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Russia's Last Stand In Berlin

ALL observers are saying that the Battle of Berlin is the climactic "cold war" engagement in the struggle for Western Europe. If the Soviets fall in their current effort to squeeze the Allies out of the Berlin capital they will have lost the last strong point from which they could continue their campaign to disorganize Western Europe's recovery as a coalition of democratic states under American leadership.

Russia's stake in the Berlin contest is so large that many Western observers believe she is willing to risk even to provoke a war with the United States in order to carry out her objective of driving the Allies out of their sectors of the German capital.

America's stake in Berlin is equally large, as has been pointed out by many of our leaders in recent days and as we are reminded again today by Sumner Welles in his article on this page, "Soviet Trap In Germany." If we permit the Russians to force us out of Berlin we will lose all of Europe, not just Germany.

In view of the existing situation, the question no longer is whether we should stay in Berlin but how we are going to remain there. Should we call for an immediate cessation of the Russian blockade of the present course of supplying Berlin by air ferry over the Soviet rail blockade while we exhaust every resource of diplomacy, economic sanction and the United Nations?

Gen. William Donovan now advances the view that the United States and the other Western powers should have a show of force which will make it crystal clear to Russia that we cannot be forced out of Berlin and we mean to have the occupa-

tion rights that are ours under the four-power agreement. It is hard to believe that the Soviet masters still have any doubts about that line, in the light of the demonstrations and protests we have been making. However, if there is a chance that the Kremlin still entertains the notion that we will surrender Berlin without a fight, then a more forceful show on our part is in order.

Proponents of stronger measures believe that Russia will back down in the pinch, and there is much in the picture to support that opinion. The hazards of a strong war would seem to be too great for even the ruthless managers of the Politburo. Indeed, there is reason for thinking that the Soviet never has had any real hope of driving us out of Berlin and her maneuvers in the German capital have been designed primarily as a delaying operation.

Under this interpretation, the Communist siege in Berlin has been conducted to that end. Every effort must be made and the unexpected would happen to improve the Russian position there and elsewhere, as well as to keep the Allies off balance. In particular, the Soviets seem to be counting that the danger is that in exchange for the evacuation of the Allies in Berlin which would restore the advantage to them in the "cold war." They have been and still are using every conceivable device to force us into a position where they can take advantage of our weakness.

Thus far, nothing has happened to improve the Soviet's chances for success in this daring venture and, as we see it, Russia is doomed to lose the battle for Berlin and Germany if we do not overlay our hand in retaliation to the Soviet moves.

One More Week For Bolters

WE now have two new parties in the field and this week the spotlight shifts from Birmingham, Ala., and the District of Columbia to Philadelphia and Henry A. Wallace's New Party, which holds its national convention in the city of Brotherly Love July 23, 24 and 25.

Both of these organizations of insurgent Democrats predict the doom of the old Democratic Party, for exactly opposite reasons, and declare they have become the permanent political custodians of the banners of Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt.

Warming up by his appearance in Philadelphia, Mr. Wallace resigns from his position as contributing editor of the *New Republic* with a rousing piece called "Farewell to Mr. Wallace," in which he again makes the mostheftiest theory that there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, and explains again why he nominated himself as the "Third Candidate" in which he again asks people a choice at the November election.

"By December of 1947 it became clear that both the old parties were definitely war parties," Mr. Wallace writes. "The old parties are the parties of imperialism, labor hating, militaristic and re-

actionary—utterly opposed to the long-time trend of economic or political forces."

The Wallace statement that there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic parties will make utterly no sense to a people who are about to witness a political demonstration of political differences between these parties in the special session of Congress called by President Truman for July 26.

Mr. Wallace's assertion that the dominant groups of both parties are "utterly opposed to the long-time trend of economic or political forces" sounds foolish indeed in the light of what happened at the recent Republican and Democratic national conventions, in which the first made its greatest concession to long-time trends in a quarter century and the second almost burst itself asunder through its responsiveness to the economic and political forces of the day.

What we are having in this campaign is a spectacular exhibition that the two old parties are undergoing a great change. It is evident from the time and the showing in this respect is evidence of their vitality and power to survive. It is an event that promises a long life for the two-party system, and a short career for third and fourth parties.

Rededication In The Alps

ON THE first day of next month the Swiss will mark their 65th year of freedom and the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of their Constitution.

Across the Alps on the evening of this day of celebration fires will blaze and in the villages the Swiss will ring church bells.

Switzerland is a democracy, has been one since 1848 when its Constitution, based largely on that of this nation, was adopted. It is true, there was the famous year in which the phrase of freedom on paper, they were engraved on their hearts.

Their democracy is, with them, a matter of three national pride. It was hard won, through which no Red ever saw a dream of drawing a blue pencil. Relying on official forecasts, to be sure, the *Times* reports: "The Polish harvest this year will be one of the finest in the country's history and in certain areas the yield will double that of last year." Poland should be self-sufficient in food in 1948 and have some left over for export, too. In Russia and in Southeastern Europe the prospects are also said to be good.

The weather at times has seemed to take sides in the disputes of men and nations. It is true, there was the famous year in which the phrase of freedom on paper, they were engraved on their hearts. Their democracy is, with them, a matter of three national pride. It was hard won, through which no Red ever saw a dream of drawing a blue pencil. Relying on official forecasts, to be sure, the *Times* reports: "The Polish harvest this year will be one of the finest in the country's history and in certain areas the yield will double that of last year." Poland should be self-sufficient in food in 1948 and have some left over for export, too. In Russia and in Southeastern Europe the prospects are also said to be good.

The Swiss have long since realized that their democracy, like the crops in their fields clinging to steep slopes, will not thrive without careful attention. The seed of democracy was planted long ago, and the Swiss did not leave it to grow alone. There was careful cultivation, and perhaps a bit of weeding.

Switzerland's rededication each year to its democratic ideals.

Switzerland has learned in its six and a half centuries of freedom the secret of dynamic democracy, and has learned that democracy has no place in a democracy, that freedom is the result of a battle fought anew in each generation.

The United States, powerful now, is the most dynamic nation in the world. It is owing to the exponents of the "American Century," is not too large to learn from a nation that was free when our country was only a dream in the minds of European navigators.

Must we mourn because the elements do not concern themselves with morals or manners or politics? Let us, rather, be glad that people will eat better this year behind as well as before the iron curtain. In the end, full bellies deprive even revolutionaries of their leanness, blunt their look.

Even A Bear Could Overeat



Our Stake In Berlin

Soviet Trap In Germany

By SUMNER WELLES
Former Undersecretary of State

THERE is no need to emphasize the risks involved in any prolonged continuation of the impasse in Berlin. Every effort must be made and the unexpected would happen to improve the Russian position there and elsewhere, as well as to keep the Allies off balance. In particular, the Soviets seem to be counting that the danger is that in exchange for the evacuation of the Allies in Berlin which would restore the advantage to them in the "cold war." They have been and still are using every conceivable device to force us into a position where they can take advantage of our weakness.

Thus far, nothing has happened to improve the Soviet's chances for success in this daring venture and, as we see it, Russia is doomed to lose the battle for Berlin and Germany if we do not overlay our hand in retaliation to the Soviet moves.

THE United States falls into the pit the Soviet Union is preparing the course of future events can readily be forecast.

Once an all-German government is re-established in Berlin the Kremlin will seek by every means at its disposal to enable for the German people into its grasp so as to make of Germany that "principal link in the chain of revolutions" which Lenin prophesied.

Already the Germans expelled from the Sudetenland, Poland and East Prussia are clamoring that co-operation with Russia will nullify the anti-Communist assurances Moscow has given Poland. Germany is saturated with propaganda that Russia will not merely utilize the Fatherland but will restore Bohemia, Transylvania and Lower Silesia, which Poland has occupied.

Only a few days ago Moscow's avowal in Germany proclaimed a secret plan that would make Eastern Germany an integral part of the Soviet system. The Germans were told that, once the reactionary anti-Fascist forces are driven out of their key positions, a unified German republic would become a partner in the Soviet bloc.

The American people have a right to know what the score really is. They have not yet received from the State Department any explanation of the reasons to understand why no present deal with Russia that would make it possible for the Soviet dictatorship to continue to exist.

Some of the few statements that Eastern Europe has produced in our time writes me this warning: "Russia can no longer hope to defeat the implementation of the European Recovery Program except by getting Germany on her side." And Russia is going to make an attempt to win all of the cunning of which she is capable.

The moment is propitious for such an attempt. During the past few months the political advantages to be gained by interpreting favorably such plausible offers as the Kremlin may make are obvious. Millions of men would be lured by the claim that they are being given "peace in our time."

SOME authorities on international affairs tell us that the pressure to accept Soviet terms at their face value will come from many quarters.

The peoples of Western Europe think that the withdrawal of Russia's troops from Germany would mean less danger of a Russian occupation of their own countries.

And here, as in Britain where we forget the trade errors of the 1920s (think that a recombinated and strong Germany serves us as a buffer against Russia).

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Joseph And Stewart Also Russ Power Cracking?

IT is too soon to say that the great imposing structure of Soviet power is being cracked. Yet as the secret reports drift in from Europe, it becomes more and more apparent that the Kremlin are desperately afraid that the structure they have so carefully and painfully erected will one day come crashing about their heads. This is clearly evident from a statement in the manner in which the screws are being tightened on the Russian machine. It has the power to tighten them.

A case in point is Czechoslovakia. The Russian military police is presently purging its Czechoslovakia, always regarded as a "left" of Moscow by the government—inexactly during the war, it transformed the Czech army into a Kremlin instrumentality. He was rewarded after the Moscow conference by Just Wierner with the Ministry of Defense in the new cabinet.

But somewhere along the line he must have been harshly rebuffed by the anti-Russian demonstrators during the recent Soviet celebrations. At any rate, it is now on a "fractured" leave of absence, and he is "from Moscow" Zdenek Zdenek. It is considered exceedingly doubtful that his leave of absence will soon end.

THE FIRST FISH
Yet the unfortunate Svoboda is not the only one who has been caught in the Moscow net. Reports from sources here and there are reliable indicate that a full-scale purge of the Communist Party has been ordered by Moscow, to take place within the next six weeks.

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Marquis Childs Pershing & Bradley

IN the funeral of the soldier, John Pershing, is an extraordinary pageant in our country's history. The present-taken span of Pershing's career, from the days of the Civil War to the atomic missile and a world utterly transformed.

It is a man who has been an Indian fighter against the Apaches in Arizona and the Sioux in the Dakotas. He has been a general in the American army, and he has been a general in the American navy. He has been a general in the American army, and he has been a general in the American navy.

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THE State Department promptly got in touch with Senator Alexander Smith, New Jersey Republican, who urged Revercomb to present Ambassador Douglas's views to the Senate-House conferees. Afterward, Smith asked Revercomb whether he had done it. Revercomb replied that he had not. "I didn't want to raise any racial or religious issues in the conference."