

# The New York Times

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410 N. YORK CITY. Telephone LACKAWANNA 4-1000  
Main Office... Times Building, 229 W. 43d St. (42)  
Miss O'Connell... Times Bldg. (42)  
Miss O'Connell... Times Bldg. (42)

MUNICIPALITY... Tel. Garden City 8908. 1377 Franklin Ave.  
NEWARK... Tel. Market 2-2000. 714 Broad St. (19)  
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## THE WAR MUST STILL BE WON

News from the battlefronts has been overshadowed during the past week by news of the great Allied conferences at Teheran and Cairo. These conferences have given us reassuring evidence of unity on the part of the Great Powers. They have undoubtedly shaped the strategy of the Allied offensive in the critical year 1944. They have given us a glimpse of a post-war world in which old wrongs will have been righted, as in the case of China, and the conditions of a surer peace established. But good as the news has been from Teheran and Cairo we cannot afford to forget for a moment that wars are won not by conferences but by "blood, sweat and tears," by fighting and dying. To allow satisfaction over the high hopes engendered by the successful outcome of the discussions in the Middle East to obscure this fact would be to risk all the gains that we have made. The leaders of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have merely agreed upon a method by which our enemies can be beaten; it remains for the people themselves, and the people's armies, to carry out these plans. We must not accept the will for the deed and slacken our efforts. That is what the enemy would like to have us do, and that is why those who help to spread rumors that Germany is on the verge of suing for peace do a disservice to their country and our allies.

Periodically these whisperings from Germany, from her satellites or from certain neutral capitals gain circulation and credence in some quarters in this country and Britain. Their purpose is to induce an attitude which leads to a diminution of effort and a drop in war production. Time and again responsible heads of Government find it necessary to deny that peace negotiations are in prospect. But we must expect more and more of these rumors as time goes on, and perhaps, as the fortunes of Nazi Germany sink to a still lower ebb, the rumors may even be accompanied by some political maneuvering designed to make it appear that the German people have been

of the freedom and dignity of the individual on the one hand and, on the other, that of man's subservience to the dictatorial power of the state. Hitler himself has said that the two principles cannot abide together on this planet—that one or the other must be smashed. In that he is right. The leaders of the free peoples of the world have drawn their plans to win the war. It is for free men now to execute those plans.

## PASSAGE TO INDIA

Out of Patterson Field, Ohio, runs the longest, freight line in the world, longer than any Casey Jones ever rode or hoped to ride, 14,000 miles to India. Its freight cars have wings, its signal lights are the sun and the stars in their courses and when it whistles for a crossing it can be heard a thousand miles away. We don't know by what route it runs, but maybe you can hear it rattling down to Natal, and climbing the Atlantic hill to Africa and pulling around the big curves over Egypt and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates and hauling into the yards at Karachi, Bombay, Bhopal or Calcutta. The engineer doesn't lean out the window and the brakemen don't run along the tops, but they take her through snow and they take her through dust, and if an eagle gets on the track so much the worse for the eagle.

It used to take months to get to India, going down around the Cape and up past Madagascar and across the Indian Ocean, where, first one way and then the other, the monsoon blows. It used to take weeks to get to India, going down past Gibraltar and along the wet highways once followed by Homer's heroes and on the tracks of the Phoenicians; through the Suez and past

Old Aden, like a barrack-stove That no one's lit for years and years. When this war opened the steamers were doing it from London in nineteen days to Bombay and twenty-one to Calcutta.

Capt. J. L. Okenfus and his crew did it out and back from Ohio, loading and unloading, in twelve days, and this is a regular schedule now, like the run from Chicago to Omaha. It gets to be routine. It gets to be a chore. Over there is India, where the Missouri River used to be. And when there is hunger in India now it matters in Ohio.

## BUY AND HOLD

The announcement is made this morning that a quota of \$911,000,000 has been set for sales to individuals in this State in the Fourth War Loan drive, which begins next month. This means that New Yorkers will be called upon to subscribe \$60,000,000 more than during the Third War Loan, when they topped their quota by a handsome margin.

As we look ahead to the new drive there is one fact which should be frankly faced. Too many war savings bonds (Series E, F and G) are being redeemed. In November, redemptions are estimated to be equal to almost one-fourth of the total war savings bonds sold. During the five months July through November redemptions averaged \$150,000,000 monthly, or about four times as large as in the same period last year.

Two factors appear to account for this substantial increase: the larger number of bonds now outstanding and the introduction of the withholding tax in July. Formerly, redemptions soared in tax months such as March and June, but now that every month is a tax month redemptions have remained at a high level. Further increases in redemptions could have important repercussions, especially if they reach a point where they largely offset the bonds sold currently. This would mean a significant reduction in the net amount of funds diverted to the Government and thus complicate the Treasury's task of financing the war. Unless there is at least a comparable increase in bond sales (November sales appear to have been the lowest for more than a year), more spendable funds would be retained by individuals, with the strong probability of an increase in inflationary pressure.

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this country, that city slickers were profiting at the expense of innocent country people. There was also a strong nationalist drive. As one Turkish newspaper said last August: "If they are our subjects let them tuck up their sleeves and swing the hoe; if they are foreigners, let them leave this country."

No formal protests were made by either the American or the British Government, but there were plenty of informal complaints. Turkey had to decide whether she would be an isolationist peasant state or one which would accept the normal relations with other countries and other peoples. Obviously she has chosen the latter course. She will gain economically and otherwise by the resulting increase in good-will.

## WORLD OF TOMORROW

It was a happy thought of the managers of the third wartime Nobel anniversary dinner tonight to ask their distinguished guests to discuss the "World of Tomorrow." Any good newspaper man can dream through five columns of airplanes that will take us for week-end outings in the Himalayas, of cooked food shot through pneumatic tubes from some central kitchen into the home, of cities roofed over and completely air-conditioned, of plastics that take the place of wood and metal, of synthetic chemicals that nature forgot to make, and of a thousand ways of keeping house or running factories with electric machines still to be invented. These are but the natural evolution of the contrivances we have. They call for some social adjustment, but they no longer make us gasp in wonder. The war alone has accelerated the pace of discovery and invention, so that the dreams of yesterday are already realities.

It is the effect of science on world thinking that is important. With civilized mankind everywhere riding in automobiles which are very much alike, bathing in tubs that are alike, reading by electric lamps that are alike, cooking with gas which is everywhere the same, listening to a single radio program that comes from London or New York, and rocking with laughter at the same Hollywood film, it is plain enough that technology is standardizing the world, and that it is harder than ever to be "different." There may be drawbacks to this uniformity, but on the whole the world is tending more and more to think as a unit. It is the outlook that is important, and it is because science shapes the outlook that it is a powerful aid in welding peoples together.

Nobel recognized the trend, and because he recognized it he established prizes for the promotion not only of peace but of experimental science. The two go hand in hand, despite the use that has been made of physics, chemistry and engineering in war. Not much attention was paid to the relationship when the last treaty of peace was signed. Perhaps it will receive more when the world's statesmen sit down to shape the post-war world. If there is to be a revived League of Nations it might well utilize science more actively as a means of bringing antipodal peoples together and of lifting backward communities to a higher social and economic level. It is significant that the League scored its most signal failures in politics and its most signal successes in economics and science.

## VERTICAL WARFARE

Yesterday's story of a field maneuver at Camp Mackall, in North Carolina, provided an especially interesting example of the thoroughness with which the American Army has mastered the methods of modern warfare. In the initial phase of this maneuver, nearly 6,000 soldiers, or more than half of a specialized division, were landed or dropped successfully from the air in a practice attack. They were transported in two hundred gliders and two hundred twin-engined C-47 transports, and their commander was able to report that they had been able to group themselves quickly and efficiently after landing.

From time to time our armed services have been criticized for being slow to adopt new weapons and new applications of old ones. But no one can carp at the scale with which they now

coming over him. Instead of wanting to put things off he found himself in haste. Instead of wanting to give a little he wanted to give a lot. He always wound up by picking out one case and sending his check for the entire amount for that case. Then he went his way and didn't think about it again, not until Christmas Eve.

But every year on Christmas Eve he walked for a bit on lower Fifth Avenue and then he let himself think a little differently than on other nights of the year. He thought about his own neediest case which he knew only from what he had read in his paper, and about which he would never know more than that. What good company I am in, he told himself. And then he knew that, until now, he had been alone for a whole year.

## Topics of The Times

Where statement to say that the men who met in conference at Cairo and Teheran traveled to their rendezvous on the wings of the wind. Actually they flew at ten times the normal speed of the wind, at three or four times the speed of the hurricane. Nevertheless, in one respect the tempo of 1943 diplomacy showed no improvement on the past. When these men who had flown two or three hundred miles an hour sat down to talk with each other they had to go through the tedious ordeal of the interpreter.

They managed it better in the Middle Ages. Winston Churchill, if he chose to fly, could go from London to Cairo in less than a day. President Roosevelt in an emergency could get to Cairo in two long hops of a day each. Inonu probably flew from Ankara in four hours. Stalin can go from Kursk to Teheran in six hours. For their predecessors in the year 1500 the journey would have been one of months. But once they got together in conference in the year 1500 the heads of state would have got on without an interpreter. They would have communicated directly with each other in Latin.

Herbert Spencer was a philosopher and private citizen and so was free to take steps from which a public man like President Inonu of Turkey is precluded. Herbert Spencer in company would listen to the general conversation only as long as he thought it did him good. When he got tired he pulled a couple of ear plugs from his pocket and proceeded to cut himself off from his environment. The very straightforwardness of the thing must have been disarming. But when the head of the Turkish state is asked a difficult question in the course of diplomatic business he is merely assailed by a recurrent deafness, which disappears as soon as the crisis is passed. No machinery is employed.

As for fiction, literature is full of instances where people have been hard of hearing or near-sighted, or otherwise handicapped only as the occasion demanded. In what is perhaps the most historic of all utopias, "The Clouds" of Aristophanes, a candidate applies for admission to the Thinking Shop operated by Socrates. It is a school where they teach men, among other things, how to get out of paying their just debts. By way of entrance test Socrates asks the applicant if he has a good memory. "When people owe me money," says the candidate, "I have a wonderful memory, but when a creditor comes around and demands to be paid I can't remember a thing." He is admitted with flying colors.

Given an unexpected windfall of silk material in present-day conditions, to what better use can it be put than into neckwear for men? That is not the opinion of our writer on the woman's page yesterday. It seems that a large quantity of silk, confiscated a few months ago by the British Government from German planes, has now come on the market.

One Way Memory

Silk's Natural Habitat

Fallure in the Past

## In The Nation

### A Solution of the War Criminals Problem

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9—How to make war guilt personal has been under study by statesmen and international lawyers of the United Nations for a long time. But no proposed solution has impressed many as both workable and effective. The growing prospects of victory over the Axis have now intensified the study and brought the topic out of the academic category into the real.

Among the deepest students of this problem, which in due course will be of foremost interest to the Allied and Axis peoples, is Charles Warren, historian of the Supreme Court and a leader of the international bar. He has evolved a solution which, tried out before a luncheon here of the Princeton Club, attended by international lawyers, military men and diplomats, was most favorably received.

Mr. Warren's proposal is that, in the terms of surrender imposed on each Axis nation, there be included a list of the leading war criminals of that country to be turned over to the United Nations for punishment. The terms would also reserve to the victors the right to fix any punishment they chose.

Enemy signatories of the terms would thus bind themselves to produce the persons named; the whole world would know that punishment was to be meted out to them; and, later, what it was, and when, how, where and by what nation inflicted.

In many instances it is probable, of course, that by suicide or external violence war criminals thus listed would never fall into the hands of the victors. But, in Mr. Warren's opinion, the lesson would still be clear, and be abiding in the future with persons disposed to invoke war.

### No Laws Cover Situation

He proposed this solution, after explaining that no international law exists which assures punishment for criminal individuals. The use of surrender terms to apprehend and penalize them would, however, be justified in international law as an act of high policy. This is recognized as the legal right of a nation when international agreements and rules of war do not, as in this case, cover a situation.

Mr. Warren told the Princeton Club that, though the failure of efforts after World War I gave ample proof that no provision exists in the laws of nations to make war guilt personal, statesmen and lawyers had done nothing to remedy the condition in the twenty-five years that passed before global war loomed again. Since the rules cannot be changed in the middle of the game, if respect for international law is to be maintained (one of the objectives of the United Nations in this conflict), the only resort, he said, is to the area of high policy.

Many war criminals on the lesser levels will be spared by this solution. But its author pointed out that to reach them all would be a monumental task, difficult of achievement, and one of which a world at peace might soon weary. To make an example of the leaders, he said, would accomplish the full purpose and nail down the point for posterity.

The terms of the existing Hague Convention, prescribing the rules of war, identify only nations and Governments, not individuals, as war criminals when these rules have been violated. Since many of the rules have been broken by all the nations involved in World War II, and since it is impossible to arraign, execute or imprison a whole nation, Mr. Warren turned to his plan of a selected list and an assured sentence in advance.

After he had reviewed the futile efforts of the Allies in World War I to reach and punish war criminals, his audience expressed approval of Mr. Warren's substitute. One lawyer, when the speaker concluded, said: "Ten minutes ago I had many questions to ask. But you have answered them all."

After the last war the Allied Governments sent to the German Government

## Letters to The Times

### Propaganda to Combat Nazis

Combination of Threats and Promises Suggested as Proper Method

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I read with interest the letter of Robert S. Fields published in THE NEW YORK TIMES Dec. 7, 1943. Having studied the Nazi propaganda and its undeniable effect on the German people, I believe that the "surrender or die" formula would be the correct approach to the problem of convincing the Germans that surrender is their best chance to survive.

To impress the German people, our propaganda must combine threats and promises. It must play alternately on chords of redemption and damnation. It must lay stress on appeals to reason, warning what dire consequences are in store for those who persist in unreason. In other words, it must threaten with the overwhelming power and might of the United Nations while at the same time appealing to the reason and the conscience of those Germans who would avoid the terrible reckoning before it is too late.

We are speaking here of a principle eternally valid in influencing masses. For centuries this principle has been symbolized in the alternatives of heaven and hell. This axiom of mass leadership and mass-influence must be reintroduced as a basic principle in dealing with the bewildered German masses. Redemption and damnation remain uncertain, in suspension. The individual is given a chance to choose up to the last moment. He may avoid the sentence or mitigate it by his active, last-minute repentance. But general absolution is never given in advance. There is a probationary period and once that expires, the sentence is executed.

Propaganda must counteract the main argument of Hitler and Goebbels' recent speeches that the destruction of the Nazis and their military might would also entail the destruction of the entire German people. The Germans, knowing what they did to other peoples, will never believe the suggestion that they will have a good time after surrendering to the Allies. But if their prospects become worse every day the war goes on.

Propaganda now must play on the evident war-weariness of the German people. It must threaten with still more horrors but at the same time make clear that only the Nazis and their henchmen and all those who associate with them—regardless of their number—are going to be held responsible.

Its main task must remain to drive a wedge between the war-weary, frightened masses of the people and the Nazis. Every broadcast or appeal should start with the slogan, "The Nazis are Germany's misfortune, and end with the slogan, "Hitler muss vergehen—soll Deutschland—bestehen" (Hitler must go—that Germany may remain). Every device of psychology and public speaking must be brought to bear to convince the German people that their fate is not yet indissolubly bound up with the Nazis. There is still a very last chance for those not actively associated with the Nazi criminals to save their skins.

ALFRED KANTOROWICZ,  
New York, Dec. 8, 1943.

### OPA Rulings Called Stupid

Existence of Some Black Markets Laid to Lack of Fairness

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I am wondering if all patrons of black markets are as unapologetic as they are described. It occurs to me that, on occasion, an honest and Uncle Sam-loving individual might be provoked, even forced, into buying through such channels by the stupidity and unfairness of OPA dicta.

Take the gasoline situation in reference to myself. I live in an isolated rural spot—twenty miles round-trip from my postoffice, bank, nearest bus-

they any longer. I thought the in Washington, even though they being awarded out of thousands of dollars, because there is no need the exemption of business from withholding in the same mission industry.

Anyone of average intelligence realizes that Communism is an all subject to certain business. Why is it that no one in Washington ever gives thought to the hundred thousand dollars forced to pay business expenses used for business purposes?

New York, Dec. 7, 1943.

### 'Warm Water Ports' for

There is Objection to Turning and Port Arthur Over to

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: Your column of Dec. 7, 1943, in a dispatch from the Times in THE NEW YORK TIMES reported several proposals to be made, one being the turning of Japanese Emperor Hirohito from her imperial throne to the southern part of the island of Dairen, Japan, and the other, the turning of the island of Sakhalin to the Russian people.

In the light of the fact that not think that the turning of these ports to Russia is a suggestion. It is a fact that these were once held by the Japanese, but not mean that the turning of territory could be a suggestion. It is a fact that the Russian people are not to be turned over to the Japanese people.

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To act in the interest of the Russian people, the part of the Japanese people, only be turned over to the Russian people.

Imperial throne, and the turning of the island of Sakhalin to the Russian people.

Congressional Attitude

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: It is an interesting fact that the actions of Congress in the Here is a suggestion that the existence of some black markets is laid to lack of fairness.

the gains that we have made. The leaders of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China have merely agreed upon a method by which our enemies can be beaten; it remains for the people themselves, and the people's armies, to carry out these plans. We must not accept the will for the deed and slacken our efforts. That is what the enemy would like to have us do, and that is why those who help to spread rumors that Germany is on the verge of suing for peace do a disservice to their country and our allies.

Periodically these whisperings from Germany, from her satellites or from certain neutral capitals gain circulation and credence in some quarters in this country and Britain. Their purpose is to induce an attitude which leads to a diminution of effort and a drop in war production. Time and again responsible heads of Government find it necessary to deny that peace negotiations are in prospect. But we must expect more and more of these rumors as time goes on, and perhaps, as the fortunes of Nazi Germany sink to a still lower ebb, the rumors may even be accompanied by some political maneuvering designed to make it appear that the German people have seen the error of their ways and are ready to dispose of Hitler as the Italians disposed of Mussolini.

Certainly it is more to the interest of Germany than to that of the Allies to seek peace now. We are winning; they are losing. But what kind of peace could we get by negotiation now? Certainly not the kind of peace for which we have been fighting. As long as the evil principles which the German people have espoused under Hitler continue to be supported by the unbroken military might which he has used so wantonly there can be no peace, but only a truce in which the Prussian militarists start preparing for a new attempt at domination with the manpower which even now they are scheming to conserve. Germany still has upward of 300 divisions and a weakened but still powerful air force. Until that military power is defeated and destroyed it is idle to hope for an early peace or a lasting one.

The British saw this clearly when they chose to fight on against overwhelming odds at a time when it was possible for them to arrange a peace with Hitler. Parliamentary government, civil liberties and all the other blessings of democracy for which men have fought and died throughout the centuries could not long have endured across the Channel from a continent bristling with German guns and echoing to the tramp of the Nazi jackboot. Nor would they long endure in this country if a half-defeated Germany were left to prepare for new aggressions at a more propitious time.

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor shattered the last hope of American isolation. But if the blow had not fallen at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, it would have fallen somewhere else at some other time. For the struggle, both in Europe and in Asia, is between two fundamentally opposed ideas—that

one-fourth of the total war savings bonds sold. During the five months July through November redemptions averaged \$150,000,000 monthly, or about four times as large as in the same period last year.

Two factors appear to account for this substantial increase: the larger number of bonds now outstanding and the introduction of the withholding tax in July. Formerly, redemptions soared in tax months such as March and June, but now that every month is a tax month redemptions have remained at a high level. Further increases in redemptions could have important repercussions, especially if they reach a point where they largely offset the bonds sold currently. This would mean a significant reduction in the net amount of funds diverted to the Government and thus complicate the Treasury's task of financing the war. Unless there is at least a comparable increase in bond sales (November sales appear to have been the lowest for more than a year), more spendable funds would be retained by individuals, with the strong probability of an increase in inflationary pressure.

The Treasury should undertake a more effective campaign to reduce redemptions. A detailed analysis of the bonds turned in would prove helpful. How many were purchased in special drives? What part was bought under payroll deduction plans? What are the denominations of these bonds? In what sections of the country are the redemptions most important? Why have they been redeemed? By making sample checks to answer such pertinent questions, valuable information would be obtained. Study might also be given to the desirability of a new type of bond which could not be redeemed, at least for the duration of the war, plus some designated period.

Large-scale conversion to acquire cash for spending is inflationary. It will add to the financial burden of the war, disrupt production and seriously impair the living standards of large numbers of our people. These developments rapidly affect everyone. Each one of us, therefore, has a very selfish reason and a patriotic responsibility to hold the bonds we acquire. The new keynote of the war bond drive must be: Buy and Hold.

### THE TURKISH MINORITIES

One happy result of the Turkish decision to move a little closer to the Allies has been the release of about 30,000 Turkish subjects, nearly all Greek or Armenian Christians or Jews, who had been interned for failure to pay a capital levy. This tax, imposed thirteen months ago for the avowed purpose of raising funds for the army, hit the minorities harder than it did the Moslems and the poor harder than it did the well-to-do. Those who couldn't or didn't pay could be, and often were, sent to work on the roads in Eastern Anatolia.

Support for the policy came from the Turkish peasant, who had the feeling, as old as the hills and not unknown in

it might well utilize science more actively as a means of bringing antipodal peoples together and of lifting backward communities to a higher social and economic level. It is significant that the League scored its most signal failures in politics and its most signal successes in economics and science.

### VERTICAL WARFARE

Yesterday's story of a field maneuver at Camp Mackall, in North Carolina, provided an especially interesting example of the thoroughness with which the American Army has mastered the methods of modern warfare. In the initial phase of this maneuver, nearly 6,000 soldiers, or more than half of a specialized division, were landed or dropped successfully from the air in a practice attack. They were transported in two hundred gliders and two hundred twin-engined C-47 transports, and their commander was able to report that they had been able to group themselves quickly and efficiently after landing.

From time to time our armed services have been criticized for being slow to adopt new weapons and new applications of old ones. But no one can carp at the scale with which they now undertake new methods of attack when they are convinced of the soundness of the weapon at hand. When the Nazi blitz began to roll over the Low Countries the world was incredulous at the reports of specially trained advance guards and saboteurs dropped at strategic points by parachute. Our own paratroop training, begun in a small way, has grown by leaps and bounds. After Crete we too began an ambitious troop-carrying glider program. Both dispatches and photographs which have passed the censor have dramatized the successes in suitable terrain in the Mediterranean and Far Eastern theatres of our use of vertical attack by airborne troops on an ever-mounting scale. It is notable that General MacArthur's men have scored some of their finest victories against the Japanese in the Pacific by a parachute attack that has enabled them to capture and consolidate rear areas.

### THE MAN WHO WAS NOT ALONE

There was a man who was alone. He didn't mind it, however, because he didn't know he was alone. There was no book he could not read, and he had a more-than-comfortable roof over his head. Barring a headache now and again when he was careless he had not an ache or a pain. He had no family either to love or to dislike and no one to worry about. And yet there was one time of year when he always became uneasy. It was always in December.

He put away the uneasiness as long as he could year after year, but there came a time when he couldn't put it off any longer. Then he took up his newspaper and started to read the Hundred Neediest Cases. Well, I'll give a little, he always said to himself.

But as he read he found a change

Way people have been hard of hearing or near-sighted, or otherwise handicapped only as the occasion demanded. In what is perhaps the most historic of all unspoiled, "The Clouds" of Aristophanes, a candidate applies for admission to the Thinking Shop operated by Socrates. It is a school where they teach men, among other things, how to get out of paying their just debts. By way of entrance test Socrates asks the applicant if he has a good memory. "When people owe me money," says the candidate, "I have a wonderful memory, but when a creditor comes around and demands to be paid I can't remember a thing." He is admitted with flying colors.

Given an unexpected windfall of silk material in present-day conditions, what better use can it be put than into neckwear for men? That is not the opinion of our writer on the woman's page yesterday. It seems that a large quantity of silk, confiscated a few months ago by the British Government from German prizes, has now come on the market. It is destined to end up as cravats and other embellishments for the stronger sex. Women's stockings will have to get along on rayon. Our writer yesterday hinted that there ought to be a law.

But should there? All the arguments seem to point the other way. The male necktie is one of the world's great classics. It is one of the few constants of civilization amid the swirling tides of change.

This is wholly aside from the argument from economy, that or as we really ought to say, Blind the argument from logistics. It is simply a question of how to get the largest possible good out of a given quantity of silk.

Where the supply is strictly limited there can be no two opinions about it. A given quantity of silk will make a braver showing in the form of cravats for the men than of silk stockings for the ladies. Thinking socially, as we all should be doing, it is obvious that a silk ration will add more to the amount of beauty in general circulation, to the national morale in times of trial, in short, to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, when displayed on the manly bosom than if exhibited anywhere else, or if not exhibited at all.

The only real problem in the present instance is seasonal. By this time all the Christmas neckties have been bought or in any case manufactured. This new supply of contraband German silk can only go, as our writer yesterday so clearly understood, into Easter cravats. But at Easter a man is still pretty well stocked up from Christmas, counting the holiday ties given him and the ties he quietly bought for himself because they were the ones he really liked.

levels will be spared by this solution. But its author pointed out that to reach them all would be a monumental task, difficult of achievement, and one of which a world at peace might soon weary. To make an example of the leaders, he said, would accomplish the full purpose and nail down the point for posterity.

The terms of the existing Hague Convention, prescribing the rules of war, identify only nations and Governments, not individuals, as war criminals when these rules have been violated. Since many of the rules have been broken by all the nations involved in World War II, and since it is impossible to arraign, execute or imprison a whole nation, Mr. Warren turned to his plan of a selected list and an assured sentence in advance.

After he had reviewed the futile efforts of the Allies in World War I to reach and punish war criminals, his audience expressed approval of Mr. Warren's substitute. One lawyer, when the speaker concluded, said: "Ten minutes ago I had many questions to ask. But you have answered them all."

### Failure in the Past

After the last war the Allied Governments sent to the German Government a list of 805 persons, classifying them as war criminals and demanding that they be tried and punished in the German courts. The reply was that few of these persons could be found, and a counter-request was made for a smaller list. This bled down to forty-eight Germans, of whom eventually five were tried—one, a submarine commander, whose violation of the rules of war had been unusually brutal, *in absentia* and in the person of his chief officer. Mr. Warren told his audience that two short and one long sentence were imposed by the German courts, "but it is doubtful they ever were served." Partly on the basis of this experience he worked out his own plan.

At Moscow it was formally recommended that alleged war criminals be brought back for "impartial" trial in the countries where it is charged their offenses have been committed. But whether such trials were in military or civil courts, it is not probable that impartiality could be achieved or that justice would be done, as justice is defined by enlightened legal standards. The American Bar Association has been much concerned over the prospect that the majesty of the law will be dethroned if post-war vengeance is permitted to be wreaked blindly and without restraints.

Mr. Warren's proposal takes the matter of punishment out of legal and judicial process and puts it squarely into the political field. As an exercise of high policy, the victor nations would name the criminals and sentence them as they saw fit, excusing legal and judicial systems from any responsibility. This would solve more than one problem for lawyers and diplomats with the Hague and Geneva conventions (the latter dealing with the treatment of war prisoners) heavily on their hands.

vergent—soft—Deutschmann— (Hitler must go—that Germany may remain). Every devil of psychology and public speaking must be brought to bear to convince the German people that their fate is not yet indissolubly bound up with the Nazis. There is still a very last chance for those not actively associated with the Nazi criminals to save their skins.

ALFRED KANTOROWICZ.  
New York, Dec. 3, 1943.

### OPA Rulings Called Stupid

Existence of Some Black Markets Laid to Lack of Fairness

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I am wondering if all patrons of black markets are as unpatriotic as they are described. It occurs to me that, on occasion, an honest and Uncle Sam-loving individual might be provoked, even forced, into buying through such channels by the stupidity and unfairness of OPA dicta.

Take the gasoline situation in reference to myself. I live in an isolated, rural spot—twenty miles round-trip from my postoffice, bank, nearest doctor and stores. The only means of transportation is my car. Making a living as a writer and consulting engineer, it is essential that I maintain face-to-face contacts periodically in New York City. Physically I am not in good shape and I have a doctor's affidavit that my car is the only practical means of getting about. Yet the OPA refuses me sufficient gasoline with which to make a bond-buying, income-tax-paying living.

I am chairman for the Town of Broome in the National War Fund drive. I should solicit and contact assistants over 110 miles of mountainous back roads—dirt and shale and gasoline-eating low-gear hills. I am more than willing to pay for wear and tear, tires, chains, gas and oil. But the OPA will not grant me a single coupon.

Deer hunting has been excellent this season. Perhaps I can thumb a ride to New York with some hunter returning from the Adirondacks and come back in another New York car—one of those that speed north every day past my home, with skis strapped to the top.

ZEN HODCH.  
Middleburg, N. Y., Dec. 3, 1943.

### Commission Salesman Complains

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: The article in the Sunday papers voicing the complaints of spokesmen for various organizations dependent upon contributions for their existence is quite touching.

The matter of gift allowance is only one of several injustices in the 20 per cent withholding method of tax collection. However, with a powerful group sponsoring a change, no doubt something will be done about it, which is as it should be.

But there is another group of workers who are not organized, nor have

ple. We must... United Nations... their rights... or in Asia... New York, Dec. 3, 1943.

### Congressional Attitude

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: It is amazing to see the actions of certain members of Congress. Here is Senator James H. Doolittle who is vehemently pro-OPA and yet this same Senator sponsored the Banking and Currency bill to force the G to spend \$100,000,000 a year town newspapers.

Then there is Senator Robert F. Wagner who is a newspaper publisher and yet strangely enough is a loud supporter of the OPA. The question arises to me: this Senator Wagner, who represents interests of the newspaper nation, it only represents the various groups? We seem to have little respect to our own public policy and permitting a situation to exist where open, it is possible that we can publicize the policy of the silent citizens who are so tremendously affected by these actions, and it is to be hoped that the press will insist to the people.

GLAD... New York, Dec. 3, 1943.

### HONOR ROLL

Villagers, who... The boy with... counter... Who brought... our love... Who once... banters... Villagers, remember how... Doe's long... slow to... Who staid... the hills... Covey and... spring... Villagers, in... What glory... stocky... Small... through... And rubbed... hillsides... Villagers, who... Of these... shall we... Say that... and tell... Surprised, full... lonely... FRANK