

# ISOLATIONISM IRKS STASSEN

Former Governor  
Lashes 'Demagogues'

Harold E. Stassen Tuesday night appealed to the people of "every American community" to support the United Nations organization and denounced "demagogues who say we can take care of ourselves."

The former Minnesota governor spoke at a Republican rally of 650 farmers and suburbanites who jammed the Bloomington high school auditorium.

Flanked on the platform by members of the Richfield village council and Bloomington town board, Stassen insisted, "It is important to the people in Bloomington and Richfield and the rest of Minnesota and in the nation that we support the UNO to preserve world peace and assure our prosperity."

## SHIPSTEAD IGNORED

Stassen did not mention the name of Sen. Henrik Shipstead, against whom he is supporting Gov. Edward J. Thye in the GOP primary, but it was obvious he was cracking at the veteran senator when he criticized "demagogues who use catch phrases and tell us we must take care of ourselves first."

The former governor again and again emphasized the importance of world co-operation to the average man, to his family and to his hopes for peace and prosperity.

"What is done to get business operating and farms producing and industry running again elsewhere in the world is important to all of us here in the United States, in Minnesota, in Bloomington," he said.

Stassen indorsed American loans to foreign countries and declared they are essential to the creation of a large volume of international trade without which American prosperity cannot last.

## TRADE NEED CITED

"We can avoid depression and unemployment for three, four or five years while we're just producing to fill our own pent-up needs," Stassen said.

"But we'll need greatly increased international trade to keep our men employed and our industries running."

The former governor also inferentially answered Shipstead's attack on the "Stassen-Thye" deal, by declaring open primaries leave the decisions within each party up to the people.

"In the future what will the Republican party stand for?" he asked. "Will it follow the demagogues who say we should feed our own people first, pay off our own debts first and take care of

our own needs before helping the rest of the world?

## 'WILL GOP LEAD?'

"Or will the Republican party help America assume its rightful leadership in the world?"

Stassen said, "Selfishness is not the controlling factor in the world," and insisted, "Both as individuals and as nations we must take far-sighted policies that benefit the welfare of the greatest number."

"Those policies," he added, "are also usually the best for us individually, too."

The former governor said he knows the UNO is not the complete answer, but said it is a step in the right direction. He declared he also is "optimistic about the future of the world," but does not underestimate difficulties ahead. "But all real progress has come," he concluded, "because some men have done what others said could not be done."

# Stassen Backs Byrnes Policy

NEW YORK—INS—Harold E. Stassen threw his weight today behind the chief points of Secretary Byrnes' foreign policy.

A speaker at a dinner marking the 125th anniversary of Greek independence, Stassen called upon America to back up "solid commitments" to UNO with all its military and economic resources.

He said the United States must make it clear that a vote by any UNO participant could never "excuse an act of aggression."

Stassen, however, criticized the state department's policy on Argentina and Spain. He condemned the "blue book" on Argentina, and the release of the "documentary case against the Franco government."

He said those questions should rightly have been dealt with through UNO or its pan-American affiliate.

## BLOOMINGTON-RICHFIELD RALLY TO HEAR STASSEN

Harold E. Stassen will address a rally of Bloomington and Richfield Republicans at 8 p.m. Tuesday at Bloomington high school.

Mrs. Clarence Swanson, Bloomington, member of Hennepin county Republican committee, will preside. Bloomington high school band will play.

## Washington Notes

### The UNO's Great Test

THE SPOTLIGHT's on the UNO in New York this week. It's the most fateful conference since the war. The cauldron may simmer or it may boil over. There's little the average man can do save hope and stay cool. Russia has thus far chosen isolation. If we can work out a formula to live with Uncle Joe, this column is for it. A lot of sanctimonious criticism of Russia is being voiced by those who hate her and don't care too much for democracy either. But there comes a point where you have to draw the line.

We heard Senator Pepper's "put-yourself-in-Russia's place" speech in the Senate last week. He spoke strongly, sincerely, resolutely. He has real eloquence. It took courage to make the speech. We were proud that the Senate could offer such a forum and wish more Senators had heard it; we counted 22 as he finished, six Republicans. But for our money, Pepper would have been more effective if he had been less one-sided. What can you do with his interpolation, denouncing those who would make "a world conflagration out of the movement of a few troops a few miles into a neighboring territory" to resist an oil monopoly? The movement of "a few troops a few miles" is the heart of the issue; the question whether you have a single or a double world standard of morality. As this is written, there's hope of an off-stage settlement. And so we leave this bit of advice with UNO delegates:

"Gentlemen, once there were two City-states, Athens and Sparta. They had every reason to cooperate. They had the world to live in. Their wisest leaders pointed out the necessity for peace. But they fought. Why? Because they were afraid of each other. And, Gentlemen, they were both destroyed."

We have two political parties in this country, one of which doesn't know where it's going while the other seems trying to commit suicide. The Republican Party is not isolationist, but isolationists vote Republican. The Democratic Party has a mutinous legislative crew who seem bent on wrecking their ship. Now Chairman Hannegan, Henry Wallace and, most recently, President Truman in his Jackson Day dinner speech have called on the poll-tax, conservative Democratic wing to get into line with White House policies. Lacking the power of the parliamentary system to dissolve a recalcitrant legislature, a President must see his program blocked and frustrated. After patronage is exhausted, there's little he can do. Mr. Truman lacks the inspired gift of Roosevelt to rouse the public and dramatize an issue. Yet it is clear that the Democrats will destroy themselves if the present legislative disorganization continues. The GOP may well capture the House this fall, and such a victory almost inevitably forecasts GOP victory in 1948.

The GOP is split, too. Its skeleton is foreign policy. When Bob La Follette took his Progressives back into the Republican fold, he said the Democrats were hopelessly

"stalled on dead center." He and Wayne Morse hope to liberalize the old party. Their attempt makes confusion more profound. Perhaps La Follette's latent isolationism also drew him to the Republicans. He believes in keeping clear of Europe's wars and is sincere in his views, whatever you think of his logic. But other Republicans are isolationist in a different sense; they favor big-navy imperialism, fondle the atomic bomb possessively and, above all, support economic nationalism. In many ways Stassen is liberal; but Stassen in the White House would, almost as certainly as Herbert Hoover, be the signal for a tariff boost by his party in Congress. He would have as much trouble holding back his fellows, if he tried to, as Truman is now having.

Until we can devise a system of discipline, the over-all prospect of party responsibility in Washington isn't bright. The La Follette-Monroney reorganization plan for Congress proposes creation of "policy committees" for parties in the legislature. They would formulate a yardstick of party position on major issues, against which the public could measure the performance of individual members as well as that of the party as a whole. The scheme represents a sorely needed first step and the experiment should be tried.

Meanwhile, the GOP has two specific tests of isolationism. These are the senatorial primary races of Shipstead in Minnesota and of Hugh Butler in Nebraska. These two isolationists are pitted against two GOP internationalists. The results will help tell which way the Elephant is pointing this fall.



# 'STASSEN DIDN'T CLOAK MEANING WITH WORDS'

From the Christian Century

IN A SPEECH March 7, Comm. Harold E. Stassen made an utterance so forthright and unevasive that it will be quoted for or against him when his name comes before the Republican convention in 1948—as it probably will.

Looking forward to the San Francisco conference, to which he has been named as a delegate, he covered in outline the whole ground of future international relations.

His seven numbered points were displayed at the beginning, so that none of them could be overlooked. These are: (1) We must join in building a continuing organization of the United Nations of the World. (2) We must "delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty" to this organization. (3) Our own peace and welfare are inseparably intertwined with the welfare of all men everywhere. (4) America must contribute from its resources of capital and productive capacity for the advancement of standards of living throughout the world. (5) We believe in the free dissemination of information throughout the world by press, radio and school. (6) The aggressors in this war shall be made and kept powerless to start future wars, while we and our allies must maintain our armed strength to furnish police power in the world. (7) We must maintain our free democracy, with private capital and individual enterprise, permitting other nations to have what political and economic systems they will, so long as they do not "trample on basic human rights or threaten the peace of the world," and allowing our citizens to have full information about other systems but not allowing other governments to undermine our system by propaganda for theirs.

Stassen did not try to cloak his meaning with soft words. He even went out of his way to challenge the strong nationalists of his own party by explicitly repudiating what he called "the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty," and by declaring that we must surrender part of our sovereignty.

Star Journal  
March 21 45

## Stassen Favors U. N. Force to Police Palestine

### Candidate Visits Vermont, Renews Plea for Curb on Speculation in Food

By David McConnell

A Staff Correspondent

BURLINGTON, Vt., Jan. 26.—

Harold E. Stassen called today for establishment of a United Nations police force to establish order in Palestine and, on the domestic front, recommended temporary government curbs on all speculation in commodities exceeding individual holdings of \$100,000.

The former Governor of Minnesota brought his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination into Vermont with a noon-time talk at Montpelier and a discussion tonight of the United Nations at a public meeting here under the sponsorship of the Vermont Forum.

In search of support from Vermont's nine Republican convention delegates, Mr. Stassen also met this morning with Governor Ernest W. Gibson, of Vermont. Governor Gibson described Mr. Stassen, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York and Governor Earl Warren of California, as leading contenders in this state for the nomination. Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, has little strength, he said.

On domestic issues, Mr. Stassen told the noon meeting, sponsored by Montpelier's service clubs, that Congress should "permanently outlaw" speculation by government officials in commodities affected by government purchases or decisions.

On the basis of his charges that government employees had profited by speculations in the commodity market, Mr. Stassen also recommended a "complete revision" of governmental purchasing policies by placing them under "continuous supervision" of a Congressional subcommittee. The committee would be charged with seeing that supplies for essential needs abroad are "obtained with a minimum impact" on the American market.

Referring to the investigation of his charges in Washington by a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mr. Stassen said their findings "demonstrated with amazing clarity" that "unwise governmental purchasing" had contributed to the rise in food prices. He cited government purchasing of lard to demonstrate his contention of "unwise purchases."

### Cites Lard Purchases

From June, 1946, to July 1, 1947, Mr. Stassen said the United States purchased 50,000,000 pounds of lard, yet in July, 1947, purchases of 27,000,000 pounds were made. The lard was bought, Mr. Stassen asserted, at a time when the market traditionally is "at its lowest ebb."

In urging curbs on speculation in commodities, Mr. Stassen emphasized he felt they should be temporary. With commodities scarce, he recommended outlawing individual speculations of more than \$100,000 as a protection against upsetting the markets.

The Minnesotan also repeated previous recommendations to meet the increased cost of living by establishing "excess inventory control power in the government" as a method of combating hoarding. He also asked for governmental imposed limitations on credit—especially consumer installment credits—and called for an extension of rent control.

At the forum meeting here tonight Mr. Stassen repeated recommendations made in New York City in a talk recently before the Young Republican Club that the United States ask for a U. N. convention in 1950 to amend and rewrite the peace organization's charter.

Turning to the Palestine problem he noted that the U. N. had made the decision for its partition. As a follow-up on the partition Governor Gibson described Mr. Stassen urged creation of the U. N. police force to "establish order, to disarm the war-Earl Warren of California, as leading contenders in this state for the nomination. Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, has little strength, he said.

# Stassen's Plea Wins Applause

By WILBUR ELSTON

Staff Writer of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune

Comm. Harold E. Stassen, making his first major address, on international affairs since he entered the navy two years ago, Wednesday night boldly advocated "a definite, continuing organization of the United Nations of the World" as the first step in development of "a new and higher level of government."

Speaking in Northrop auditorium on University of Minnesota campus before a crowd which listened intently but interrupted with frequent bursts of applause, Stassen outlined, in serious vein, a program of seven points he believes to be basic in America's future world policy.

## 'GOOD TO BE HOME'

After acknowledging Gov. Edward J. Thye's introduction, Comm. Stassen admitted soberly, "It is good to be home," and then launched into his prepared address.

As one of the delegates to the San Francisco conference opening April 25, Stassen declared he would, while being "individually responsible" for his actions, assist in "securing a result of this crucial conference which will be supported by the overwhelming majority of the people of America and by substantially all of the other United Nations."

## DIVISION OF OPINION

"The result will not be, and cannot be, entirely in accord with any nation's or any person's individual views," Stassen continued. "But the alternative to finding the areas of agreement is to do nothing at all. And nothing at all would start us on our way along the short road of inaction, to worldwide depressions and to the next and most tragic world war."

That statement, uttered with deadly seriousness which characterized Stassen's entire address, brought a prolonged burst of applause from the crowd.

Through a world organization based on justice and law and insured by force, Stassen declared, "we shall gradually develop a new and higher level of government with worldwide jurisdiction, for the future peace, progress and wellbeing of mankind."

He proposed seven cardinal

Stassen

Continued on Page Seven

## STASSEN

Continued From Page One

points of America's future world policy for the purpose of stimulating the "search for principles to guide America's actions in years to come." The points, in order, were:

1 That as a nation we join with our present allies at San Francisco to build a definite, continuing organization of the United Nations of the world, based on justice and law and insured by force.

2 That we abandon the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty and delegate a limited portion of that sovereignty to the United Nations organization.

3 That we consider the future welfare, peace and happiness of the people of America is "inseparably intertwined" with the welfare, peace and happiness of the people of the world.

4 That we use our productive capacity, capital, credit and technical skill to help raise gradually the standards of living of all peoples of the world.

5 That we believe in the freedom of information through press, radio, school and forum as "a vital factor" in peace and progress and "in the fulfillment of the dignity of man."

6 That the aggressors be stripped—and kept stripped—of their means to make war and that the United States, while remaining strong itself, join with the other United Nations in furnishing police power in the world.

7 That we propose to remain a "democracy of free citizens with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise" which we will, however, constantly seek to improve.

## HUMAN RIGHTS CODE

Comm. Stassen declared he did not feel the international organization had to take some certain, detailed, exact form, but that it should include "some method of developing basic worldwide law" and make possible the "future enactment of a fundamental code of human rights."

"The beginning may be very small," he pointed out, "but even if we started with enactment of one law—that no country in time of peace shall execute a human

being without just trial—it would be a significant step.

"From small beginnings, gradually the rights of freedom of worship, of fair trial, of freedom of speech and press, the right of the worker to organize and prevention of discrimination should be developed," the former governor declared.

"With it should be started the worldwide laws or rules against aggression, for the flight of aircraft, for the use of ports and canals, restriction of armaments, availability of resources, advancement of health and education and prevention of unjust confiscation of property."

In these paragraphs, Stassen was reiterating his belief, often expressed before he entered service, that a world organization should gradually assume control over many of the functions now exercised independently by national governments.

Stassen recommended a court with worldwide jurisdiction to administer laws enacted by an international organization and a police force to enforce the decisions, "if order and justice are to be respected and maintained."

## BATTLE FOR PEACE

Pointing out tremendous strides have been made in recent months toward fulfillment of his proposal for a continuing United Nations organization, Stassen asserted the San Francisco conference should be regarded "as the golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace."

Stassen departed from his prepared text several times, the longest addition being to his declaration true sovereignty rests in the people. He added: "That man is in truth and in fact endowed, not by his nation, but by his Creator with certain unalienable rights."

He closed his address, broadcast to a nationwide audience, with a fervent appeal, emphasized by a clenched fist, that "we may have the courage, wisdom and vision to raise a definite standard that will appeal to the best in man and then strive mightily toward that goal."



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## Stassen Demonstrates World Statesmanship

COMM. STASSEN'S speech at the Northrop Auditorium definitely places him on the high level, not only of national but of international statesmanship as well. His cogent exposition of the case for world collaboration gives abundant assurance that his part in the San Francisco security conference will be an important one, and that in the happier days to come he must inevitably be an outstanding leader, in national and international affairs.

There was a depth of sincerity and a firmness of faith in his speech, which must have found a response in the minds and hearts of everyone in the Northrop audience and the multitudes who heard him over the radio, and the clarity of his reasoning must have dissipated such doubts and fears that any of his auditors may have entertained. It was not an oratorical exercise in glib optimism or facile idealism, but a sober consideration of the alternative that faces the peoples of the world if there is not some world unification to prevent the recurrence of the indescribable ravages of war. He has seen the war at first hand, and it obviously has made a deep and lasting impression on him, crystallizing his earlier convictions.

The commander made clear that he has no illusory expectations that this effort to bind the nations of the world together for the maintenance of peace or that agreements reached will be entirely satisfactory to everyone. With simple directness he dismissed that thought; "this means, of course that the result will not be and cannot be entirely in accord with any nation's or any person's individual views. But I cannot say too emphatically that the alternative to finding the areas of agreement is to do nothing at all. And nothing at all would start us on our way along the short road of inaction, to world-wide depressions and to the next and most tragic world war."

That, in a few short words, is the case for our joining a world organization and the complete answer to those critics who would have an unattainable perfection or nothing—the admitted imperfections or the admitted alternative, which is another world war.

The commander was not content with broad generalizations, but laid down seven cardinal points on what he considers should be our future world policy. These seven points are specific in detail and frank in statement. They do not seek to avoid controversy. His views on nationalistic sovereignty are perhaps more advanced than those held by many more timorous people, but the question of sovereignty is one that must be faced with the realization " . . . that this nation, nor any other nation can be a law unto itself in the modern world." Unequivocally he holds "that true sovereignty rests in the people, and that there must be a law of humanity above and be-

yond the narrow rule of nationalistic absolute sovereignty."

In the words of Wendell Willkie, to whom he paid a gracious and deserved tribute, this is "one world."

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# 'Independence' in an Interdependent World

*Shaw* **W**HATEVER wording emerges in the trusteeship chapter about to be written into the United Nations charter, the debate over "independence" as applied to colonies has been one of the most revealing at San Francisco.

To recapitulate:

The British, at first, opposed using that word at all. Then, you'll remember, they yielded to the extent of indicating assent to "self-government or independence," according to "varying circumstances" in the territories concerned, as an objective of such trusteeships as are established. They continued to oppose charter mention of "independence" as a world objective for colonies in general.

The Russians and Chinese made it clear at the outset that "independence" for all should, in their opinion, be a stated charter objective, then agreed to compromise in the interest of big power unity.

The United States—which, through Mr. Roosevelt, had proposed the trusteeship system—has been represented by a conference delegation shamefully wobbly on the issues involved. First it was ready to settle on "self-government," which it contended included "independence"—a definition the British denied. Later it came out with a compromise "working paper" including the either-or-and-according-to-varying-circumstances formula which the British had felt obliged to accept.

**B**UT regardless of what legal terminology finally goes into the charter, the goal of independence for colonies will live on. Neither the spirit of subject peoples nor the conscience of free peoples will permit it to die. Meantime, since its meaning has, for the moment, been considerably muddled in the San Francisco debates, some clarification seems to be called for.

Cmdr. Stassen, for example, contended that it might be unwise to stress "independence" for colonies in an interdependent world.

Of course the nations of the world are interde-



Cmdr. Stassen.

pendent. Of course unlimited national sovereignty, for any nation, is incompatible with peace in our time. But let's not use those facts to deny to one people the same basic right to independence which we grant to others and demand for ourselves.

Nor, rightly understood, are interdependence and independence mutually exclusive, either as applied to individual human beings or as applied to nations. When Robert Burns hailed "the man o' independent mind" he also hailed human brotherhood. There is not a healthy human mind that does not demand independence for itself, yet recognize the interdependence of free men. And so it is with whole peoples.

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**I**T IS my opinion that the realities of our age require a progressive advance to world government, in which individual nations shall have complete internal sovereignty, but shall delegate sovereignty in international affairs to a world authority. But let them delegate it themselves. Let there be government by consent of the governed.

There are, admittedly, exceptional cases in which the security of mankind as a whole takes precedence, in limited areas of strategic world importance, over the political preferences of small native populations. In those cases, however, this overriding right should be asserted by the United Nations. It is in no event to be confused with the desire of any single power to perpetuate its own particular ties with huge populations in "backward regions," whether under the name of "colonialism," "trusteeship" or "federation."

We need a trusteeship system, and we should encourage genuine federations within certain regions. But we should see to it that the trusteeships serve freedom and that the federations are based on freedom. In Southeast Asia, for example, natural factors may well bring about in time a free federation including the Malay States and much of the Netherlands East Indies. That is a far cry from the kind of federation Queen Wilhelmina has in mind for the Indonesians, or the kind of "commonwealth" which Britain's imperialists favor for colonies which desire independence.

## AROUND MINNESOTA

### State Press Leans Toward Agreement With Stassen

By CHARLES B. CHENEY

NEWSPAPERS of his home state for the most part have reflected the general reaction toward Comm. Stassen's Minneapolis speech. Not all of them follow his objectives all the way, but they agree that it was a great speech and an outstanding contribution to the discussion.

"No clearer, more logical, more comprehensive outline of the course this country needs follow to further the cause of international peace has heretofore been given," the **Marshall Messenger** says.

"It was the fire in Stassen's words, more than the words themselves, that added to his stature as a commanding figure in the nation," the **Winona Republican-Herald** says. Referring to his coming work at the San Francisco conference, this paper adds: "By his actions and utterances there and in the succeeding period, the American people will be able to judge more certainly whether, as a result of his outstanding Minneapolis speech, a leader has arisen who will go on to greater heights."

#### 'VISION AND COURAGE'

The **Princeton Union** concludes its favorable comment thus: "It was the voice of a man of the younger generation who is forth-

right, who has vision and courage and refuses to be subservient to tradition and the old order."

"We are glad that he has so plainly stated his stand," the **Monticello Times** says, "that his stand was such a bold one, and hope that he may get backing enough so that something near what he has outlined may be accomplished." And the **Detroit Lakes Tribune** says: "It is to be hoped that Stassen's advice will be heeded."

#### SOME RESERVATIONS

Comment of some editors is qualified by misgivings about yielding of sovereignty to the world state. "Wouldn't that be rather a big price for the American people to pay for future security," asks Congressman Knutson's paper, the **Wadena Pioneer Journal**. "Let us examine some of the price tags: In order to make effective the plan proposed by Mr. Stassen it would first be necessary to place the producers of all countries, whether on farm or in factory, on the same economic level. To accomplish this we would have two alternatives: One, to draw the farmer and laboring man of all other countries up to our level of economy; two, failing in that, it would be necessary for us to descend to their level. To us, the first alternative appears impossible of accomplishment, and the second, unthinkable."

"There are many," the **Montevideo News** says, "who believe that reasonable national sovereignty is in danger of being surrendered in 1945 by those who would rush into a game of give-away—the giving away of strength, solidarity and stability to a shaky and uncertain hope that transfer of native powers to a new world government will solve the world's problems."

"He out-Roosevelted Roosevelt on so many things," remarks the **Belle Plaine Herald**, "that the prevailing isolationist sentiment of southern Minnesota, the Dakotas and Wisconsin must have gotten an awful jolt."

#### 'WIDER STATESMANSHIP'

"The address indicates grasp of wider statesmanship," observes the **Minnetonka Record**, Excelsior weekly, "and should increase Minnesota's admiration for its former governor, and its pride in his record to date."

"The address commits nobody," says the **Duluth News-Tribune**, "not even the speaker himself, to anything but a general policy as outlined. It does, however, set up a frame that can be filled to the satisfaction of America, and, we trust, of the whole world."

"He is going ahead according to his convictions," says the **Slayton Gazette**, "regardless of consequences to him personally, and we venture to predict that he will emerge an international as well as a national figure."

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THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1945

## Stassen's 'One World'

HAROLD STASSEN'S pronouncements on world affairs during his governorship displayed an exceptional insight and vision. His address last night at Northrop Memorial auditorium revealed deepened insight, broadened vision and a burning zeal to spare the United States and mankind from a repetition of the horrors of war Stassen has beheld with his own eyes.

The 21 months Comm. Stassen has spent in the navy have visibly affected his demeanor, his thinking and even his speech. He spoke the language of fighting men when he referred to the San Francisco conference as "a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace" and called for "assaults on the pillboxes of lethargy—the emplacements of prejudice—the spitting guns of intolerance."

One felt that Stassen was voicing his own personal political credo when he said, "We need men who are willing to fall in the assault so that others may carry the day. It will take that to build the world."

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There was no cautious calculation of political advantages and disadvantages in Stassen's searching analysis of what the United States must do to obtain security and a good life for its people in a war-torn, chaotic and impoverished world. He dealt fearlessly with such touchy issues as nationalistic sovereignty which more calculating politicians would discreetly skirt until they could see how the winds of public opinion are blowing. In so doing Stassen proved his own pre-eminent qualifications for a delegateship to the San Francisco conference and his capacity to play a constructive role in public affairs when his naval service is completed.

Perhaps the most useful single weapon in the armory of the opponents of American participation in a system of collective security has been the exploitation of the citizen's fear that we will sacrifice our precious sovereignty and independence in making a pact with other nations for the preservation of the common peace.

During the formative years of the American republic the opponents of a federal union exploited the fear of the Virginian, the Pennsylvanian and the New Yorker that his state would suffer by joining the larger political entity.

It was difficult during the struggle for the union to persuade the plain man of the advantages of sacrificing some attributes of state sovereignty for the larger gains of security and general welfare.

Last night Stassen boldly and effectively tackled this crucial aspect of the problem of achieving a just and durable peace. "The extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty is of the middle ages and it is dead," he said. "It died with the airplane, the radio, the rocket and the robomb."

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Reflecting the sentiments of millions of stay-at-homes as well as of his comrades in the armed forces, Stassen said, "I do not want my country to face another generation of youth marching off to the horrors of war and say, 'We could have prevented the development of this conflict, but we had to cling to the extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty.' That will not be an acceptable answer."

True sovereignty, Stassen rightly reminded his hearers, rests in the people. It is they who give it to the county, the state and the federal union. They can give sovereignty to such degree as they deem in their best interest to some still larger body which will exercise it on a world level in place of the present anarchistic purely nationalistic level.

"Just as each free man must so limit his liberty of action that he does not injure his neighbor, so each nation must limit its action so that it does not injure its neighbor," Stassen said.

If the majority of our people can be made to understand and support that sound concept of their enlightened self-interest the United States will be able to join with other nations in taking the necessary juridical, policing and economic measures to permanently banish armed aggression and make possible a more prosperous world—the one world so clearly perceived and so eloquently espoused by the late Wendell Willkie, whose mantle descended last night on Harold Stassen.

WNO



# Text of Talk by Baruch Lauding Ideals of Woodrow Wilson

Following is the text of the remarks of Bernard M. Baruch after the presentation to him of the Woodrow Wilson Award at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation's twenty-fifth anniversary dinner, held last night at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel:

This is one of the great events of my life—the presentation of this award by the institution which bears the name of the incomparable Woodrow Wilson.

If I have been able to serve my country, it was he who planted the seeds of service within me. His was the inspiration and the example. He was one of the few great men I have known.

It was Milton who said, in his "Second Defense of the People of England":

"He alone is worthy of the appellation (of greatness) who either does great things or teaches how they may be done. . . . But those only are great things which tend to render life more happy, which increase the enjoyments and comforts of existence, or which pave the way to a future more secure, permanent and pure."

I have never known a truer definition. Does it not outline and capsule Woodrow Wilson's claim to greatness? As events crowd upon one another his figure looms constantly larger as a landmark in history.

I take as my text this evening a quotation from one of the last things which Woodrow Wilson wrote. In a short article called "The Road Away From Revolution," he said:

"In these doubtful and anxious days, when all the world is at unrest and, look which way you will, the road ahead seems darkened by shadows which portend dangers of many kinds, it is only common prudence that we should look about us and attempt to assess the causes of distress and the most likely means of removing them."

This was Wilson's method. He sought to measure pending dangers and to anticipate them by timely action. He knew that social change was inevitable.

So he worked to control and guide it into orderly channels.

## The New Freedom

This cardinal belief of Wilson's took effect in that remarkable series of laws which he called the New Freedom. For the first time in half a century a tariff law was enacted that really reduced tar-

iffs. Then followed the creation of the Federal Reserve System, the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill, the Federal Trade Commission, the Rayburn Railway Securities Act, the first Federal Income Tax Law, the far-reaching Farm Loan Act, the first Child Labor Law, the Workmen's Compensation Act, Suffrage for Women and the Adamson Act establishing the eight-hour day.

"This was a great program for his day. Its enactment could never have been achieved without the ablest kind of leadership.

A legend has had some currency that Wilson was harsh and dictatorial, but in my long and intimate association with him I never found him so. He constantly sought advice and the opinion of others before making decisions. He brought out the best that was within me and in his other associates. But he never permitted friendship to interfere with the public interest.

While no man ever believed more than he in the triumph of principle, it is not true that Wilson would never compromise. He often did on matters of detail and application. It was only on basic principles that he refused to yield. That was a matter of duty, and he assumed other people would do their duty.

To Wilson, the First World War was a tragedy which compelled him to turn away from his domestic program. When we were forced into the war, he was the first to realize that it was not an army but a nation we must train. The wartime organizations created under his inspiring leadership should have served as the models for World War II.

Yet it was Wilson's plans for peace which placed him among the great of all time. He put the goal of a League of Nations into one imperishable sentence: "What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." As the war ended, he sounded this same clear call. His addresses reverberated to the ends of the earth until a vast segment of all humanity looked to him for a just and durable peace. At Paris he did all that one man could to bring about the creation of the League of Nations.

## Wilson's Warnings

Back home, he said many things which will thrill generations to come. "The peace of the

world could not be organized without the might of America," he cautioned. "The American people are the make weight in the fortunes of mankind." . . . "If this war has to be fought over again, then all our high ideals and purposes have been disappointed, for we did not go into this war merely to beat Germany. We went into this war to beat all such purposes as Germany entertained."

Here is direct prophecy: At Omaha, he said, "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it." At St. Louis, he warned, that if the great promise of organized peace were broken, "There will come sometime in the vengeful Providence of God another struggle, in which not a few hundred thousands of fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the world."

Wilson repeated, again and again, this warning of another and more terrible war if the League of Nations failed, but he was unable to achieve our entry into the League. Nevertheless, his life-long faith in the American people remained unshaken. He believed to the depths of his being in the people and in their capacity to judge great public questions. After 1920, he continued to believe that it would all come out right in the end.

Wilson retired from the White House, broken in body but not in spirit, and never made the slightest effort to embarrass his successor. I had a whimsical note from him during this period, asking me to remember in noting typographical errors that he had "only the use of one hand in using the typewriter."

During the ten-year respite which we had after 1918, many people easily concluded that Wilson had failed. Then in September of 1931, the series of aggression began which spread until a billion people were engulfed and the entire world was at war. With each aggression the voice of Woodrow Wilson became more tragically prophetic.

## Foundation for United Nations

After a trillion dollar war, which devastated much of the earth, and destroyed a large part of the capital so painfully ac-

cumulated over a long period, we returned to Woodrow Wilson's principle of a league of all the nations to keep the common peace. Franklin D. Roosevelt's devoted efforts enabled us to build the edifice of the United Nations upon the foundations laid with pain and sacrifice by Wilson.

Now we have another chance. But it would be folly not to recognize that organizing the peace is far more difficult today than it would have been in 1920. Then there was a world of seven Great Powers and no one of them—with the single exception of the United States—was strong enough to defy the others organized in a league of nations. Such a league, led by the United States, was a hard-headed, realistic proposition, not the visionary thing which Wilson's critics professed to see.

Today we live in a world in which there are but three Great Powers. Actually there are only two. This is a very different state of affairs, particularly since clashing ideologies complicate the situation. It is much more difficult now to make the United Nations work than it would have been twenty-five years ago. We would deceive ourselves if we thought that all of the techniques of the old League of Nations are adequate today. New devices and methods are required, especially in this air and atomic age. Yet this time we must succeed in making the United Nations live and grow. We cannot count on a third chance.

After 1918, we quickly forgot about making the world safe for democracy. We did not even make it safe against irrational revolution. Gangsters came into control of governments and took advantage of the mass ferments of the times, promising their followers the things for which they yearned.

New glory was to be Italy's, and with it better living conditions irrespective of the aggressions upon other helpless peoples. Then Italy became the vassal of a super-gangster government, which told the German people of the evils they had suffered, the need for more living space and how to get it.

Japan joined the aggressors who sought to conquer the earth. That effort ended in the holocaust of the second World War. In each case the masses, yearning for a better life, were led by police states into chains and were destroyed.

cord their just rights to the strong."

Wilson believed we should forestall both war and revolution by timely action. In the message from which I have taken my text, he recognized that "in Russia the revolution was due to the systematic denial to the great body of Russians of the rights and privileges which all normal men desire."

Surveying the scene in 1923, he continued, "There must be some real ground for the universal unrest and perturbation." Instead of assuming that "the blame for the present discontent and turbulence is wholly on the side of those who are in revolt," Wilson thought that we should "seek a way to remove such offenses and make life itself clean for those who will share honorably and cleanly in it."

## Masses Are Stirring

How applicable those words are today. War hurries processes already in the making. Again, there is a stirring in the masses all over the world. They demand a greater voice in government and a greater share of what they produce. Great as the ferment after the first World War, it is still deeper today. Even among the masses in Africa, Asia and South America, as well as among the educated and informed peoples there, here—everywhere—the same spirit of unrest is abroad. Whether fomented or not, it is there. The stirring peoples are going places—the only question is where.

This situation poses for us a far more difficult problem than we have ever faced before. How can we help the peoples of the world to move upward, in a reasonably orderly fashion, without surrendering their liberties to a way of life which may promise quick material gains but be impossible to escape from thereafter? How can we keep on the side of progress, without bolstering reaction or accelerating revolution?

We have never used the resources of America selfishly, in World War I, in the intervening years, nor in World War II. Now, in order to help others to help themselves, we are offering whatever of our resources we can spare. Our only motive is peace for all and improved standards of living for each and every individual. We do not seek to interfere with any other form of government. We want no interference in ours or in those of small nations who must look to

Now we find ourselves opposed by another "unfree" way of life, which claims to be "democratic." Our own position springs from our heritage. Here the individual has certain inalienable rights, which neither the state nor anybody can take from him. No matter what may be his station in life, he is far better off here than in any other country. And we will continue to improve our conditions.

We believe not in coercion but in the propaganda of example. We grant the right of other peoples to choose their governments freely, and believe no government should impose its ideas upon others, either openly or surreptitiously. We seek, in Woodrow Wilson's words, to "satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states." We must "satisfy and protect the weak as well as to ac-

protection. Tomorrow is the twenty-ninth anniversary of Armistice Day. On the first anniversary Wilson said:

"Out of this victory there arose new possibilities of political freedom and economic concert. The war showed us the strength of great nations acting together for high purposes, and the victory of arms foretells the enduring conquests which can be made in peace when nations act justly, and in furtherance of the common interests of men."

What a challenge that is to all peoples and all governments today! Again war has shown us "the strength of great nations acting together for high purposes." Again the voice of Woodrow Wilson calls to the peoples of every continent to "act justly and in furtherance of the common interests of men." Let us pray for a revisitation of his spirit to lead us to world order.

My deep thanks for the bracketing of my name with this great leader.



# Baruch Says United Nations Must Be Made to Succeed

With a prayer for a revisitation of Woodrow Wilson's spirit to lead the nations to world order, Bernard M. Baruch last night uttered a solemn warning that despite "clashing ideologies" the

## U. N. GROUP FAVORS 6 FOR MEMBERSHIP

### Big Majorities in Committee Back Plea to Security Council to Reconsider

By FRANK S. ADAMS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Nov. 10 — A series of resolutions that would place the General Assembly on record as favoring the admission of Ireland, Portugal, Trans-Jordan, Italy, Finland and Austria to the United Nations was approved here today by the Assembly's Political and Security Committee.

The Soviet Union, which has vetoed the applications of each of these states in the Security Council, fought to the last ditch against the resolutions, but was unable to muster more than eight votes against any one of them. Of these, six came from the Soviet bloc of the U.S.S.R., White Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

India voted against all the resolutions on constitutional grounds, contending that it would be prejudicing future consideration of these states to pass on their fitness now without a recommendation from the Security Council. Ethiopia voted against Italy, Finland and Austria.

Italy, the only one of the six applicants on which a roll-call was demanded, received forty-six affirmative votes, as did Finland on a vote by show of hands. There were eight votes against the resolution, and Pakistan abstained. Austria received forty-three, while the favorable votes of the three other countries were not clear because the resolutions concerning them were voted in sections, with

United Nations must be made to succeed.

The world, with the failure of the League of Nations a historical fact and the present concert of nations beset by difficulties, "cannot count on a third chance," he declared.

[The text of Mr. Baruch's speech is printed on Page 22.]

Mr. Baruch addressed a nationwide radio audience and 300 distinguished guests at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on the occasion of receiving the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for distinguished service. It was the organization's twenty-fifth anniversary dinner.

Presentation of the award was made by Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Cabinet. It was conferred in recognition of Mr. Baruch's "wisdom and courage, dedicated without reserve to the service of his country during and between two world wars."

Other speakers at the dinner were Warren R. Austin, United States representative to the United Nations and Mr. Baruch's successor as this country's representative on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and Frank Altschul, president of the foundation. Mr. Baruch's remarks were broadcast nationally over facilities of the American Broadcasting Company and heard here over WJZ.

Among the guests on the dais were Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Of Wilson, Mr. Baruch said that he was "one of the few great men I have known" and that "as events crowd upon one another his figure looms constantly larger as a landmark of history."

Mr. Baruch recounted this nation's failure to enter the League of Nations, whose goal he said was set by America's first World War President as "the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." He said

Continued From Page 1

we now have another chance but under more difficult circumstances.

Today, he pointed out, there are actually only two great powers as contrasted with seven a quarter century ago, none of whom, with the single exception of the United States, was strong enough to defy the others in a league.

"This is a very different state of affairs, particularly since clashing ideologies complicate the situation," Mr. Baruch said. "It is much more difficult now to make the United Nations work than it would have been twenty-five years ago. We would deceive ourselves if we thought that all of the techniques of the old League of Nations are adequate today. New devices and methods are required especially in this air and atomic age. Yet this time we must succeed in making the United Nations live and grow. We cannot count on a third chance."

### Cites Mass Ferments

The world after 1918, he said, permitted gangsters who took advantage of the mass ferment of the times to come into control of governments. The police states of Italy, Germany and Japan led their peoples into chains and were destroyed. Now, he said, "we find ourselves opposed by another 'unfree' way of life, which claims to be 'democratic.'"

Without mentioning Russia, Mr. Baruch said it was up to us to demonstrate our belief that no government should impose its ideas upon another, "either openly or surreptitiously," and that we believe "not in coercion but in the propaganda of example."

He asserted our only motive was one of peace and to this end we were extending unselfish aid to help others to help themselves. We do not, he declared, seek intervention in other governments and want none in ours or in those of small nations who must rely on the United Nations for aid and protection.

Mr. Baruch undertook to dispel the "legend" that Wilson was harsh and dictatorial. He said he always found him ready to seek the advice of others but he never would permit friendship to interfere with the public interest.

Mr. Baruch closed with a simple expression of thanks at the bracketing of his name with that of "this great leader."

### Discusses Atomic Control

Mr. Austin traced the history of atomic control discussions since the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. He credited Mr. Baruch with being the foremost spokesman of the United States "for a specific proposal which pushes the concept of world organization to a new forward position."

The American proposals on the control of atomic energy, outlined broadly by Mr. Baruch, were of "unprecedented boldness, generosity and fairness," Mr. Austin declared, and came to be regarded as "the bedrock of effective control."

Later, he said, the majority of the control commission set up safeguards they considered "essential in order to prevent national rivalries in the field of atomic energy and to provide security against atomic warfare."

Despite the non-acceptance and non-cooperation of the Soviet Union and Poland, the delegations of ten other countries and their scientists have devised practical measures "that will be effective and accomplish the task," Mr. Austin said.

"This is not something on which people can choose up sides on the basis of one's preference for a philosophy of life or an ideology," he continued. "One must choose on the basis of the merits of the proposal—and its effectiveness in meeting the terms of the atomic problem."

Mr. Daniels spoke of Mr. Baruch's services to the nation.

He said Mr. Baruch twice declined a portfolio in the Cabinet, and for thirty-five years has placed his "unselfish counsel" and his knowledge of national and international affairs at the service of Presidents and other leaders of the country.

### Daniels Praises Baruch

Mr. Daniels recalled milestones in Mr. Baruch's career, as unpaid chairman of the War Industries Board in World War I when he was "Wilson's right-hand man;" as a trusted and able adviser in peace negotiations in Paris; as a co-worker and friend, "closer than

a brother," in the fight for the League of Nations at home.

Mr. Altschul said the United Nations "proved a belated victory in the cause for which Woodrow Wilson died," and that "in spite of early difficulties, some of which seem at times almost insurmountable, it still holds the fervent hopes of the vast majority of mankind."

Tracing the history of the foundation, Mr. Altschul said it held its first meeting at the home of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in December, 1922; that in 1929 it acquired from the League of Nations Association the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, and that the Foundation now published The United Nations News, a digest and summary of all important United Nations happenings. In 1944, he said, the foundation acquired the building at 45 East Sixty-fifth Street, next door to the one where the first meeting was held.

Continued on Page 7, Column 3

Continued on Page 22, Column 2

## Collective Defense

By Roscoe Drummond

Staff Correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Akron, Ohio

Harold E. Stassen, campaigning in the Ohio Republican presidential primary against Senator Robert A. Taft, is urging that immediate action be taken within the United Nations to create joint defense bases and joint defense forces among all like-minded countries.

His proposal is for a collective security compact to defend the peace against either aggression or infiltration, within the framework of the Charter but outside the blockade of the veto.

He wishes to preserve, not dissolve or destroy, the UN, and he rests his plan upon Article 51 which provides that nothing in the Charter "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations."

### Stassen Flings Challenge

Using the Ohio primary as a national forum from which to carry forward a vital new debate on foreign policy, Mr. Stassen puts his proposition in these words and, specifically asks Senator Taft, "How about it, where do you stand on this?"

"This clause (Article 51) permits effective action to prevent the evils of the veto being used



Loring, Providence Evening Bulletin

### Last-Minute Repairs

to abet aggression. I believe that the United States should invite other members of the UN, including specifically the five nations of the Brussels pact, England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg, to join with us in a declaration of policy that we would view any violation of Article 2, Section 4, of the UN Charter as a grave threat to our own future security, and that we would immediately consult together as to the individual and collective action to be taken in event of such a violation."

### Would Ban Communists

The UN Article 2, Section 4, which Mr. Stassen here cites is one which pledges that "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of forces against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN."

All UN members would be free to join in this undertaking but if the Soviet Union and its satellites refused to join because there would be no veto power over its actions—the other countries would be free to go ahead without them.

At a press conference here pre-

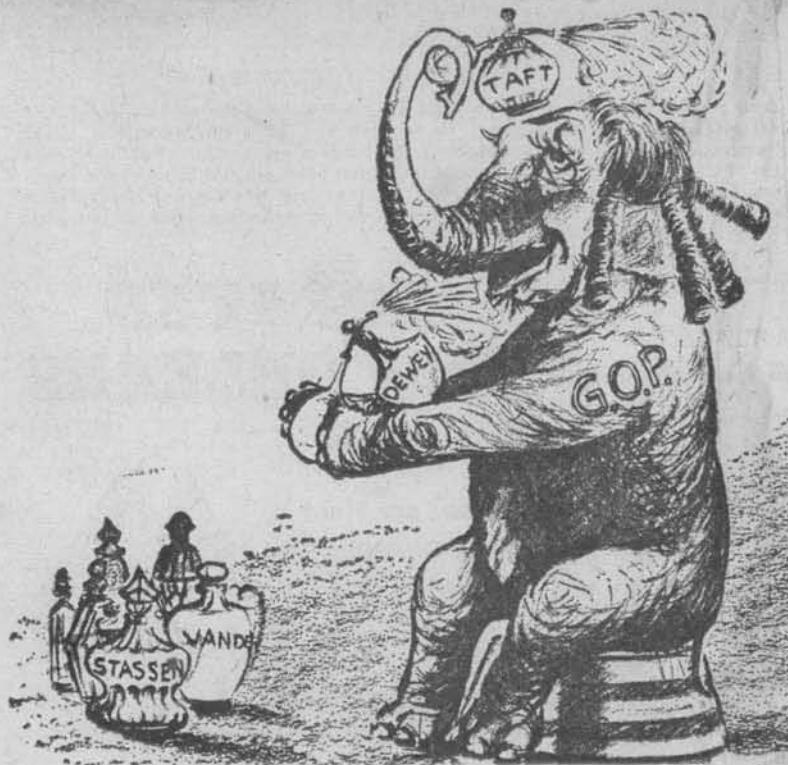
vious to delivering his foreign policy speech before a bulging rally at Central High School, Mr. Stassen said he thought one of the first actions of the proposed security group would be to provide for joint bases and joint forces. He favored the outlawry of the Communist Party organization and its removal from the ballots of all its signatories.

He emphasized that UN Article 51 bans any "armed attack against a member of the United Nations," whether from within or from without, and that therefore the

proposed security compact could act within the UN against internal aggression through infiltration as well as against outside aggression



"PRIMPING UP"



NEW YORK TIMES, SU

## STASSEN BACKS TEMPLE

Good Will Edifice Is Planned by Protestant Groups

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Sept. 27 (Religious News Service)—Harold E. Stassen, president of the International Council of Religious Education, has indorsed the proposed Temple of Good-Will, the erection of which is being planned here by Protestant denominations and religious organizations.

Mr. Stassen said it would be a step forward for America's Protestant churches "to have a common headquarters where leaders of various denominations can work together in formulating and executing their programs." He made the statement in Cleveland following a conference with Dale Stump, chairman of the Temple of Good-Will committee of the Ohio Council of Churches.

Proposals to move ICRE headquarters from Chicago to Columbus are being studied by a committee composed of sixty religious education leaders, Mr. Stassen reported to have said.

## Stassen Wants U. S. to Lend 10% of Output

Urges 10-Year Program to Aid World and Insure Peace, Plenty, Freedom

Against 'Sharpster' Or Give-Away Roles

Asks Sound, Bi-Partisan Administering of Plan; Would Start With Ruhr

Special to the Herald Tribune

JEFFERSON, Iowa, May 21.—Harold E. Stassen, only avowed candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination next year, proposed tonight that the United States adopt a ten-year program for lending abroad 10 per cent of its total national production of goods and food, so as "to build for world-wide peace and plenty and freedom."

The former Governor of Minnesota made the proposal in a speech to an annual community celebration sponsored by the

It was Mr. Stassen's first major address on foreign policy since his return three weeks ago from a two-month trip through Europe. As such, it was certain to be read with interest and respect by high officials of the Truman administration, who are surveying world economic needs and what the United States can do to meet them in the wake of the \$400,000,000 program for helping Greece and Turkey.

"It should not be a sharpster lending program," Mr. Stassen declared. "It should not be a light-headed give-away program. It should be a practical, sound, long-visioned business-like approach to the situation that exists in the world today, and to what we can foresee in the years ahead."

# Stassen Warns U. N. Against Abolishing the Veto Power

From the NEW YORK TIMES

Cleveland.

**HAROLD STASSEN** told a section meeting of the American Bar association here Sept. 23 that one way to avert a possible third world war was for the United Nations assembly to recognize directly the basic clash of ideologies, of which the Soviet Union and the United States are the chief exponents, and center its discussions openly on the economic rather than the military phases of the problem.



Stassen

He warned that insistence on abolishing the veto would convert the U. N. from an organization for peace into an alliance for war.

Stassen declared that the veto in the security council was a handicap to the development of the U. N., but its abuse was a manifestation of a deeper problem; the basic relationship between two divergent ways of life.

Stassen contended that the competition and clash of these two sharply different ideologies, those backed by the United States and the USSR, would continue but insisted that they need not inevitably lead to war.

"For the sake of the peoples of both nations and of all mankind, they must not lead to war. I know as you do that the United States of America does not want war. Our people do not want war. Our government does not want war. Our capitalists do not want war. Our labor does not want war. Our farmers do not want war.

"But our people of all walks of life are convinced that individual freedom of men—economic, social, political and religious—is essential to progress and to the enjoyment of life.

"They have fought before and they would fight again to defend that freedom. They know that freedom can best be defended, not on their own shores, but at any point where ruthless aggression enslaves free and independent peoples."

Stassen said it was his opinion that the people of Russia did not want war and their leaders did not want it. He pointed out

that there was no assurance that this attitude would be continued.

He said that the Soviet rulers now believed that a system of individual freedom of men would have an economic crash, and fail. He warned that they thought also that it could be infiltrated and taken over by a Communist minority.

"With this basic lack of understanding of our system of freedom they may not be certain of our desire for peace," Stassen said.

He asserted that the U. N. should be recognized at this stage as an organization that could not maintain peace by military force, but could only bring to bear moral force.

He stressed that the U. N. should endeavor to have the basic competition of systems decided on the economic and ideological fronts rather than by war. He said the struggle "will not be easy," but he was optimistic that if we acted resolutely the holocaust of another war could be avoided.

## Stassen Liberalism Questioned

To the Editor: Harold Stassen, in a recent statement quoted in the Minneapolis newspapers claims to be "more liberal" than Senator Taft. In just what respects is Stassen more liberal?

Stassen, like Senator Thye and Gov. Youngdahl, sat silent in the convention of the American Legion while the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill was denounced. Like other reactionaries Stassen has proven to be more conservative, not "more liberal" than Senator Taft on the issue of housing.

Stassen is presumably for universal military training in peacetime, whereas Taft is opposed to peacetime conscription. Is Stassen "more liberal" than Taft on this issue?

Stassen would tie U. S. aid under the Marshall plan to the demand for the ending of nationalization in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. Does this black-jacking of needy Europe make Stassen "more liberal?"

For too many years Harold Stassen has been permitted to claim the mantle of "liberalism," a claim based on numerous public speeches. It was in his administration, however, that the forerunner of the Taft-Hartley bill was passed in Minnesota. And it was Harold Stassen, the "liberal" who went into Nebraska to campaign against that grand old progressive, George Norris.

In what ways has Stassen been "more liberal?"

—Orville E. Olson,  
Executive Secretary, Independent Voters of Minnesota.



## EDITORIALS

# Mr. Stassen Draws an Issue

**HAROLD E. STASSEN** came out on Wednesday night for lowered tariffs and a continuance of reciprocal trade agreements. In a Lincoln's birthday address in New York city, he asked the Republican party to assume "leadership of America in a new policy of world-wide economic participation" and to put aside "all remnants of a policy of economic isolation."

**ERIC JOHNSTON** has called this the "supreme issue" confronting the Republicans: whether they should shape their foreign trade program in accordance with policies prevailing in the twenties, or should follow along the path broadly indicated by the reciprocal trade agreements. It is Mr. Johnston's firm conviction that "you can't have political co-operation without economic co-operation." That same conviction, of course, underlies Mr. Stassen's courageous Lincoln day address.

It is not enough to attempt to build an enduring structure of world peace on a political foundation. The United Nations could not bring about world stability and order in a thousand years

if parallel forces were not also at work to eliminate economic frictions and encourage a smooth and equitable functioning of international finance and trade.

If the nations of the world are to build higher and higher economic walls against each other, each assuming its own self-sufficiency and each committed to a policy of dog-eat-dog, the end result must be disaster.

A warless world set in an atmosphere of desperate, cut-throat economic competition is an absurd impossibility.

**MR. STASSEN** stresses the need for expanded American markets abroad into which the tremendous productivity of our industries may be channeled. He reminds us that we must increasingly rely on raw material sources elsewhere in the world. He restates a sobering truth too often overlooked: that the nations of the world are economically dependent on each other, and that each has a stake in the well-being of its neighbor.

Economic isolationism, like political isolationism, has no adequate defense today. It is, in fact, the surest way to global chaos.





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