

A S P E E C H R E V I E W

Peace and Progress

Commander Stassen

File

It was rapidly delivered, almost to the point of monotony, without benefit of gesture or pause for applause -- a one hour address given in thirty minutes. How then account for spontaneous comments upon it by press and politicians (neither noted for imagination) as passionate, deadly serious, lofty, eloquent, elevated in tone, showing exceptional insight and vision? How account for the approval of it by practical men who yet praised it as bold, well in advance, courageous, representing the most advanced thinking of his party? Such are likely to be prejudice words to politicians and conservatives, as well as to the proverbially cynical newspaper men.

One clue to the answer is the use throughout the speech of such phrases as these -- count them:

"Gradual development"

"Slow advancement"

"First Step"

"Definite step"

"Developing: developing of fundamental code, of society, of new principles"

"Development of the world"

"Beginnings may be very small"

"Small beginnings"

"A significant step"

"Definite step forward"

"Work out their differences"

"Definitely envisage"

"Long hard drive"

"Make possible"

"It will take time"

Twenty at least of such references to making a beginning and leaving the rest to time and effort.

Usually qualifying words go unnoticed. Those who hear unwelcome or unfamiliar ideas are likely to fasten upon them with disapproval and give no heed to any qualifications. So-called visionaries, on the other hand, jump to conclusions in their own favor. They welcome the speaker as one of themselves, that is, advocates of perfection now.

That Stassen's qualifying words about beginnings and first steps were heard and heeded in this case is due partly to his style. He made himself understood and this is the essence of

style. Every word and every phrase he used went straight from his own clear thinking to the hearer's mind. And those words and phrases were instinct with force and imagination.

Those who during the past five years and more have sought words in which to bring home to laggards the stark fact that no generation of people has faced such responsibility as ours, know how difficult it is. The realization that win or lose this war the world is in ruins, the people demoralized, their governments overturned or changed beyond recognition; that is hard to take in. It is almost impossible to believe and for most of us it is impossible to convince others that we ourselves and only we can reconstruct the world. The facts so far transcend our experience and words and phrases are now so shopworn that they make no impression, like the family photographs we cherish and keep in the bedroom, which we soon cease to see, or see without noticing.

Why then did Stassen's use of war terms to introduce his subject, no original device, prove so effective? I believe because it was not a mere photograph with which he presented his hearers, but a direct transference of his own thinking as he looked upon war. The ideas that came to him then went straight to his listeners. He made them feel what he had felt, and not merely

what they might have felt in his place.

Isn't that art at its height?

I might now use quotations to refresh your memory on how Governor Stassen united his audience with himself by speaking first of war as he had seen it and we have imagined it. But I will postpone these. Later the war theme is repeated and made a part of the peace theme. There I want to quote at length.

Meantime the speaker had dealt with such subjects as national sovereignty, private enterprise, democracy, communism -- ticklish subjects often taboo on the theory that people would not understand them. Governor Stassen is quoted as telling his friends he would say nothing in his speech that his wife could not understand. He succeeded apparently by showing the same confidence in his audience as he has in his wife. His auditorium audience was composed about half and half of politicians and foreign policy specialists. His radio audience was even more diverse. Yet the most striking feature of the speech proved to be that it was so generally understood. Comments from far and near and from all sorts of people give evidence of understanding.

In this spirit of confidence in his audience, the speaker proceeds to touch briefly on moot questions about which I shall

quote at random:

About the enormous productive capacity of America, his words are -- "it has been a huge power for destruction and for victory. It can be an equally great power for world construction and progress after the war if we but lift our eyes to its opportunities and responsibilities and take the necessary steps for world stability. Producers are consumers. The capacity of the human race to consume is just as great as the capacity of the human race to produce. We can either fight over a shrinking wealth or work together to participate in an expanding production." "Never did a country for its own sake more need to appraise the value and the purpose of its great productive wealth. If it does not lift its eyes and use its brain and brawn for purposes of the world it will wither and deteriorate in petty internal struggles over the division of a shrinking economy. . . . Any attempt of one nation to profit at the expense of another will soon be lost in either the whirlpool of depression or the cauldron of war."

To worriers over the responsibility of the United States to bring each of the United Nations to boot on democratic

government, American brand, who are asking: "Has the United States permitted Italy to be something less than a democracy? Will Russia permit Poland a free government? What about England's treatment of India? And what about China and its communists?" -- the reply is (I quote from the speech):

"We will constantly seek to improve the functioning of our system both as to freedom and equality of our citizens. We will explain our system to the world but will leave it to the people in each nation to decide for themselves their own form of government so long as they do not trample on basic human rights or threaten the peace of the world, or trample upon their neighbors. We will permit our own citizens to learn of any form of government they wish to study, but will not permit any other government to actively seek to trample on our own."

What he means by basic human rights he made plain:

"The Nazi storm troopers and Gestapo who dragged civilians from their homes in Germany and summarily shot them were violating every moral code we know of, but they were not violating any international law because there is none to protect a human being within a nation. Nazi aggression

actually started not when Hitler marched across his borders but rather when he first ruthlessly trampled the rights of men within Germany."

(An international fundamental code of human rights was one of the more original proposals of this speech.)

To worriers over imperialism, or spheres of influence and balance of power and the like, there are these words:

"The United Nations organization does not mean breaking up ~~of~~ any of the stable associations of nations and people now in existence. It is definitely not adverse to the British commonwealth of nations nor to the union of Soviet Republics, nor to the United States of America, nor to the various associations of nations through treaties and friendships."

It is on the subject of national sovereignty that the speaker is at his best -- with all due apologies to Walter Lippmann's recent column reminding him that he was not original. It is a subject upon which those who ought to know better have been most reticent in talk. They have allowed it to become a scarecrow for the use of the isolationists by not daring to explain it to the people. They seem to use it as a weasel word where it is not

essential, in order to make the idea of a world union more palatable.

Secretary Hull, for example, at his conference in Moscow speaking of the equality of all peace loving states, says, "Sovereign equality". For whatever that may mean.

From the 1944 Republican platform: We favor responsible participation by the U. S. in postwar cooperative organizations among sovereign nations."

The Democratic platform refers to: Joining with other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace loving states."

Dewey follows suit: "America will participate with other sovereign nations in a cooperative effort."

Said Hoover, in substance: "It is obvious that ideas of world super-government, no matter how we might wish for them, are already dead from cold blasts of realism. Peace must be based upon cooperation between independent sovereign nations."

Roosevelt on forming: "world wide international organizations and arrange to use the armed force of the sovereign nations."

The Dumbarton Oaks proposal reads: "The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace loving nations."

Such constant use of the word "sovereign" by our leaders of thought, who have not first made it understood, seems likely to arouse suspicion on the subject rather than to lull it. Governor Stassen reverses the process.

In the speech under review we heard that "true sovereignty rests in the people", and, as an aside, "man is in truth and in fact endowed not by his nation, but by his Creator with certain inalienable rights." Also: "This nation or any other nation can be a law unto itself in the modern world and we are willing to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty to our United Nations organization so that it may be effective in the task we expect it to accomplish. True sovereignty rests in the people and the people know that for their own welfare, they must exercise a portion of that sovereignty on a world level. Just as each free man must so limit his liberty of action so that he does not injure his neighbors, so each nation must limit its action so that it does not injure its neighbors. And in One World today the nations of the world are all neighbors."

At the San Francisco conference, promised the speaker:

"I will consider it my duty to represent my country as a whole, as I see its best welfare, and to be individually responsible for my actions. . . . The results (of the conference) will not be and cannot be entirely in accord with any nations' or any individual's view. But the alternative of 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 depression and to the next and most tragic world war. This is not an acceptable alternative. We should look, therefore, upon the San Francisco conference as a golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace. The beachhead is not the final goal, but only the jumping off place for the long, hard drive towards victory."

Then the speaker continues:

"In a discussion of the development of a newer and higher level of government, you frequently hear the rejoinder 'Yes, that would be a good step, but it would violate the rule of absolute nationalistic sovereignty'. Let us meet

this issue squarely. 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 had to cling to the extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty'. That would not be an acceptable answer."

Once more I must remind you that I am not today discussing the matter of the Stassen speech but rather its manner. The brief quotations I have chosen will serve only to remind you of the subject matter that intervened between opening and ending of the speech. If you will recall or reread the portions from which I have quoted, you will appreciate that, factual and direct though they are, their acceptance owes much to the light shed upon them at the beginning of the speech. I have postponed quotations from that beginning in order to tie them up to its ending. The theme of the one is repeated in the theme of the other. The beginning was about the war and the fighting men -- "wise-cracking, goodnatured, beloved sons of yours on the battle-fronts of the world." About them the speaker said:

"They waded into beaches in wave after wave regardless of the whirr of machine guns, the wham of mortars, and

the blast of bombs. They slog and worm their way up to blast and burn pillboxes and caves. They take their guns, their planes, their tanks, their ships, their subs, their small boats anywhere and everywhere to strike an enemy or support a pal. They die doing these things. They die and others like them take their place."

(Note this theme. It is to be repeated.)

At those who scoff at thoughts like these as abstract ideals, continues Governor Stassen, "I simply ask that you look out upon the world wide tragedy of war today. When the terror of war has reached the grand scale that it has today, it is time for some thinking for peace on a grand scale. I will work with you with hard shelled realism. But our ideals will determine the basic course we take. We need not scoffers today. We need men, men to assault the pillbox of lethargy, the emplacement of prejudice, the spitting guns of intolerance. Men who are willing to fall in the assault, so that others may carry the day to build a new world."

Here we see how delicately the theme of the beginning is repeated in the theme near the end. The beachhead, the assault, the willingness of our beloved sons to die in battle that others

may carry on now refers to men who are willing to fall in the assault for peace on a grand scale so that others may carry the day and build a new world and raise the standards of mankind.

It is not apparent that the speaker had in his own mind examples of men like these "willing to fall in the assault for peace on a grand scale". He leaves it to his hearers to identify and honor them.

In repeating to you some of these excerpts, I have refrained from pointing out certain striking turns of phrase such as "the short road of inaction" which caught the attention of the audience precisely because long road was to have been expected; the golden opportunity of San Francisco where a banal reference to "Golden Gate" was avoided; striking repetitions such as "this is not an acceptable alternative" to be followed later with "This is not an acceptable answer."

It is a great speech that I have so superficially reviewed. In emphasizing chiefly its style, I am counting on you to remember that "the style is the man". It is a great speech but not in the grand manner of orators of earlier generations. It is a simple speech without benefit of oratory, but it is likely to become a classic.

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Stassen Calls for World Government; Buries 'Nationalism'

N4
Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 19

By CHARLES VAN DEVANDER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Mar. 8.—Republican leaders in Congress today greeted with deep silence a speech by Comdr. Harold E. Stassen in which the 37-year-old exGovernor of Minnesota brushed aside the old G. O. P. shibboleths of "sovereignty" and called for all-out collaboration by the U. S. in world efforts to keep the peace.

Stassen's proposal that the U. S. help to develop a world government which eventually would guarantee the "basic human rights" of men and women, even against their own governments if necessary, threw more cautious G. O. P. advocates of collaboration into a tailspin.

Sen. Vandenberg (R-Mich.), a delegate with Stassen to the conference at San Francisco, refused comment on the address of the young Minnesota internationalist, who is regarded as the political heir of Wendell Willkie and as a top GOP Presidential possibility.

Wait for a Speech, Says Taft

Ex-Isolationist Sen. Taft (R-Ohio) said he would prefer to wait and express his views in a speech which he plans to make some time before the San Francisco conference. Some Republican leaders expressed the view that Stassen had gone even further than President Roosevelt in taking the lead toward international action by this country.

The young Naval aide to Admiral Halsey, veteran of two years of warfare in the Pacific, pictured the San Francisco conference as "a golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace." Even after the beachhead is won by establishment of a continuing United Nations organization, he said, it will be only "the jumping off place for the long hard drive toward victory."

A "World Government"

Stassen urged "gradual development" of a world government which would define the basic rights of individuals, and which would be equipped with a court to administer its laws and a police force to enforce the court's decisions.

Eventually, he suggested, international law should guarantee the rights of freedom of worship, of fair trial, of freedom of speech

and press, prevention of discrimination and the right of the worker to organize.

Whether statesmen recognize it or not, Stassen said, "extreme nationalistic sovereignty" is dead—killed by the airplane, the radio, the rocket and the robomb.

"True sovereignty rests with the people," he asserted. "And the people know that for their own future welfare they must exercise a portion of that sovereignty on a world level in place of the nationalistic level."

Co-operation must be on an economic, as well as a political plane, the young G. O. P. internationalist declared.

After the "charitable assistance" that we must extend in the immediate postwar years, he said, must come "increased investments by American capital in the resources and facilities of other nations.

No "Santa Claus Role"

"This does not mean a Santa Claus role" he asserted.

"We can either fight over a shrinking wealth, or worth together to participate in an expanding production and wealth of the future . . . We cannot have continued economic warfare and continued military peace."

Stassen rejected criticism of his views as "just an idealistic dream."

"When the terror of war has reached the grand scale that it has today," he said, "it is time for some thinking for peace on a grand scale.

"We need no scoffers today, we need men. Men to assault the pillboxes of lethargy—the emplacements of prejudice—the spitting guns of intolerance."

Stassen urged that while the Axis nations should be permanently disarmed, the U. S. should maintain a strong Navy, an alert Air Force, and an efficient Army, both for its own protection and to discharge its police force responsibilities in conjunction with the other United Nations.

Stassen took occasion in his speech to praise the "splendid military leadership of the Commander-in-Chief" and also to refer to "the President's excellent message to Congress last week."

At another point he paused to pay tribute to Wendell Willkie, who, he said, made the phrase one world "mean more than mere words, more than a symbol, the veritable keystone to a living cause and hope for mankind."

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Stassen Gives His Plan for Postwar Peace

Says U. S. A.'s Future Must Be Linked With World

Comdr. Harold E. Stassen has put on the record his blueprint for an enduring postwar peace. Speaking last night in Minneapolis before the Minnesota United Nations Committee, the Republican delegate to the United Nations conference at San Francisco on Apr. 25 proposed these seven "cardinal principles":

¶ Continuing organization of the United Nations, based on justice and law, and insured by force.

¶ Delegation of a limited portion of each nation's sovereignty to the United Nations.

¶ Linking of the U. S. A.'s future with that of the world.

Our Contribution

¶ Use of the U. S. A.'s productive capacity, capital and credit to contribute to higher world living standards.

¶ Insurance of freedom of speech and free channels of information, including press, radio and schools.

¶ Stripping from aggressors of their means to wage war.

¶ Freedom of each nation to determine its own political form of government.

Meanwhile, two signs of unity in the governments of smaller nations which have been the concern of the Big Three came from abroad.

New Yugoslav Regime

From Belgrade it was reported that Marshal Tito had completed the formation of his new unity government, fulfilling the agreement between Tito and Dr. Ivan Subasic, premier of the former royal cabinet. The regime, the first United Yugoslav government, took the oath of office yesterday. Tito is Premier and Defense Minister. Subasic is Foreign Minister. Democrat Party leader Dr. Milan Grol is first vice premier.

In Romania a new government has been formed by the Left-wing National Democratic Front leader, Dr. Petro Groza. The new regime is a coalition and includes Communists, the Left-wing Peasant Party and the Liberal Party. George Tatarescu, Liberal Party leader, is vice premier and minister for foreign affairs.

Jon Kimche, of Reuter, reports from London that the two parties of the right, Dr. Maniu's National Peasant Party and Bratianu's National Liberal Party, refused to join the cabinet.

Premier Groza was quoted by the Bucharest radio in a broadcast reported by the Federal Communications Commission as saying that his program would include extensive land reform, consideration of penalties to be imposed on war criminals and those "politically responsible" for the war and the immediate reorganization of the police machinery.



Harold Stassen

NY World
Telegraph 3/8

Stassen Denounces Avid Nationalism As Medieval Idea

By the United Press.

MINNEAPOLIS, March 8.—Cmdr. Harold E. Stassen, a Republican delegate to the United Nations conference April 25 at San Francisco, was on record today with a broad, seven-point plan for the world to achieve enduring peace.

"The extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty is of the Middle Ages and it is dead," Cmdr. Stassen said.

"In one world today the nations of the world are all neighbors," the former Minnesota Governor said, in advocating use of its vast resources by America to develop world stability. Meanwhile, he said, the United States should decline a "Santa Claus role" in world affairs.

He also advocated that "we seek to gradually develop a new and higher level of government, with legislative, judicial and executive functions and with worldwide jurisdiction."

Principles of Peace Plan.

The seven "cardinal principles" of his peace plan, as outlined in an address last night before the Minnesota United Nations Committee, are:

1. The continuing organization of the United Nations, based on justice and law and insured by force.

2. The delegation of a limited portion of each nation's sovereignty to the United Nations.

3. The linking of America's future with that of the world.

4. Use of America's enormous productive capacity, capital, and credit to contribute to higher world living standards.

5. Insurance of freedom of speech and free channels of information including press, radio, and school.

6. The stripping from aggressors of their means to wage war.

7. Freedom of each nation to determine its own political form of government.

Freedom of information to the citizens of all countries—even the enemy nations—must be a fundamental rule, he said.

"We ourselves should remain strong," he held. "We should maintain a powerful, modern navy. We should keep an alert up-to-date air force. We should constantly train an efficient land force."

WARN STASSEN TO SOFT PEDAL VIEW ON PEACE

Some Senators Bar Plan for Higher-level World Rule at Present.

THEY REGARD IT AS UNTIMELY

Commander Says Allied Nations Should Build Government Based Upon Justice.

Washington, March 8 (A. P.).—Capitol Hill foreign policy makers cautioned Commander Harold E. Stassen today to soft-pedal his advocacy of a gradually developed higher level world government.

Senator George (D.-Ga.), acting chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that he fears the raising of controversial issues might "do great hurt to the immediate peace objectives Ex-Gov. Stassen so ably champions."

Other Senators in both parties expressed similar views after reading the former Minnesota Republican Governor's speech in his home State last night. In it Commander Stassen outlined his personal world peace attitude in advance of the April 25 San Francisco United Nations Conference he will attend as a delegate.

Hatch in Accord.

Senator Hatch (D.-N. M.), asserting he is "in thorough agreement with everything Gov. Stassen advocates," added:

"I strongly concur in the gradual development of a higher level of government, but the process must be gradual."

"There is great doubt whether the world is ready for a world-wide government," remarked Senator Brewster (R.-Me.) "There is grave danger that in seeking to achieve too much, nothing will be accomplished."

Senator Bridges (R.-N. H.) said that he considers Commander Stassen's proposal that every nation agree on just and fair trials "a most worthy objective that could well be one of the agreements reached through the United Nations organization."

The view that he is not prepared "to junk the United States of America for any idealistic plan for a super government" came from Senator Bushfield (R.-S. D.).

Gives World Views.

Minneapolis, March 8 (A. P.).—Commander Harold Stassen believes the United States should join with the Allies at the San Francisco United Nations Conference in April to "build a definite continuing organization of the united nations of the world, based on justice and law and insured by force."

He also urged, in an address broadcast from the University of Minnesota last night, that "we seek to develop gradually a new and higher level of government, with legislative, judicial and executive functions and with world-wide jurisdiction."

Failure to reach agreement at San Francisco, to do nothing at all, he said, "would start us on our way along the short road of inaction, to worldwide depressions and to the next and most tragic world war."

The former Republican Gov-

2.7 news 3/8

Stassen Bids U.S. Yield Some Sovereignty to a World State

(Special to The News)

Minneapolis, March 7.—Comdr. Harold E. Stassen said tonight that the United States should delegate a portion of its sovereignty to a world state and use the productive capacities and resources of America for advancement of all the peoples of the world.

The former Minnesota Governor, a delegate to the San Francisco United Nations conference, speaking at a public meeting at the University of Minnesota, described the coming conference as "a golden opportunity to win a beach-head for a just and lasting peace."



Harold E. Stassen

He advanced what he called a seven-point program to achieve this objective, with surrender of some of our national sovereignty as one of his "cardinal points." He warned against "the extreme view" of national sovereignty, asserting that neither this nation nor any other nation can be a law unto itself in the modern world.

"In its place we must develop the new principle of the rights, duties and responsibilities of each nation to the other nations," he said.

Sees New Markets.

With regard to use of the nation's resources to raise the standard of living of the people of the world, Stassen said it would be better that American capital be invested and reinvested in various countries than that it be sterile and stagnant in America.

"This will require increased investment by American capital in the resources and facilities of other

nations, and increased trade with lower tariffs throughout the world," he explained. "We must explode the narrow view that if we develop production in other parts of the world we will preempt our own markets. We will create markets as we develop means to produce."

Other points listed by Stassen were:

That we are citizens of the world and our happiness and welfare is tied up with that of all other peoples.

That we recognize that freedom of information is vital to the peace and progress of the world.

That we are and propose to remain a democracy with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise.

That aggressors in this war shall

be stripped of all means to make war and be kept stripped. With the U. S. remaining strong on land, and air, and joining with Russia, Great Britain, China, France and other Allied nations in furnishing police power to the world.

Thursday, March 8, 1945.

Stassen Urges World Group

Body Would Be Based on Justice, Law and Insured by Force

Minneapolis, March 8—(AP)—Commander Harold Stassen believes the United States should join with its allies at the San Francisco United Nations conference in April to "build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the world, based on justice and law, and insured by force."

He also urged, in an address broadcast from the University of Minnesota Wednesday night, that "we seek to gradually develop a new and higher level of government, with legislative, judicial and executive functions and with worldwide jurisdiction."

Failure to reach agreement at San Francisco, to do nothing at all, he said, "would start us on our way along the short road of inaction, to worldwide depressions and to the next and most tragic world war."

The former Republican governor of Minnesota was making what may be his only public address before he attends the San Francisco meeting as a delegate. He now is on leave from naval duties in the Pacific.

He expressed the hope, as he outlined "seven cardinal points of our future world policy," that the proposed United Nations organization would provide "some method of developing basic world wide law."

"It should make possible," he added, "the future enactment of fundamental code of human rights. The beginning may be very small. But even if we started with the enactment of one law, a law that no country, in time of peace, shall execute a human being without just trial, it would be a significant step."

Nothing, he said, could prevent war if in the next 25 years the United States, or Russia, or Great Britain decides to make war, but he pointed to the Yalta conference as evidence they can find a way for joint action.

David Lawrence

HONESTY BEST GUARANTEE OF WORLD PEACE

Stassen Right in Saying
Mere Formulas Can't
Prevent War

By DAVID LAWRENCE

Washington, March 10.—The address of former Gov. Stassen of Minnesota, who is to be a delegate to the San Francisco conference, will strike a responsive chord because it is couched in generalities. Apparently, however, it does not relate to the concrete situation that has developed since the Yalta conference.

If, on the other hand, it is really meant to be applied to the happenings since Yalta, it can be interpreted as a direct criticism of what the president did in agreeing to a voting procedure in the United Nations which allows the five major nations to be above the law.

Stassen speaks forthrightly about American idealism, and he expresses accurately the hopes and aspirations of the American people. He does not say when these ideals are to be translated into action, and he apparently is ready to let matters drift until some future day when the world will get better than it is today.

'Principle Dead'

Stassen says there may be "many diplomats who do not know it" but the "extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty is of the middle ages and is dead." He adds that "no nation has any right in the modern world to do as it pleases without regard to the effects of its actions upon the peoples of other nations."

But in the newly announced voting procedure each of the major nations is granted the right to do as it pleases about any international dispute in which it may become involved. That formula was sponsored by President Roosevelt when he learned Marshal Stalin would accept no other. The soon-to-be-created security council there, will have no police power over the major nations. It may not have much power even over the smaller nations. For everybody knows that back of the small aggressors usually is the larger aggressor, who can veto action in the council.

Weak Concept

Stassen is quite resigned to the inevitability of war or rather to the belief that if any one of the major powers wants to start a war in the next 25 years, nothing can be done to prevent it. This is not the belief of many other persons who all along have been led to believe in the efficacy of an international organization capable of mobilizing an international army, navy and air force sufficiently large in combination to prevent any nation, large or small, from initiating or provoking a war. If the new league is to start off with the assumption that nothing can be done to prevent a large nation from going to war, it certainly means that the concept of a league to enforce peace has been whittled down to a very weak substitute.

The former governor of Minnesota is right when he says that America must be ready "to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty" to the United Nations organization, which is to be based on justice and law, and insured by force."

Why the Delay?

But it will be asked why the realization of that ideal now must be postponed to the indefinite future and why, for instance, freedom of the press or freedom of information and freedom of worship are merely goals to be obtained "gradually"? Why must any totalitarian government which denies human rights and particularly the four freedoms be given a veto power over the decisions of the new security council of the United Nations?

Stassen discreetly omitted mention of present-day violations of the "four freedoms." His seven cardinal points are well expressed. The former governor assumes fortunately that persons who find the surrenders made at Yalta, when the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter were discarded, hard to swallow have no alternative and that opposition to the Yalta agreements means a "do-nothing" policy.

Traditional Policy

The truth is that it has always been traditional American policy to fight for ideals and to carry the case for ideals to the court of world opinion. Regrettably, however, the press and radio of Russia is government-controlled and what is said by people of other countries cannot be printed there without Moscow's authority. This means that the processes of public opinion operative in a democracy do not function in Russia. It means, for example, that the provision for publishing recommendations after investigation of disputes by the security council can be rendered meaningless.

World peace is not a matter of an exact formula, as Stassen has so wisely said. It is a matter of common honesty in the dealings of nations with each other. And when nations profess high principles and then condone the violation of those principles, confidence in the governments which repudiate those principles diminishes and the might-makes-right doctrine holds sway.

THE W TODA

GERMANY'S FI
DOESN'T SEE
FAR OFF

By DEWITT MACKEN

The American 1st army's national crossing of the has set home-front temper to fluctuating violently and everybody wants to know how soon the war will be over.

Well, in these swiftly changing days the smart prophet hides light under a bushel. So with cheerfully admitting that great optimism is warranted, I'm sticking to a statement I made in this column months ago. It was this:

I don't believe the Germans can maintain organized resistance very long, once the western allies and the Muscovites are across the Rhine and the Oder rivers, respectively, in great force.

Since these main defensive barriers already have been broken, that condition will be fulfilled speedily. The Russians are across the Oder in several places, and Eisenhower is pouring a veritable flood of men and material through his new bridgehead.

♦ ♦ ♦

Don't Forget About the Japs

The Hitlerites are so vastly outnumbered on both fronts, and so inferior in air power and in equipment of all sorts, that they can't withstand the pressure which is about to be clamped upon them. Their organized resistance soon must collapse, and that will mean the virtual end of the war, for we can discount any guerrilla activities as of comparatively minor consequence.

However, there's another and serious aspect to this question of how soon the war will end. What do we mean by "the war?" I'm afraid too many folks are inclined to think of "the" war in terms of Europe.

That's a terrible mistake. The Hitlerian conflict is only one section of our war. When we've smashed nazidom we still have the Japanese to beat. This means that a great many of our fighting forces who now are in Europe will have to continue in service until the job is done in the Orient. That's not a happy thought, it's best that we get it firmly in mind, and for two reasons: (1) To save ourselves disappointment and (2) to ensure that the war in the Pacific gets every ounce of our support.

♦ ♦ ♦

Nippon Planning for Another War

We've come to look on the arch-devil of our time as he undoubtedly is entitled brand. However, Japan is a danger potentially as the threat of enslavement over Europe by Hitler.

The Japs are imbued with the aggression and by Prussianism, plus they themselves have quite clear that their aim is to bring all Asia under their nation and set it against the western world—the land of east in conflict with the west.

We know from various sources that already admitting to themselves the ability of their defeat in the present war—are planning attack on America. They would profit from the lessons in the Pacific.

♦ ♦

Japan Badly Hurt by Shipping Losses

So we won't be surprised to see the world from dark put a rope about the Japanese. The Japanese will follow the Prussians.

This means they are prepared to see me reassigned to the front after they've won. Some of them are directly from the front ship some supplies. We must be grudgingly and fighting force they need from the front.

How long will it last? Don't ask me he can answer. Japan can't. Japan hurt by her losses, and off from blockade. Believe that. of allied forces them, they quit a lot was ant to hit have to a long

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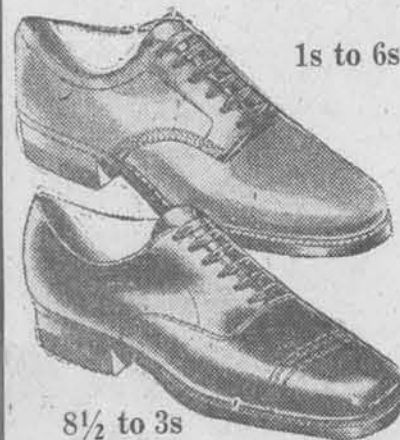
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Stassen Outlines Seven-Point Plan to Achieve Security

By HAROLD ANDERSON

United Press Staff Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS, March 8.—

Cmdr. Harold E. Stassen, a Republican delegate to the united nations conference April 25 at San Francisco, was on record today with a broad seven-point plan for the world to achieve enduring peace.

"The extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty is of the Middle Ages and it is dead," Stassen said.

"In one world today, the nations of the world are all neighbors," the former Minnesota governor said, in advancing use of its vast resources by America to develop world stability.

Meantime, he said, the United States should decline a "Santa Claus role" in world affairs.

THE SEVEN "cardinal principles" of his peace plan, as outlined in an address last night before the Minnesota united nations committee, are:

ONE: The continuing organization of the united nations, based on justice and law and insured by force.

TWO: The delegation of a limited portion of each nation's sovereignty to the united nations.

THREE: The linking of America's future with that of the world.

FOUR: Use of America's enormous productive capacity, capital and credit to contribute to higher world living standards.

FIVE: Insurance of freedom of speech and free channels of information, including press, radio and school.

SIX: The stripping from aggressors their means to wage war.

SEVEN: Freedom of each nation

to determine its own political form of government.

STASSEN said he did not believe it imperative that the united nations organization must take some detailed, exact form; but he hoped that it would "include some method of developing basic world law," even though the beginning might simply guarantee that no person be executed without trial.

"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 the prevention of discrimination should be developed," he said.

EACH NATION, Stassen said, must limit its action so that it does not injure its neighbor.

"If the United States contributes to the progress of the world, it will itself share in that progress in high standards of living, a richer life, and peace," he said. "The world must advance together and there is room in the world for all the peoples who live in it."

He said that stripping of the enemy of his means of making war best could be done by the joint action of the victorious nations through the united nations organization, with a continuing joint occupation and inspection.

Freedom of information to the citizens of all countries—even the enemy nations—must be a fundamental rule, he said.

"If we are right in our basic concepts in America, and I believe we are, in a generation or two we will have a different Germany and a different Japan," he

said, adding that these nations must never again develop into military powers.

"WE OURSELVES should remain strong," he held. "We should maintain a powerful, modern navy. We should keep an alert, up-to-date air force. We should constantly train an efficient land force."

To those who would criticize him on the grounds of being an abstract idealist, he said that "when the terror of war has reached the grand scale that it has today, it is time for some thinking for peace on a grand scale."

"We need no scoffers today,"

he said. "We need men. Men to assault the pillboxes of lethargy—the emplacements of prejudice spitting guns of intolerance. 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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United States Coast Guard

Beginning of the 'Toughest Ever' in the Pacific

Out of the mouths of gaping Navy and Coast Guard-manned landing craft flow the hours after the Marines had secured their initial beachhead on the island which is invasion supplies on the beach at Iwo Jima. The photograph was taken only a few virtually in Japan's "front yard."

Du Pont Gives Full Aid To World Peace Drive

By Roscoe Drummond

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

WILMINGTON, Del., March 8.—The most influential spokesman of one of the nation's great munitions industries—Lamont du Pont, Chairman of the Board of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.—informed The Christian Science Monitor and the New York Sun today that he is giving his fullest support to the United Nations conference at San Francisco and expressed the hope that a United Nations world organization would "immediately and co-operatively" begin its "ceaseless" task of seeking to prevent any future war.

Ten years ago when the mood of disillusion and isolationism dominated political policy—after it was clear that victory in World War II was not bringing in peace—the Senate investigating committee headed by former Senator Gerald P. Nye (R) of North Dakota was glibly branding the munitions trade as "an enemy of international co-operation and a fomenter of wars."

Today one of America's largest wartime armament firms is raising its significant voice in behalf of international co-operation and in behalf of the practical steps necessary to make international co-operation work.

He holds that American firms, like his own and others, vastly "prefer to do the economic work of an industrial company in a world of peace, and not the un-economic work of a world at war."

He agrees that in the world of today "no nation can of itself be secure."

He declares that "the peace-time association . . . of the nations now co-operating to win this war offers the best chance that we shall not have to do it all over again in another quarter of a century."

He puts great stress on the fact that only in a world reasonably assured of peace can American private enterprise devote itself fully to "creating the postwar jobs that all of us so urgently want."

Text of Statement
The text of Mr. du Pont's statement follows:

"As an official of an American company which, like the great majority of American industry, has in two world wars been forced by events to turn its peacetime production to making the materials of war, I should like to say publicly, in view of the approach of the United Nations conference on world organization in San Francisco, that this is not, as emphasized, 'a new attitude on the part of the du Pont company. Time after time, during the Civil War, on the occasion of the disarmament conference in 1921, and on various other occasions responsible officers of this company have made it clear that not only the strong natural sympathies of its management, but also the plain business interests of the company, lie overwhelmingly in the direction of continued maintenance of world peace.'

It is Mr. du Pont's evident hope that, with the United States actively participating, the United Nations will find agreement on ways and means to achieve this goal, for in the course of his state-

Stassen Acts To Strengthen Oaks Charter

By Roscoe Drummond

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON, March 8.—From the whole series of concrete proposals on foreign policy which are contained in the first public speech he has delivered since he donned a naval uniform more than two years ago, Commander Harold E. Stassen emerges as the most advanced internationalist on the American delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco next month.

On the basis of the detailed and candid outline of his views in his Minneapolis, Minn., radio address, it is evident the former Minnesota Governor—who already looms among the most formidable candidates for the Republican presidential nomination in 1948—is hopeful of strengthening the Dumbarton Oaks Charter or of taking subsequent steps to strengthen the peace machinery ultimately set up.

It is clear that Commander Stassen will give full support to the best agreement which can be reached.

World welfare and human rights stressed in Stassen's policy; Page 6.

Chapultepec Conciliatory to Argentina

By Roland Hall Sharp

Staff Writer on Latin-American Affairs for The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY, March 8.—The next move in the Argentine crisis now definitely lies at the door of Buenos Aires following approval by the Chapultepec Conference of a resolution designed to clear the way to a solution of one of the thorniest problems in family relations ever known among the 21 American nations.

This long-awaited action by the foreign ministers of all the countries except Argentina is in the form of a document susceptible to many and diverse interpretations.

The tone of the resolution is conciliatory to the extent of omitting all harsh references to the nature of the fascist military dictatorship in Argentina except by implication.

Invitation to Argentina
Nothing was said—not was anything scarcely implied—about the oppressive denial of democratic rights to the Argentine people.

The conditions laid down for the readmission of Argentina into the full family council of the Americas deal exclusively with the conduct of foreign policy. This attitude follows a pattern long familiar in dealings with Brazil and other countries whose foreign policies are in favor of the United Nations while internal politics are fascist.

In effect, the Chapultepec conference says to Argentina: "Subscribe to all declarations adopted in Mexico City, take steps to join the United Nations, show

By John Beaufort

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET HEADQUARTERS, Guam, March 8.—While V-Corps Marines continue yard by yard the reduction of Iwo Jima, returning casualties bring back further testimony of its defenses. It has been called the "strongest fortified piece of ground in the world," commanded by the "smartest Japanese generalship" United States fighting men have yet encountered.

This morning I talked with two regimental commanders just back from the battle. Both agreed that Iwo offered a "perfect" defensive opportunity and the enemy exploited it to the limit.

Officer interviewed
The first officer interviewed, a lieutenant colonel, was a casualty early in the fight, the only survivor among a group of five who were hit by a Japanese mortar shell.

According to some estimates, only 5 per cent of the wounds suffered on Iwo were caused by small-arms fire. The rest were from mortars and artillery.

The Japanese used heavy guns, mortars, and antitank guns to contest every foot of the Marines' progress. From concrete emplacements more than five feet thick, reinforced with American steel, they maneuvered guns with the greatest possible effectiveness.

Artillery pieces were hoisted into position by block and tackle, fired for a few rounds, and then lowered, leaving

Ameghino Reaffirms Argentina's Stand

By the Associated Press

Buenos Aires, March 8

Acting Foreign Minister Cesar Ameghino, discussing the Act of Chapultepec with newspapermen, said he desired to reaffirm Argentina's respect for "the personality, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity" of all other American nations.

Neither of those pioneer defense pacts was directed against aggressions originating in the Americas. The Act of Chapultepec specifically provides for that unwelcome eventuality.

When the Eighth Pan-American Conference met at Lima during the closing days of 1938, war in Europe was already so near that 21 independent nations of the New World banded together to meet the coming storm.

The resulting Declaration of Lima laid the groundwork for the subsequent wartime collaboration that has proved admirably effective.

At that time Argentina, while proud and diplomatically difficult, had not slipped into fascist reaction that has done much to precipitate the Act of Chapultepec.

Continued on Page 10, Column 6

Chapultepec Intermezzo: First Page, Second Section.

Hitler Super Road Aids Yanks To Go 65 Miles in 58 Hours

SHAEF

By Volney D. Hurd

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS, March 8.—Lieut. Gen. George S. Patton's new drive on Coblenz is a logical follow-up of the northern clearing of the Rhine. Obviously, the hard-hitting, fast-moving Third Army armor was not posted for a mere pressure operation to construct a hinge for the northern swing. Yet the more difficult terrain there might suggest this.

Actually, the Germans provided a special solution for this terrain when they constructed the great Autobahn, or super motor highway, running from Coblenz to near Ellscheid. Its western terminal goes nowhere in particular. Like all Autobahnen, it is designed as a military highway to feed an important defense area.

It is the logical and historical invasion route from Trier to Coblenz down the Moselle Valley. In 1794, Gen. Jean Victor Moreau marched from Trier down the valley to take Coblenz on Oct. 23. Nevertheless, operation is difficult due to the hills on either side, whose ridges must be taken progressively to prevent cross fire on troops in the valley.

The Autobahnen have been another Hitler backfire, for great roads to protect the Reich and through which to invade France are a two-way affair. These highways, designed like railways over as few undulations as possible and with slight grades, are very efficient for modern armored columns. In building them, Hitler not only selected the easiest armored route, but cleared the whole area and built a super motor road.

This Autobahn runs roughly parallel to the Moselle, only much straighter. It is easy to see the pattern of General Patton's first-day 25-mile plunge as he headed for the highway. He appar-

Continued on Page 12, Column 4

Heavy RAF Attack Sets Dessau Ablaze

By the Associated Press

London, March 8

More than 1,250 British warplanes—the largest force sent out by the RAF this year—last night blasted the Germans' Eastern Front base of Dessau, struck at vital oil refineries, and gave Berlin its 16th successive night raid. Pilots returning from the assault on Dessau—the main objective—reported the whole target area was "ablaze from end to end, with smoke rising to a height of 17,000 feet."

G-5 Rule

By William H. Stringer

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

WITH THE UNITED STATES NINTH ARMY, March 8.—With all the preparation American military Government teams have had for occupation of the Rhineland, one gets the impression that they will still solve many of their problems by the old trial-and-error method.

The team which moves into Cologne will have waited many months. Other teams are now moving into Krefeld, Muenchen-Gladbach, Neuss, and lesser captured towns. Those I have seen in operation are hustling diligently from 8 in the morning to 10:30 in the evening.

This, according to G-5 officials I have talked with, is the reason they cannot worry overmuch about the politics of the temporary officials they appoint in hectic organizational days—other than to avoid choosing rabid Nazis.

The first task is to get utilities functioning, so the soldiers can have light, showers, and laundry, keep down epidemics, and keep civilians off the necks of the military.

When government is functioning smoothly, then they promise to weed out "politically unfit" officials.

This is very plausible, yet one wonders if even after their experience at Aachen,

Continued on Page 5, Column 4

Cabinet Ends Romania Crisis; Yalta Formula Gets First Test

By J. Emlin Williams

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON, March 8.—Formation of a new Cabinet in Romania brings to an end the third government crisis which has existed since that country contracted out of the war. But it nevertheless emphasizes the difficulties of return to normalcy which face any Axis satellite.

Petru Groza, a leader of the National Democratic Front (N. F.), has formed a government in which George Tatarescu, a former Liberal Prime Minister, becomes the Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister. The new Premier has already been received by King Mihai and taken the oath of allegiance.

Despite the inclusion of former Premier Tatarescu in the Cabinet, the active portfolios go to the Soviet sympathetic leftists who precipitated the recent Cabinet crisis after their split with Dr. Julius Maniu's National Peasant Party.

Reuters reported that the Cabinet included the following Ministers:

Ministers Named

[National Defense: Gen. Vasile Rascanu.
(Labor: Lotar Radacanu, Socialist.)

[Propaganda: Professor Petre Constantinescu-Iassy, Communist.
(Justice: Lucratin Patrascanu, Communist.)

[Messrs. Radacanu, Constantinescu-Iassy, and Patrascanu had identical appointments in the Rascanu and Senatescu governments and are all Democratic Front representatives.]

Briefly, the position is that a struggle had been going on for control between old parties like the Liberal and Peasant Party on one hand, and the National Democratic Front on the other. The two former parties had hitherto held a majority of seats in the Gov-

By Neal Stanford

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON, March 8.—There is no indication here that the Big Three governments are side-stepping the issues raised by the political crisis in Romania. In conformity with the Yalta formula they have already opened consultations on what measures are necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities agreed on in the Crimea.

These are being effected through diplomatic channels rather than through the Allied Control Commission established in Bucharest, since the latter's activities are limited by Romania's armistice terms to seeing that those terms are properly executed.

If the crisis continues, the tripartite consultations under the Yalta program could result in establishment of the machinery for jointly setting up "interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements . . . and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of a government responsive to the will of the people." But if King Mihai is able to form either a coalition or

Continued on Page 4, Column 4

Ribbentrop-Goebbels Called War Criminals

By Reuters

London, March 8

Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, and German Propaganda Chief Joseph Goebbels were regarded as "major war criminals" by the British Government within the scope of the declaration on German atrocities of the 1943 Moscow conference. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated in the House of Commons March 7.

Meanwhile, to the east of Stettin, Marshal Rokossovsky's men were driving toward Danzig, 190 miles away from the Oder. It was expected that the Russians

Continued on Page 4, Column 6

The Fronts

By the War Editor of The Christian Science Monitor

From Associated Press

Three days have put an entirely new face on the Western Front. The change has been brought about by a characteristic exploit of America's dashing Third Army leader, General Patton.

It was General Patton's task to clean up the territory in the Rhine-Mosel angle, from which the Germans might have threatened the flank of the First and Ninth Armies attempting to move across the Rhine.

A 10-day operation might have seemed a rapid advance for the 65 miles between the Prüm area and Coblenz, at the confluence of the two rivers. Those 65 miles were covered by General Patton's 4th Armored Division in 58 hours.

It recalls the same General's rapid dash across from Brittany to below Paris in pursuit of the disorganized Germans in the first three weeks of last August.

No German Reserves
General Patton saw that the Germans had no reserves to rush up to this strategic angle of the line. He knew that bold action, ignoring big risks, would bring big returns. So he sent his armor plunging through in a narrow corridor right up to the Rhine a few miles north of Coblenz.

The daring thrust could easily have been taken in the flank by a well-organized foe. But the Germans were demoralized and the armored division found them ready to surrender on all sides—too many surrenders to count. It was described as a triumphal advance "through lanes of rain-sodden white flags."

The German Command appears to have given up all attempt at further resistance west of the Rhine, resorting where possible to something like a scorched-earth policy. The great city of Cologne was described as the empty shell of a city, many of the large buildings that had escaped Allied bombing being dynamited by the Germans. The city was practically windowless and without transportation or telephonic communication.

Important Move Impends
Cleaning up of the Rhine-Mosel triangle no doubt will be completed by the infantry within a few days. Organized resistance is at an end and nothing stands in the way of an early move across the Rhine.

The fact that a news blackout has been imposed on the main strategic sections of the front suggests that preparations for that important move already are on the way.

On the Russian Front, Marshal Zhukov's First White Russian Army had driven west along the Baltic coast on to Wollin Island, which commands the mouth of the Oder River above Stettin.

Twenty miles away to the west of this force is Swinemünde, the great German U-boat base, on the island of Usedom.

Meanwhile, to the east of Stettin, Marshal Rokossovsky's men were driving toward Danzig, 190 miles away from the Oder. It was expected that the Russians

Continued on Page 4, Column 6

Welfare-Human Rights Stressed in Stassen's Policy

By a Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., March 8.—Following is a partial text of Commander Harold R. Stassen's address as prepared for delivery before the Minnesota United Nations Committee here today:

I frankly state what I consider should be the seven cardinal points of our future world policy. First: That as a nation we will 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. That we will seek to gradually develop a new and higher level of government, with legislative, judicial, and executive functions, for the future peace, progress, and well-being of mankind. That we are and will continue to

be interested in what happens in every other part of the globe. That this is one world.

Second: That we do not subscribe to the extreme view of nationalistic sovereignty, that we realize that neither this nation, nor any other nation can be a law unto itself in the modern world, and that we are willing to delegate a limited portion of our national sovereignty to our United Nations organization, so that it may be effective in the tasks we expect it to accomplish. That we hold that true sovereignty rests in the people, and that there is and must be a law of humanity above and beyond the narrow rule of nationalistic, absolute sovereignty.

World-Wide Scope
Third: That we consider that the future welfare and peace and happiness of the people of America is inseparably intertwined with the future welfare and peace and happiness of the men and women and children of the world. Fourth: That we will use the enormous productive capacity of America and the reservoirs of capital and credit and technical skill to contribute to the gradual advancement of the standards of living of the peoples of the world, not as recipients of charity, but as self-respecting men and women of dignity and of pride.

Fifth: That we believe in the freedom of information through press and radio and school and forum as well as a vital factor in the peace and progress of the world and in the fulfillment of the dignity of man.

Sixth: That those who were aggressors in this war shall be stripped of all means to make war and shall remain so stripped. That we propose to remain strong on land, at sea and in the air, and will join with Russia and Great Britain, China and France, and the other United Nations in furnishing police power in the world.

Seventh: That we are and pro-

pose to remain a democracy of free citizens with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise. That we will constantly seek to improve the functioning of our system, both as to freedom and equality of our citizens and as to the success and adequacy of our economy. That we will explain our system to the world but will leave it to the people in each nation to decide for themselves their own form of government so long as they do not trample on basic human rights, or threaten the peace of the world, or transgress upon their neighbors. That we will permit our own citizens to learn of any other form of government without just trial, but will not permit any other government to actively seek to undermine our own.

I hope that it (the evolving United Nations organization) will include some method of developing basic world-wide law. It should make possible the future enactment of a fundamental code of human rights. The beginning may be very small. But even if we started with the enactment of one law, a law that no country, in time of peace, shall execute a human being without just trial, it would be a significant step.

We sometimes fail to realize that there is no such world law today. The Nazi Storm Troopers and Gestapo who dragged civilians from their homes in Germany and summarily shot them, were violating every moral code we know of, but they were not violating any international law, because there is none to protect a human being within a nation. This starkly silhouettes the tragic slowness of the development of society on the world level.

We know full well that Nazi aggression actually started, not when Hitler marched across his borders, but rather when he ruthlessly trampled the rights of men within Germany.

Steps to Come

The United Nations should also develop an effective and just method of trusteeships for use in governing territories that for reasons of extreme military importance, or inability of self-government, or peculiar economic position, or seizure from an enemy, cannot be held in a form of joint United Nations title, rather than in the title of any individual nation. The enlightened interest of the world and the human rights of the people concerned should both be carefully safeguarded. The trustee may be either one of the United Nations, or the United Nations organization itself.

The results of a successful con-

ference at San Francisco will be of incalculable importance, but they will not be the final answer to our world problems for peace. They will only be the first step. Continuing interest of the American people, continuing devotion of their government, the approval and support of the proposals by the Senate, and then the steady growth and development of the United Nations organization, will be essential if we are to have anything more than a precarious beachhead.

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.

There may be many diplomats who do not know it; there may be many political leaders who are afraid to admit it; there may be many people who do not understand it, but the extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty is of the Middle Ages and it is dead. It died with the airplane, the radio, the rocket and the robot.

In its place we must develop the new principle of the rights, duties and responsibilities of each nation to the other nations and of each man and each woman to the other people of the world.

No nation has any right in the modern world to do as it pleases without regard to the effects of its action upon the peoples of other nations. True sovereignty rests in the people, and the people know that for their own future welfare they must exercise a portion of that sovereignty on a world level in place of the 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.

One of the most striking facts which has been demonstrated in this war is the enormous productive capacity of America. It has been a huge power for destruction and for victory.

It can be an equally great power for world construction and progress after the war if we but lift our eyes to its opportunities and responsibilities and take the necessary steps for world stability.

It Can Be Done

This will require increased investment by American capital in the resources and facilities of other nations, and increased trade with lower tariffs throughout the world. We must explode the narrow view that if we develop production in other parts of the world we will pre-empt our own markets. We will create markets as we develop means to produce. The capacity of the human race to consume is just as great as the capacity of the human race to produce. Of course there are and will be acute problems of distribution. But we can either fight over a shrinking wealth, or work together to participate in an expanding production and the wealth of the future.

We need no scrooges today. We need men. Men to assault the pillboxes of lethargy—the emplacements of prejudice—the spitting guns of intolerance. Men who are willing to fall in the assault so that others may carry the day. It will take that to build the world. It will take that to raise the standards of mankind—to make freedom and liberty and peace—living symbols to men and

women and children—and not mere words in speeches or in charters.

Our fighting men want America to have a world policy for peace that is as big, as definite and as successful as has been our strategy for war.

It will take time and it will cost. But the alternative makes it worth the cost.

They do not want you to surrender before the counterattacking assault waves of cynicism this best hope of enduring peace on each.

I speak not of Utopia. I speak of a human race suddenly turned angelic.

There will be selfishness and greed and corruption and narrowness and intolerance in the world tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrow. But pray God, we may have the courage and the wisdom and the vision to raise a definite standard that will appeal to the best that is in man, and then strive mightily toward that goal.

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CINCINNATI, OHIO

Stassen Urges Seven Steps To Strengthen Oaks Charter

Continued from Page 1

reached at San Francisco and will approve the charter which is evolved. But this to Commander Stassen is just the "beachhead" in the battle for a just and lasting peace, and he wants the American people to appreciate that much in addition to the essential if we are to have anything more than a precarious beachhead.

Specifically, as an analysis of his speech discloses, the Commander, who shortly will take one more tour of duty with Admiral William F. Halsey before he temporarily becomes a civilian to serve at San Francisco, offers these seven proposals:

He advocates future enactment of a fundamental code of human rights. "The Nazi storm troopers and Gestapo," he says, "who dragged civilians from their homes in Germany and summarily shot them, were violating every moral code we know of, but they were not violating any international law because there is none to protect a human being within a nation. This starkly silhouettes the tragic slowness of the development of society on the world level."

He emphasizes that the United Nations must envisage a system of laws and justice and a moral code supported by police force, and must not permit the development of a continuing system of world power and force without law.

He wants to see the United Nations develop an effective and just method of trusteeship for use in governing territories that for reasons of extreme military importance, inability of self-government, peculiar economic position, or seizure from an enemy can best be held in a form of joint United Nations title, rather than in the title of an individual nation.

Freedom of Information

He also said that "we recognize freedom of information is vital to the peace and progress of the world."

He outspokenly calls for a curtailment of the "extreme principle of absolute nationalistic sovereignty." He says it "died with the airplane, the radio, the rocket and the robot," and that in consequence "no nation has any right in the modern world to do as it pleases without regard to the effects of its actions upon the peoples of other nations. Just as each free man must so limit his liberty of action so he does not injure his neighbor, so each nation must limit its action so it does not injure its neighbor."

He urges that the United States adopt constructive economic internationalism as well as constructive political internationalism, and stresses that the latter will be

empty and futile without the former. "We must," he avers, "explode the narrow view that if we develop production in other parts of the world we will pre-empt our own markets. We will create markets as we develop means to produce." This will require, he says at another point, "increased investments by American capital in the resources and facilities of other nations, and increased trade with lower tariffs throughout the world."

He holds that the Germans and the Japanese can best be stripped and checked in their means of making future war through the "joint action of the victorious nations through the United Nations organization, with a continuing joint occupation and inspection. It is interesting to note that the trend of official policy on this point is to believe that the control of the present enemy nations should be independent of the United Nations organization rather than as a part of it."

All of these suggestions go well beyond the charter as it is presently drafted and go beyond anything which is anticipated at San Francisco. This is, of course, Commander Stassen's view ahead, not what he will demand in one stride.

Throughout his speech, which was delivered at a meeting sponsored by the United Nations Committee at the University of Minnesota, Commander Stassen emphasized that the world organization must be "insured by force" and he urged that America join with Russia, Britain, China and France and the other United Nations "in furnishing police power in the world."

Commander Stassen reveals himself as confident that the American people and the Congress are unreservedly ready to back up the important beginning which is soon to be climaxed at San Francisco in shaping the peace. "With the background of the Atlantic and the commitments of Secretary Hull's conference at Moscow," he says, "the declarations of Dumbarton Oaks, the decisions at Yalta, the President's excellent message to Congress last week, and the never-ending wholesome study and discussion throughout America have brought us to the eve of the San Francisco Conference. The drafting of a definite framework for continuing United Nations' action in peace, with the overwhelming support of the people of the country and of the United States Senate for the steps proposed."

Gasoline Men Charged With Illegal Possession

NEW YORK, March 7 (AP)—United States Attorney John F. X. McGohy today filed criminal informations against 19 operators of gasoline stations in Westchester County charging possession of 9,129 counterfeit ration coupons good for about 30,000 gallons of gasoline.

Seven of the defendants do business in White Plains, three in Mount Vernon, three in Yonkers, two in North Tarrytown and one each in Portchester, Scarsdale, Ardsley, and Greenburgh.

Measure Would Provide Veterans With Year's Pay

WASHINGTON, March 7 (AP)—Senator Joseph Guffey (D) of Pennsylvania offered in the Senate March 6 legislation to give each member of the armed forces a year's base pay on his discharge.

Telling reporters it was "no bonus bill," Senator Guffey said the objective was to provide veterans with funds for the transition from military to civilian life after the war ends. He estimated the cost at \$4,000,000,000 annually in the demobilization period.

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The Day In Indiana

By Maurice Early

Governor Calls Halt
Child Labor Joker
Threat To Zoning
May Determine Crops
Gary Slum-Clearance

AFTER DISCOVERING some possible unconstitutional provisions and apparent oversights by the Assembly in several of the scores of bills passed during the final days of the Legislature, Governor Ralph F. Gates called a halt on signing measures to determine which bills should die by "pocket veto." He has until midnight Saturday to approve or reject bills.

ONE OF THE so-called jokers or legislative oversights was discovered by the Governor, working with a group of lawyers from the attorney general's office, in a bill revising a school attendance law restricting the employment of minors. The present law exempts newspaper carriers between the ages of 14 and 16.

IN RE-ENACTING the section, the bill now on the Governor's desk omits the exemption for carriers of newspapers, but retains the present exemptions for minors performing farm labor, domestic service and golf caddies.

OTHERWISE this bill is of extreme importance, especially during the labor shortage. It seeks to correct one of the evils of the labor laws, which now deny permits to those between 16 and 18 years old who have not completed the eighth grade.

ET, THESE children can go to school when they become 16 years old. Under strict application of the law these minors at least for two years. As amended, the measure would permit youths who have not completed the eighth grade to obtain permits providing they read and write the English language.

ADVISERS of the Governor are endeavoring to discover some legal interpretations so that this bill can be signed and yet not interfere with newspaper carriers.

MARION COUNTY'S efforts to prevent serious violations of the zoning and planning law are threatened if the Governor or the proposed new county planning measure now on his desk.

AT PRESENT county planning boards cannot enforce their regulations because there is no penalty in the law. Hot dog stands could be established in good residential sections.

TO PUT TEETH in the planning laws two new measures were passed—one relating to county planning and the other to city planning. The provision in both bills that is under question is a section making it illegal to sell or agree to sell any land of less than two acres without the written approval of the planning commission. Some of the attorneys believe this effort to abridge the right of a person to sell land is unconstitutional.

ANOTHER PROVISION of the planning bill under question gives the commission authority to determine the "intensity of use of land." Obviously the authors of the bill intended this phrase to restrict congestion of buildings. But some believe it might be interpreted to give the commission authority to determine the nature of crops that may be planted.

THERE ARE A number of provisions in these companion planning bills to prevent costly mistakes and abuses when postwar construction starts. One of them gives the city and county planning boards authority to cooperate in zoning land adjacent to the city.

MARION COUNTY planners say that if these bills are vetoed the County Planning Board might as well go out of business. If the Governor determines that the restrictions on the sale of land is unconstitutional, he may veto both the city and county bills.

ANOTHER BILL being studied by the Governor is the so-called Gary slum-clearance measure. It enables a housing authority to purchase and develop blighted areas of cities.

IN STUDYING the measure, the question is being raised by the attorneys whether sufficient safeguards are put around the activities of the housing authority to prevent abuses. The measure is state-wide in its application.

PATTON SWEEPS TO MID-RHINE

Russ In New Bid To Take Berlin

Oder Drive Renewed Is Nazi Report

2 Outer Danzig Forts
Fall As Soviets
Smash At Stettin

London, March 8 (Thursday)—(UP)—The Red Army drove to within 12 miles of Stettin Wednesday and captured two big forts in Danzig's outer defense belt while the German radio reported that the Russians had stabbed to within 29 miles of Berlin in new attacks along a 40-mile Oder front.

Berlin spoke of the Oder drive as possibly the beginning of a knockout offensive against the Reich capital but no confirmation came from Moscow.

The German Transocean News Agency reported that Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov's troops were attacking powerfully at Niederwutzen, 29 miles from Berlin's metropolitan limits, which is on the east side of the river inside its big bend northeast of the capital.

The closest previous Soviet approach to Berlin had been at Zaerkerick, six miles southeast of Niederwutzen.

Bridge Oder At Kuestrin
Other Russian units began bridging the Oder at Kuestrin after a thunderous 24-hour artillery barrage, the Germans said.

Zhukov's troops in Pomerania meanwhile overran the last important points before Stettin, capturing the road junction of Gollnow 12 miles northeast of the city and Massow 20 miles to the east, and smashed up to Stettin Bay at Stepenitz, 14 miles north of the port, Stalin announced.

Soviet artillery had blocked off the bay to German shipping and turned vessels bringing refugees from the German pockets in East Prussia and Latvia back into the Baltic where they were being attacked by Russian planes.

More than 250 Pomeranian towns were captured during the day by the First and Second White Russian armies, a Soviet

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Newest U.S. Tank To Carry Name Of Gen. Pershing

Washington, March 7 (AP)—America's new battle tank with its 90 millimeter gun—described by Assistant War Secretary Patterson as our answer to Germany's Tiger—has been named the "Gen. Pershing," it was learned today.

Thus, the colors of the famed "general of the armies" will ride into battle in the tank that Patterson hailed as "one of the strongest weapons of the war... the most powerful tank we have ever built."

The War Department has not yet released details on the new weapon.

However, it is believed it is heavier and carries more armor than the 2 1/2-inch armor plate of the Gen. Sherman, and the 4-inch armor of the assault tank; that it is considerably lighter than 62 tons, and that the firepower of its 90 millimeter gun at least equals that of our M-36 tank destroyer, which also mounts that type of gun. The M-36 gun can penetrate the 8-inch armor of the King Tiger at 200 to 300 yards, with a 24-pound projectile.

Officer Freed In Shooting Of Gunner Trapped In Plane

Shots Ended Agonizing Screams Of Sergeant Caught In Flames Of B-25 Wreckage

Kumming, March 2 (Delayed) (AP)—A 31-year-old Air Force officer, whose two shots from his service pistol ended the agonized screaming of a 20-year-old sergeant gunner hopelessly trapped in a flaming plane, was acquitted today of a charge of voluntary manslaughter.

Witnesses said the sergeant gunner was trapped in the flight compartment, his legs caught by buckled metal, after the wreck of a B-25. Flames leaped high. The plane's oxygen tanks exploded.

Six men tried to pull the still-conscious gunner free. There was no time to cut away the metal and physicians could not get into position to amputate his legs.

His screams rose above the roar of the flames. An engineering officer at the base, drawing his revolver, exclaimed: "I am going to shoot him. I can't stand hearing him scream."

He fired one shot into the ground to see if the pistol functioned, took aim, wavered and

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Death Penalty To Be Asked For DeGraphenreed

Frank H. Haupt, deputy Marion County prosecutor, yesterday presented to a Criminal Court jury surprise testimony upon which he will ask the death penalty for Charles DeGraphenreed, charged with murder of Gustave L. Wiedenhoft.

The prosecution called to the stand two witnesses who testified the defendant had confided to them details of the slaying June 30, 1944, of the South Side florist. The witnesses were Robert M. Haskins of Anniston, Ala., and his wife, Mrs. Ora Haskins.

Also on the witness stand yesterday was Mrs. Gustave L. Wiedenhoft, widow of the slain man. She also accused DeGraphenreed of the crime.

Confided Story Of Slaying

The Haskinses told the jury they heard the story of the slaying on the night of July 1, 1944, when they met the accused in a Northwestern Avenue restaurant. Haskins said he had asked DeGraphenreed why he was limping and he said, "Haven't you read the newspapers?" I said I hadn't. He got a paper from a nearby booth and showed me the story of the murder of Mr. Wiedenhoft. He told me he had jumped out of a window at the Wiedenhoft home and had injured his leg."

Haskins testified that DeGraphenreed had told him of going

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Rumors Rife In City Hall

Latest Is Remy To Quit Safety Board

By AL G. McCORD

William H. Remy is preparing to resign as president of the Indianapolis Board of Public Safety soon, high City Hall sources disclosed yesterday.

While Mayor Robert H. Tyndall has offered him the higher-salaried position of city attorney, it was understood Mr. Remy preferred to devote full time to private law practice.

Considerable "pressure" to replace Mr. Remy has been exerted on the mayor by certain elements of the regular Republican organization, leaders of City Hall's so-called G.O.P. Victory faction said.

Mr. Remy will continue until Mayor Tyndall decides upon his successor.

Most frequently mentioned for the safety board presidency are Harry E. Yockey, city office of Civilian Defense director, and Sidney S. Miller, who recently resigned as city corporation counsel.

With "unfinished business" stacked high in the city legal department, Mayor Tyndall has been urged to fill the city attorneyship as quickly as possible to relieve the burden on Arch N. Bobbitt, corporation counsel.

Work in the legal department has piled up because Mr. Bobbitt devoted most of his time as the mayor's representative during the General Assembly, and the city attorneyship has been vacant since Mr. Bobbitt was elevated from that position to corporation counsel upon Mr. Miller's resignation.

Should Mr. Remy not accept the city attorneyship, Henry B. Krug, first assistant city attorney, probably will be appointed, it was said.

Davis Elevated To Economic Post

Promises Action In "Fringe Demands"

Washington, March 7 (AP)—William H. Davis, newly named economic stabilizer, said today that a month-old wage policy dispute on "fringe demands" would be settled immediately.

Terms of settlement, he told a news conference, will come from Fred M. Vinson, his predecessor in the top anti-inflation spot and his adversary in the dispute.

As chairman of the War Labor Board, Davis has voted for such fringe demands, which involve such wage side issues as vacations, shift differentials, etc. In that sense, his new appointment was viewed in labor circles as encouraging.

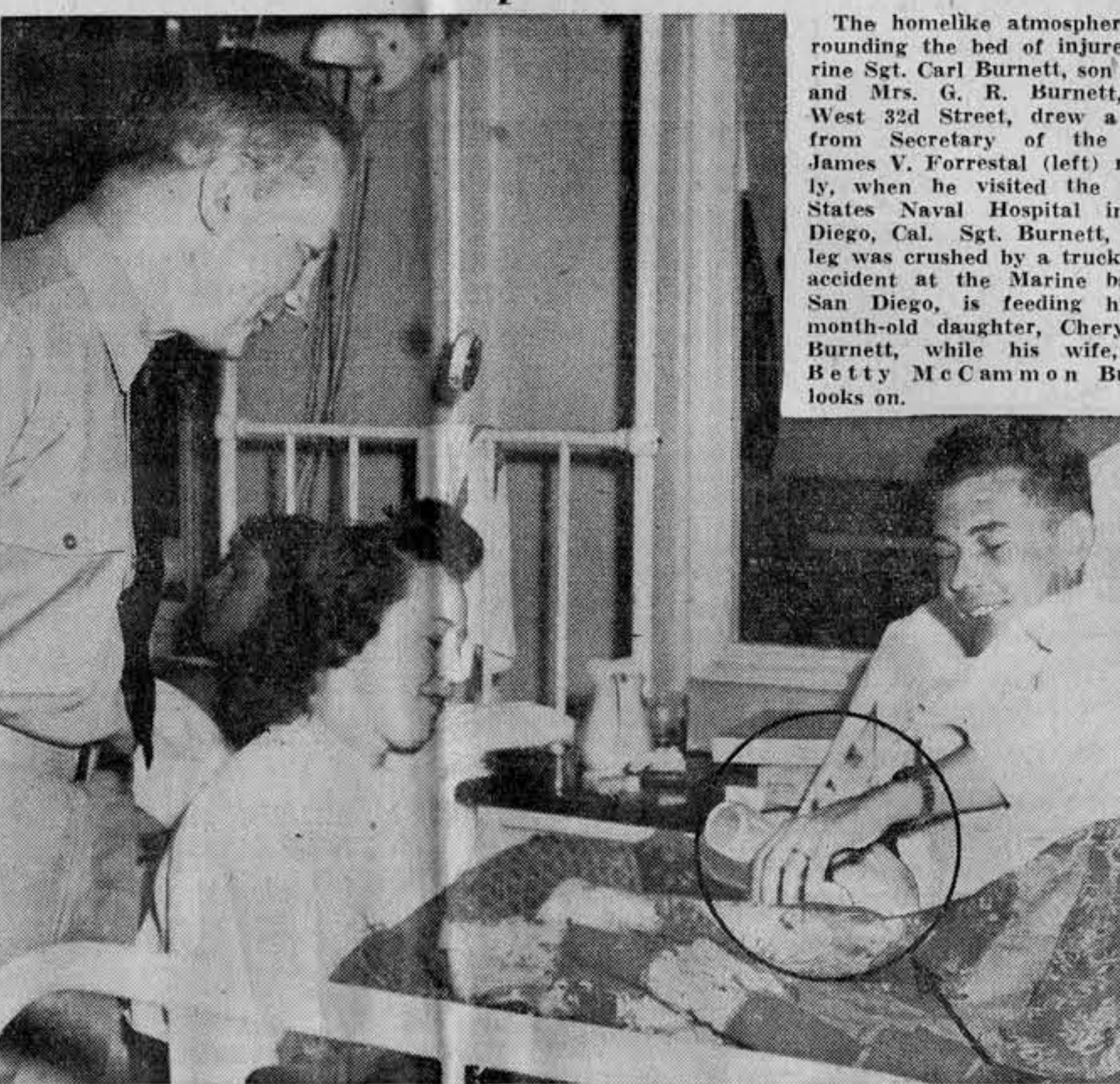
Vinson has held that no increases should be cleared before the Office of Price Administration certifies that they will not increase prices.

Taylor WLB Head

In naming the 65-year-old Davis today to head the Office of Economic Stabilization, President Roosevelt elevated George W. Taylor, 43-year-old University of Pennsylvania professor, from the labor board's No. 2 spot to its chairmanship.

Davis promptly made clear that he thinks the government should control wage decreases

Homelike Atmosphere For Local Marine



The homelike atmosphere surrounding the bed of injured Marine Sgt. Carl Burnett, son of Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Burnett, 1106 West 32d Street, drew a smile from Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal (left) recently, when he visited the United States Naval Hospital in San Diego, Cal. Sgt. Burnett, whose leg was crushed by a truck in an accident at the Marine base in San Diego, is feeding his 13-month-old daughter, Cheryl Sue Burnett, while his wife, Mrs. Betty McCammon Burnett, looks on.

Midwestern Floodwaters Continue Rise, But End Of Threat Foreseen

Thousands Scurry To Higher Ground; War Work Hit; 8 Die; Property Loss Huge

Cincinnati, O., March 7 (AP)—Flood waters of midwestern rivers—principally the historically menacing Ohio—grew deeper tonight, but the end of the valley's greatest wartime flood threat was in sight.

River forecasters predicted crests from 15 to 20 feet above flood level would be reached tomorrow all along the Ohio and its tributaries as colder weather turned an incessant rain to a wispy snow.

Thousands of families along a 1,000-mile stretch of lowlands

World Code Of Human Rights Outlined By Stassen For Peace

No Country At Peace Shall Execute Anyone Without Trial, One Of His Points

Minneapolis, Minn., March 7 (AP)—Enactment of a world-wide code of human rights, starting with a law that "no country, in time of peace, shall execute a human being without just trial," was proposed tonight by Cmdr. Harold E. Stassen in a talk outlining several cardinal points of future world policy.

The former Minnesota Governor put his personal views on the problems of world peace on record in advance of the April San Francisco United Nations conference which he will attend as a delegate.

He said he looked upon the conference as "a golden opportunity to win a beachhead in the battle for a just and lasting peace."

Joining with our allies "to build a definite and continuing organization of the United Nations of the world based on justice and law and insured by force," headed his seven-point program.

Stassen spoke at a public

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Promises Action In "Fringe Demands"

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Davis promptly made clear that he thinks the government should control wage decreases

Smashes 65 Miles In Greatest Allied Break Since St. Lo

Paris, March 8 (Thursday)—(AP)—Tanks of the American Third Army stormed up to the west bank of the middle Rhine northwest of Coblenz last night, having plunged more than 50 miles inside Germany in a whirlwind advance that sent the enemy reeling in chaotic defeat.

The German collapse on the Third Army front, started by the Fourth Armored Division's breakthrough at Bitburg three days ago, soon developed into a rout with other units of the Third Army plunging eastward and the First Army swinging southward after the capture of Cologne to a point only two miles from Bonn.

It was the Ardennes breakthrough in reverse. The Germans obviously had nothing with which to prevent the American sweep from enveloping Coblenz and Bonn.

There was no estimate of the number of German troops caught in the pocket formed west of the Rhine and north of the Moselle by the American First and Third armies. A stretch of the Rhine's west bank approximately 30 miles long separates the two American forces and the pocket extends almost 30 miles to the west.

Germans Encircled

The disorganized Germans thus encircled face inevitable death or capture if they cannot get across the river before the pocket is eliminated.

There are six bridges across the Rhine between Bonn and Coblenz and five still were usable at reports.

The Fourth Armored Division reached the river in a drive which carried 29 miles in 12 hours. In its greatest surge since Normandy the Third Army had covered 65 miles in 58 hours, making the western Allies' deepest penetration of the Reich.

The First and Third armies together formed in the past week the greatest Allied breakthrough since St. Lo.

The enemy fell back in hectic retreat and offered but little resistance as Lt. Gen. George S. Patton's men rolled through town after town and streaked past thousands of prisoners, captured in such numbers they

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Hoosier Solons Vote Solid For Nurse Draft Bill

Washington, March 7 (AP)—All 11 of Indiana's representatives—two Democrats and nine Republicans—voted for the nurse-draft bill passed by the House today. The measure, broadened to include men as well as women not over 44 or under 20 years of age won House approval by a 400-vote margin, 347 to 42.

Written in during the closing hours of debate was a requirement that before any nurse, man or woman, may be inducted, he or she must be offered a commission by the Army or the Navy. In making this provision, the House set aside its action of yesterday providing that all nurses must be inducted as commissioned officers.

Chairman Andrew J. May (D-Ky.) of the military committee pointed out that anyone could evade induction by refusing to accept a commission. A commission cannot be forced upon anyone.

House Congratulates Gen. Eisenhower, Army

Washington, March 7 (AP)—The House decided unanimously today to send a message of congratulations to Gen. Eisenhower and his men for recent American Army achievements in Europe.

Patton Swam German River, Inspiring Troops To Follow

Doughty General Plunged Into Icy Sure To Show Men It Could Be Done, Sergeant Says

Baltimore, March 7 (AP)—The story of how Lt. Gen. George S. Patton twice swam the 150-foot Sure River in Germany in January under heavy machine gun and artillery fire, inspiring "thousands of troops to follow him," was told today by one of the men who did it.

Sgt. Thomas J. Deffbaugh of Cumberland, Md., Fourth Infantry, one of the soldiers who followed Patton across the Sure, said "there was about a foot of snow on the ground when we got to the Sure River somewhere near the meeting place of the Luxembourg, German and Belgian borders."

Bettendorf Objective

"We learned that we had to take the town of Bettendorf on the opposite side and do it quickly," said Deffbaugh, now touring war plants in the Baltimore area with other heroes of Bastogne.

"Just before dawn we started going across in three-man boats. The river was very swift and cold and had pieces of ice floating in it. German machine guns and artillery raked the river."

"After a while though, Gen. Patton called the boats back and ordered the men to swim across with rifles, bazookas, and every-

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Borrow at Morris Plan to pay Income Taxes due Mar. 15. Phone day or night, MA. 4455.—Adv.

World Code

Concluded From Page 1

meeting at the University of Minnesota. The talk was broadcast nationally.

Against a background of nearly two years' service in the Pacific area, Stassen said:

"Our fighting men want America to have a world policy for peace that is as big, as definite, and as successful as has been out strategy for war."

He called for gradual development of "a new and higher level of government, with legislative, judicial, and executive functions, and with world-wide jurisdiction."

Expressing the hope that this world organization, whatever its final form, would include some method of developing basic world-wide law, he added:

"It should make possible the future enactment of a fundamental code of human rights. The beginning may be very small but even if we started with the enactment of one law, a law that no country, in the time of peace, shall execute a human being without just trial, it would be a significant step."

Emphasizes Six Points

Stassen emphasized these other six points:

That "absolute nationalistic sovereignty is dead."

That we are citizens of the world and our happiness and welfare is tied up with that of all other peoples.

That productive capacities of America be used for the advancement of all the peoples of the world.

That we recognize freedom of information is vital to the peace and progress of the world.

That we are and propose to remain a democracy with an economic system of private capital and individual enterprise; that we will explain our system of private capital and individual enterprise; that we will explain our system to the world and permit our own citizens to learn of any other form of government, "but will not permit any other government to actively seek to undermine our own."

That aggressor nations must be stripped and remain stripped of the means of making war, while we maintain our own strength.

He said both a United Nations court of world-wide jurisdiction and a police force are essential to a world organization but "this definitely does not mean an all-powerful international police force of a superstate."

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