; they wanted to know if they couldn't join our Army and thereby qualify themselves for citizenship.

IMPERIALISM FANNED

This was in the Yugoslavia of swaggering Marshal Tito. It was in the Yugoslavia where even then a Pan-Slavic imperialism was being fanned by an unceasing propaganda bellows. But if you tried to write about Pan-Slavism, the censor blue-pencilled it. Tito was not yet ready to show his hand.

I don't think most of the unhappy people in Yugoslavia were in the least interested in Pan-Slavism. They wanted peace and a little more to eat. They wanted to be free of fear for a time. But it is wonderful what the propaganda bellows can do with a people who are hungry, confused, frustrated.

An incident out of that brief visit comes back. One of Tito's young hotheads, wife of a Cabinet minister, suddenly turned to me and said: "Don't you love your country?" To an American that seemed a foolish question. Of course we love our country, I told her. "Why don't you talk about it, then?" she demanded.

Across the bay here, on the reefs that are out of water at low tide, people are clamming. The notices posted along the shore say that clamming is allowed on this one day only. It is signed by the selectmen of Barnstable.

Well, perhaps we do take our country too much for granted. It has always been here, rich and proud and beautiful—if at times a little foolish and confused. Nevertheless, that seems infinitely preferable to the disease of nationalism; the terrible pathology of hate that is once again being fanned into flame.

SEE THE FLAMES

If you look up quickly, you can see those flames—there, just across the line of the dunes. They intrude on the peaceful landscape even in this Summer when America would like to look the other way.

Douglas Larsen

Surplus Potato Stew

WASHINGTON

OUR good Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson, is taking a vacation down on his New Mexico farm for only one reason. It's not what you think. He has earned one but he doesn't need a rest. His physical health is good. All he wants to do in the next few weeks is to forget about potatoes. He has warned that the first person who says the word in his presence will very likely get his head lopped off.

During his stint as boss of America's food supply he has probably more serious problems than any of his predecessors. Last Winter saw him in the middle of the worst global famine in the history of the world. Then came the battle over OPA and hundreds of other situations. But none of them got him down the way potatoes did.

GAVE PROMISE

When he first took office last July one of the first things the party strategists told him to do was find some way to get rid of the potato surplus. They said it was political dynamite. He solemnly promised them he would. That was before he really got familiar with the U. S. spud situation.

The further he got into it the worse it looked. On the surface it seems simple. Europe is hungry. America has too many potatoes. All right, send the surplus to Europe. That's where the trouble begins.

Shipping raw potatoe in a boat just isn't a good idea. They either freeze and are ruined or spoil. Few can get across safely. Then, too, the potato is 80 per cent water and what you would be doing is sending tons and tons of water overseas. There never was a shortage of that item.

Well, Anderson thought, let's dehydrate them and send them over that way. The Army has a lot of dehydrating equipment. We'll use it. But dehydrating is an expensive process. When they're finally dried out the cost is about 25 cents a pound. And that doesn't include the cost of the spuds. UNRRA couldn't afford mashed potatoes—that's the only thing dried potatoes can be used for—at that price, nor could the foreign countries. For the same price they can buy more than four times as much wheat.

The same problem of expense was involved in canning potatoes, too, expensive.

On top of that they couldn't even give the potatoes away in foreign countries because the shipping space was more urgently needed for wheat.

To the Secretary's credit, he finally did dispose of his potatoes, however, at home. Only 1 or 2 per cent were actually wasted. He gave as many as he could to institutions, relief agencies, etc. The department talked the American housewife into using more potatoes instead of bread. Some of them were made into starch. Most of the surplus potatoes went to the nation's distillers to make into alcohol. This transaction lost money as far as the Department of Agriculture was concerned but the U. S. Treasury got it all back, and more, in the form of beverage tax.

CAN'T TAKE IT

The only thing the Secretary doesn't think he will be able to face next Winter, when the food situation abroad is again expected to be bad, is to be charged with letting people starve because the Government let potatoes be made into liquor when they could have gone to feed the hungry.