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And Evening Chronicle

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Uninhibited

Russia Shows Her Hand In Deal With Poland

If you're spoiling to find out just what kind of neighbor Soviet Russia is going to make in the new and smaller post-war world, keep an eye on the dealing with Poland. In this case Russia has shown a mind of her own, an entirely realistic view of tomorrow's world, and a frank defiance of friends or enemies who seek to divert her from a chosen course. Already the Soviet makes capital of the new division into 16 states.

Here, Russia takes the lead again. While British and American policy has been to stick political and geographical questions in the ice box, to let them wait until tomorrow for settlement, Russia has approached her own problems with a directness new to the Allied camp. She has taken no cognizance of the principle of expediency. When she has found German war criminals in her net, she has summarily tried them and provided immediate execution.

Now, when she finds complications in the tangled Polish-Ukraine question, she uses the same forthright methods. When it developed that the Polish Government-In-Exile was going to be coy, and was given to stalling, Russia quickly hinted that she was going to forget the London Poles altogether, and deal with the first Polish leaders she found inside the borders of the liberated country. That not only leaves the Poles-In-Exile up a tree, but does something of the same thing for British and American diplomacy.

The Russia of tomorrow must be our friend and neighbor, and we must make a desperate effort to understand that this almost naive method in diplomacy is going to be a hallmark of Soviet policy. The Soviet Union, or the 16 Soviet Unions if you like, will be interested chiefly in Russian security. Every effort must be expected to be in that direction. The sooner we realize that truth, the sooner we will come to an amicable and permanent understanding with our powerful new ally. There comes a new departure in international dealing. Beating around the bush comes to an end.

Perdition

Do Outraged Puritans Threaten The Press?

The *Esquire* Case, which has become a *cause celebre* for the American press, is presently in a dormant state. Not before April will Federal courts come to a decision on the magazine's appeal, and in the meantime the lively journal banned by Postmaster General Frank Walker on the surprising ground that it does not contribute to public information continues to be distributed.

Though there is no current action in the case, forces are building which may vitally affect the nation's press. It may be well to look into proceedings once more. We presume the case history is familiar: *Esquire*, deemed to contain obscene material, was required to show why it should not be banned from the mails. A Post Office Board was summoned, and shown to its satisfaction that *Esquire* was not an obscene publication. In the hearings, Post Office witnesses showed up poorly, and the charge of obscenity backfired. It was then that Mr. Walker threw the bombshell, banning the magazine on a general charge.

From the records of hearings, we have a couple of incidents indicative of the manner in which this problem was attacked:

Father Cartwright, a Catholic priest, denounced the magazine though unfamiliar with its contents. He had previously censored newspapers for reporting the Errol Flynn case, saying that it degraded public morals. He testified that such trends of modern thought were detrimental to the nation, for one thing, the modern bathing suit was indecent.

Mrs. Sidney Ballard, president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, said that she had not read the magazine but that it was her belief that the publication was morally destructive, and prepared the way for a pon-democratic form of government:

"She: 'Would you like to see where I was operated on for appendicitis?' He: 'No. I hate hospitals.'"

Throughout, there was an attempt by the Post Office witnesses to point out the low state of the American mores, and to connect *Esquire* and many another factor with the decline in American morals they pictured. These men, certainly, attempted to influence the decision of the board through a sort of personal animosity against the world as it stands today. Frank Walker, overruling his board, surely agreed with these gentlemen. We cannot think of a more dangerous basis for judging America's press—or any other institution.

Bold Blows

Jap Resistance To Our Forces Is Weak

Every new story coming in from the Marshall Islands reveals more and more of a military miracle. With the Kwajalein atoll already in our hands, and the 25-year-old Jap fortress cleared of the enemy, it is even more apparent that we have won an important round of a big victory at an amazingly low cost. And this first victory has come not only because of steady enemy losses in the war of attrition; it has come chiefly because of superb strategy and intelligent application of lessons in tactics learned since Guadalcanal.

We have scarcely begun the task of taking the scattered Marshall Islands, true enough. But a complete defense system in their midst is already ours, and already other strong points are being hammered by naval guns and planes. The power of the invasion fleet was so terrible that loss of life was light, as the men swept ashore on island after island. The bloody experience at Tarawa was not a vain one; henceforth, American forces may be expected to storm heavily-fortified positions only after great power has blasted effective resistance away.

This is the first time Japan has been unable to resist with some effectiveness a bold American move. It is significant that not one Jap plane or surface ship has been sighted since the start of the Marshalls invasion. The enemy has to leave his garrisons to their fates, either unwilling to risk his strength in the face of such a vast force, or unable to gather ships and planes to make an effective stand.

In either event, it is a new turn in the Pacific war. Allied ships filling the seas, and Allied planes darkening the skies prove the fact of recovered strength. The Japs who were so unfortunate as to behold this might in Kwajalein must have seen at a glance the coming doom of their Empire. They certainly know, these enemies, that even more terrible forces are on the way.

There was more disturbing evidence of blacker days to come from Paramushiro, where American battleships steamed brashly up to shore and shelled Jap installations on the homeland. Resistance was so light and ineffective that men aboard the ships were thinking that they should be invading, rather than blasting. The island is not far from the heart of the Jap Empire, and the calling cards left there will surely be enough to create a dread and fearful reaction throughout Japan. Already on the offensive in great force, American units will become ever bolder. With increasing strength, they will reduce the enemy's potential in the war of vast distances. A new phase is come.

The new income tax form leaves us nonplussed, not to say minussed.

The enlistment of Sinatra in the March of Dimes raises the question of a possible typo-

The Merry-Go Round

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

THE fathers' draft has brought on a new series of complaints about "wasted manpower" in the armed services stationed in the USA. Pending a call to action, a feeling of idleness and waste becomes a demoralizing factor. The men on the home front generally suffer most from the old-age service disease of "just waiting around."

The type of thing that happens in the waiting period is illustrated in a confidential survey made at the Naval dirigible station at Lakehurst, N. J., which brought forth the following facts.

1. **The Navy uses 100 to 115 men to handle a blimp when it lands, whereas Goodyear handles the same blimp with fifteen civilians.**

2. **As at many shore stations, duty usually consists of 24 hours on, then 24 hours stand-by (which means waiting around to see if anything happens), then 24 hours liberty. Then this is repeated. Many men complain that the 24 hours of loafing at stand-by could be used for some constructive type of work.**

3. More than 1,000 civilians are employed to recondition ships at high rates of pay, while enlisted men who could do the job and need the training lie around idle.

4. A high wire fence, guarded by armed sailors, surrounds Lakehurst. Then, inside the fence, a Marine guards the outside of each hangar. Then, inside the hangar, two civilians also stand guard.

5. The Lakehurst commissary, which handles about 100 customers per day, is staffed to handle about 1,000. It has ten clerks, two commissioned officers and one cashier.

Any civilian groceryman plus an assistant could easily handle the whole business.

Multiply Lakehurst's wasted manpower by the Navy's many other shore stations and it runs into thousands of men. The men themselves are not to blame. Most of them chafe at inactivity, want to see action.

Effect On Men

One significant indication of how glutted the Navy is with manpower is in the boot-training camps, designed to transform a civilian into a sailor. This training used to last three weeks. Now it has been running four months or more. And after finishing this boot-training, thousands of men lie around for months in CCO's (outgoing units) awaiting assignment to a school or other activity.

In the past year, also, many enlisted men have come to the conclusion that Navy schools are being maintained mainly for the purpose of keeping them occupied. Thousands of men have attended half a dozen different schools on unrelated subjects. One of the most important permanent boondoggling results of Navy idling is the effect on the men. Older men, accustomed to hard work before they entered the Navy, chafe at the inactivity. Some of them complain that they have fewer calluses on their hands, are in worse physical shape than before they enlisted in the Navy.

The effect on many younger men is just the opposite. Some of the younger men were in CCC camps or on WPA before entering the Navy and they regard the easy life at shore stations as a heaven-sent opportunity—talk about staying on in such an easy job after the war is over.

Another demoralizing effect is the waste of materials as well as manpower. At Lakehurst, for instance, a blimp is loaded with a generous supply of coffee, canned cream and sugar when it goes out on submarine patrol. The supply is generous because the blimp may be detained at sea longer than expected. When it comes back, orders are that no food can be returned to the galley. Result is that hundreds of cans of cream and sacks of sugar either have to be thrown away or given to the men every day.

Recently, there arrived at Lakehurst a beautiful new adding machine. The base already had three adding machines and this one wasn't needed, which caused one officer to remark: "Think of the civilians who would give their eye-teeth to get a machine like this. However, we can't return it." Since then, it has been used about ten minutes per month.

Merry-Go-Round

Emory Jacobs of the War Food Administration was drafted into the Army, but now Texas Cattleman Grover Hill, right-hand man to War Food Administrator Marvin Jones, has had Jacobs detailed to his office. Thus, although a private in the Army, Jacobs is still working in WFA. . . . New Democratic National Chairman Bob Hannegan, is boosting Dan Nee, Internal Revenue Collector at Kansas City, to be his successor as Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Thus the commissionership would merely be shifted from one end of Missouri, St. Louis, home town of Hannegan, to the other end of Missouri, Kansas City, home town of Nee. . . . Bob Sherwood and Elmer Davis, the two warring heads of OWI, were almost on the verge of reconciliation when news of their fight broke into the papers. Then the battle flared all over again.

A One-Man Job

—By Dorman Smith

What Is Russia Up To?

By Samuel Grafton

NEW YORK

I DO not quite know the meaning of the Russians' sudden return to states' rights. It sounds a little bit, as if the Russians have been listening to Senator Taft denounce centralized government, and have been much impressed. But I do not really believe that explanation; I have heard that the Russians are turning to the right, but I doubt whether they are actually going Republican or returning to state government for love of same.

What, then, can the move mean? It has been said that the Russians are "needling" us, for some reason, that they are pushing their weight about, that they are showing us who is boss, by such cryptic moves as this one, giving each of the sixteen republics within the USSR control over its own foreign affairs and army forces.

I do not think the Russians are "needling" us. I do not think so—because as pressure, the move is too cryptic. There is not much point in cryptic pressure. How can the Russians hope to move us, by pressure that is mysterious, for ends that are unstated?

Vagueness is not a virtue in a pressure device. Beside, in spite of many popular legends to the contrary, the Russians have never been especially enigmatic in applying pressure against us. When they wanted a second front, they used to say, in Pravda, "We want a second front." When the Russians did not want us to intervene in the Polish boundary question they said: "We do not wish you to intervene at this time." When they wanted to reprimand Mr. Willkie for not being willing to give them eastern Poland out of hand, they did not do it by obscurely shifting the constables of Kiev to Kolhyshev, or anything of that sort. They said it out loud. The needling theory seems to me to fail to earth. If they are needling us, what are they needling us for?

Besides, why did Molotov praise the Teheran accord, in the very statement in which he announced the new political changes? His remarks can only serve to convince us of the west that our Governments are getting along with Russia; i. e., his remarks remove pressure. I doubt if we are being "needled." A needle needs a sharper point.

I have said, in the past, that to understand Russian political maneuvers, one must, in every case, study the objective result of the action taken. In other words, if the Russians pour a bucket of water on someone, the inference is not that they are angry at him, but that they want him to be wet. What are the objective results of this new move? Let us stop trying to analyze Hamlet's character, and let us see what Hamlet has actually done.

The objective results of the new move are that each of the Russian states has been given, at least in theory, sovereign rights. These rights go far beyond any American conception of states' rights. Mr. Molotov has explained that each Russian state will not only control its own foreign policy, and its armies, but he expressly threw in and reaffirmed the right to secede. It seems to me clear that he has done so with particular reference to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Old Poland. In other words, by giving these states the attributes of sovereignty, the Russians have set up a legal basis whereby these states, or parts of state, may become Russian, and still be recognized by us, i. e., they are not captured territory, but sovereign members of a federation, and thus we may deal with them.

Now, this grant of rights may be fake as can be. I think it is. These states may be theoretically sovereign, but each will still be led by persons whom Moscow trusts. The change is purely formal and legalistic. But, even so, must we not then say that the intention behind the new move is conciliatory? Surely it is no surprise to us that Russia wants these territories. She has said so often enough.

Against that background, cannot the theory be supported that the new move actually represents a certain softening of the Russian attitude, a kind of accommodation to our own regard for legalism? As I say, I don't know the full answer. But this reading seems to me to rest on at least as good support as the eager interpretation of the new move as a hostile one.

We Caught Hell On Munda

By Raymond Clapper

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down an artillery barrage that dropped only a hundred yards from these men. Yet the Japs crawled through it and dropped grenades into our foxholes, or attack with knives in the dark.

No American troops ever went through anything more severe. Many of them have been invalided home, but many are still here. The 43rd Division, a New England National Guard outfit, went through a tain Boys. Many of these men are still here, and just a couple of nights before I arrived one of their units was shot up in an air raid, losing one killed and 23 injured.

Another division that has found this to be a long hard war is the 37th, mostly Ohio men. After Munda they went in at Bougainville.

We are using some of the Jap landing barges captured in battle. An Indian motorcycle of the three-wheeled type which the Japs had converted into a light ammunition carrier. We found oxygen bottles marked "Made in USA," and two coastal batteries of 4.7 Armstrong-Vickers guns which are believed to have been captured at Hong Kong.

But it is all quiet around here now except for air raids and the fight against jungle scourges. Lt. John E. Dreihemer of Louisville, Ky., said the greatest danger was

"Since I've had to help wash the dishes every night, the thought has been growing on me that paper plates would be wonderful—so I bought some!"

Everyday Counselor

By Rev. Herbert Spaugh

THE Church Did It" is the title of a striking article in the Jan. 29 issue of the Saturday Evening Post written by Henry P. Van Dusen. In a striking way the author tells how the war has revived and united the Christian Church of Europe, which has turned out to be Hitler's toughest opposition inside occupied lands. In an address delivered in 1933, Hitler charged that the Church was "hollow and false and rotten through and through. One push and the whole structure would collapse . . . It's day is gone."

He gave it more than one push but it is stronger than ever before. Theodore Beza, Reformation scholar, replied to the contemptuous King of Navarre that "the Church is an anvil which has worn out many hammers."

Van Dusen adds, "This anvil, which, before the war, appeared to many eyes soft and broken, has shone brightest and strongest of all in defense of human freedom. Tempered in the fire of widespread human suffering and persecution, the Christian Church in Europe has been struck again and again by the most powerful thunderbolts forged at Berchtesgaden (Hitler's palace) and has shattered and confounded them all."

He quoted Dr. Albert Einstein, refugee from Germany now living in this country, saying that before the war he had had little love for the Church, but, when Hitler came to power and neither newspaper editors nor university professors dared withstand him and only the Church stood fearlessly up for the truth and the rights of free men, his contempt turned to praise.

"In country after country—Germany, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece — as one after another of the institutions pledged to maintain and defend liberty, justice and humanity crumbled or capitulated, THE CHURCH HELD FIRM. Today, in these lands, it is the only uninimidated voice of truth, the only unshattered champion of the oppressed and the persecuted.

Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox are united against the common enemy. With growing determination and consecration they hold aloft the torch of liberty. In oppressed Europe the Church is the last line of defense against oppression. It is the symbol of that for which our men in uniform are fighting. Every American should honestly ask himself the question, "What am I doing to strengthen and promote the Church? Or am I busy about other things?"

The Red Union

By Dorothy Thompson

WASHINGTON

I HAVE entitled these columns on the Molotov announcement "The Soviet Commonwealth," because this is really the transformation proposed. Having dismissed the childish idea that it is a maneuver for more votes at a peace conference, I want to add that this enormous change should not be regarded as occurring for any specific purpose, except the ever-present one of security through power. It must be seen and assessed inside the framework of the world situation.

Early in December, a speech of General Smuts was published in which he proposed that smaller Western European democracies, should enter the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth is an attractive proposition. It combines mutual protection with economic advantages and national sovereignty. Its constituent members maintain their national armies and offices of foreign affairs, and even have the right of secession.

General Smuts's speech was an open bid for the extension of permanent British influence upon the continent of Europe and throughout the European empires upon the Far East. And I think it wise to face the fact that the transformation announced in Russia is a competition for the same bids. As far as outer form is concerned, the lines of the new Soviet Commonwealth closely follow the British. But the content of the one is capitalist, and of the other socialist. Mr. Molotov, in his speech, reiterated the unswerving fidelity of the Soviet Union to the Socialist idea.

The advantage of the British Empire has been its elasticity. For instance, Canada may make treaties with the United States without committing Britain. Australia and New Zealand may come to agreements between themselves and neighbors. The Commonwealth, furthermore, does not consist of contiguous areas. This is just why the various Governments of the dominions, unions, and commonwealths increasingly demanded autonomy. By this development the British Empire became the one world-wide power, with all shades and degrees of contacts and connections.

The new structure of the Soviet Union makes it possible for it to lay a similar role. The deepest reason behind it is that the Soviet Union forsees all shades of socialist experimentation in various areas of the world after the war. New economic developments are unlikely to reproduce the pattern of Russian Communism — the recognition of this is implied in the dissolution of the Comintern. But developments in shades of states neighbors.

We may assume, for instance, that few modern and self-conscious states will wish to turn over their national resources to development by foreign capital. Yet there are states — and after this war there will be many such in Europe — where private national capital has all but been destroyed by the Nazis or the nationals who have maintained it have done so through collaboration with the Nazis.

Such states may be led toward some form of State Capitalism by nationalism plus necessity. If they are opposed in this by the Anglo-American powers and supported in it by Russia, they would only be restrained in drifting toward the power-protection of the Soviet Union by considerations of Sovereignty.

No Frenchman, for instance, wants to be ruled by Moscow. (Nor by London nor Washington). But given the impossibility of standing alone, he will choose between alternatives. Many factors will enter into that choice, such as forms of economic organization, geography and protection against this or that possible enemy.

The new structure of the Soviet Union presents no claims whatsoever. But it provides the mechanism and structure through which petitions for membership could be considered.

There are countries much nearer than France where such alternatives are certain to be considered. There is, for instance, China. There is, for instance, Yugoslavia — a country of great undeveloped economic resources; there is, for instance, Finland, that once, under the Tsars, had something of that autonomy now offered every state of the Soviet Union. There, are, for instance, the new countries of the Middle East, that awakening into national consciousness. And there is, for instance — and in the long run—Germany.

As a student of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, I have always been impressed with the way in which it reserves to itself unlimited possibilities within a clear plan, without committing itself to any fixed program. There is no question that this new step has immensely widened the possibilities. The extent to which they can be exploited, however, depends not alone upon the Soviet Union, but upon the policies of Britain and America.

The Soviet Union has entered into open competition, by open diplomacy, for a focal position as the magnet of Europe and Asia. If the Western powers should think to answer this by force, they would be misled. Force has absolute limits in this world. Or if they think to answer it by letting nature take its course, I fear they will find that a planless world is at great disadvantage with one which has a clear concept.

The only possible answer is a Western plan more attractive to the peoples.

Reporter's Notebook

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within half an hour by jeep, and what a world of difference that ride makes.

When you start you are in an area as safe as Times Square. When you step out of your hole a few miles farther on you are at the edge of no man's land, a potential target for every Nazi marksman and artillery shell. But while the Jerries haven't as many to toss around as we have, they have enough to keep everybody uncomfortable and worrying how he stands in the judgment books.

BETTER THAN TUNISIA

Four correspondents are quartered in each 10-foot pyramidal tent, and there is room for a small coffee table and a couple of chairs. My tent mates are an old friend from my Tunisian campaign; Graham Hovey, International News Service, Dave Strand of the Chicago Tribune, and John McTigue, formerly with the Blue Network and now with United Nations Radio.

Living with the Army in the field is much less of a test of endurance than it was last year, when stoves, cots and tents were luxuries and you slept most of the time upon the ground. Even so, it is hard to wake up full of enthusiasm when your whiskers are stiff with frost and you have to go through the ordeal of amputating them with cold water. After the war most soldiers will be glad to turn the outdoor life back to the Boy Scouts.

FDR Junior Is Home on Leave

MIAMI BEACH, Fla — (AP)—Lt. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., is home from the wars, but only for Navy command group training that may lead to his appointment as commanding officer of a destroyer-escort and reassignment to duty which he hopes will be in the Pacific.

He thinks the Big Push there is nearing, and predicts that "there will be a lot of hari-kari in Japan" when the American forces really get rolling.

"I'd like to be in on the drive, so let's hope nobody talks peace with the Japanese until we have invaded Japan proper," he said in a Navy-approved interview.

Lieut. Roosevelt reported to the Miami Subchaser Training Center today for training that will make him eligible for command. His wife, the former Ethel Du Pont of Wilmington, Del., accompanied him to Miami, and their two children, Franklin 3rd, whom they call Joe, and Christopher, were due today.

Roosevelt said it was his personal opinion that the European war will be over by October.

Roosevelt is eligible for promotion and may be a lieutenant commander when he is graduated from school after about two months.