

Washington Digest

Willkie Emphasizes Need For U. S. to Direct Peace



Dedicates His Life to Arousing American Leadership in 'All-Out Offensive for Global Peace When War Ends.'

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Editor's Note: In an exclusive interview with Baukhage, Wendell Willkie discloses his "blueprint for the future." In the following article, Willkie discusses America's job in the post-war peace.

Wendell Willkie has cut out a huge, new job for himself.

That revelation came to me in one startling, raptier sentence, hurled across his desk as I sat opposite, an unsuspecting, inquiring reporter.

It is the biggest job Willkie ever tackled. Bigger, I am sure he believes, than being President, even in wartime, would have been.

It is not the job of leading a third party. I have his word that he considers formation of a third party impossible.

It is the job of arousing America to leadership in an all-out offensive for a global peace when the war ends—beginning now.

With his well-thatched head and his square shoulders silhouetted against the flashing panorama of the East river below, Willkie talked to me in the office of his law firm on Broad street in New York. A jangling telephone interrupted occasionally, he paused to give quick answers to pencilled notes from his secretary, but he kept his mind on far horizons as he answered a list of 14 questions which I had prepared.

The remark that convinced me that he means business was a part of his answer to the ninth of my 14 questions. After he had stressed the necessity for more American leadership in the war effort of the United Nations, I asked:

"What will happen if the United States doesn't take this leadership you say is necessary? How will it affect the war? How will it affect the post-war world?"

American Leadership

Willkie has a habit of looking you in the eye. He doesn't often gaze into space and meditate before he speaks.

"If there is not a United Nations united command and united council, with America playing its part in the leadership—I mean political and moral leadership as well as military leadership—it will mean that the war will last longer, many more lives will be lost uselessly . . ."

By this time his words were staccato, each sharply emphasized, the words of a man who wanted his hearers to believe. The last phrase came crescendo:

" . . . and the world will revert to the old spirit of nationalism." Then he turned and looked at me intently: "That's why I have dedicated my life to this job."

Those words and the way they were spoken convinced me that Wendell Willkie, whatever his political ambitions might be, had drawn a blueprint for his own future that was wider than the map of the United States.

"We have to get started now," he said, "we can't wait until the war is over. We have to begin to build the machinery step by step. It isn't a thing that will come full-blown out of the bottle."

"What are you going to do about it?" I asked.

Third Party Again

"I am going to speak, I am going to write, I am going to try to convert the country to the belief—and I am going to work within the framework of the Republican party toward the adoption of this idea as a policy."

"What about a third party?" I asked.

"The formation of a third party is legally impossible," he replied, impatiently brushing aside the political implications. He returned to the question of a war and peace policy. Just what is this "policy"? Mr. Willkie made that pretty plain in his report to the nation. He said:

"To win that peace three things seem to be necessary—first, we must plan now for peace on a global basis; second, the world must be free, economically and politically, for nations and for men that peace may exist in it; third, America must play an active, constructive

part in freeing it and keeping it peace."

Willkie wants, immediately, a full statement of post-war aims, an extension of the Atlantic Charter so written that all the nations of the globe will be assured that all are to be co-beneficiaries. He wants, immediately, a real United Nations united command and a united council ("no second class allies").

Out of this, American leadership will automatically develop, he believes, because of the "reservoir of good will" which America has built up on her non-imperialistic policy.

The immediate creation of a united command and a united council, Willkie said, will provide the proper machinery for carrying the war to a speedy victory and form the nucleus of the world organization which can establish and maintain the global peace—the ultimate objective.

The necessity for action now, Willkie stressed again and again.

On Organization

More of his own ideas came out in response to questions on specific issues which I felt he had not clarified in his report to the nation.

I asked him how he expected to provide security for the small, dependent nations and the colonies if the great nations surrender their political power over these quasi-dependencies.

"We cannot expect to restore the economic boundaries of the world after the war," he said, "but we can see that the small, dependent peoples are allowed to benefit from the revenue of the things they produce—that they are not exploited. There will have to be an international police force to provide for their security, but we must see that these countries are provided with sanitation, health and education, paid for by their own resources, until they can be built up to the point where they can govern themselves. It may take centuries. That doesn't matter. But there can be no peace in the world until problems like the problem of India are settled under international arrangement, with the obligations to such nations guaranteed by some kind of an international group. But we cannot wait for an organization to be formed. The United States must start by guaranteeing such obligations, later bringing in the other nations of the world."

"Can Russia be fitted into the democratic picture?" I asked, "and how should we avoid forcing our brand of democracy on other nations which might not want it?"

Russian Cooperation

Willkie answered these two questions in one. He said: "Russia can be fitted into the international pattern. I believe Russia will cooperate. It can then be left to work out its own internal affairs. This applies to other nations as well. The point is that we must shift the leadership as it is today from an Anglo-American leadership to a United Nations leadership. Then the United States will naturally assume the lead because the other nations will automatically turn to us for guidance."

"Should there be encouraged non-governmental groups to work out a post-war program now?" I asked. "Certainly," he said, "the more discussion the better. People all over the country should be encouraged to speak their minds on the subject. Universities should take it up. Radio and press must do their part. Public opinion is formed in the home. You and I may have a wider field for expressing ourselves, but public sentiment itself must be built through individual discussion."

My time had long run out but not Mr. Willkie's patience. When I left I had the feeling that I had been consuming the first hour's worth of a lifetime dedicated to the building of a new world.

If the gentleman behind the paper-littered desk overlooking the East river is as convincing to others as he was to me, perhaps something never dreamt of in its philosophy is about to come out of that corner of Manhattan bounded by Broad and Wall streets.

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Prepared Exclusively for WNU.

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- The Questions**
1. David Crockett died a hero in what war?
 2. Who built the Tower of London?
 3. What name is given a narrative heroic poem?
 4. The highest and lowest points in the United States are only 60 miles apart and are in what state?
 5. When does an army bugler sound tattoo?
 6. Members of the Society of Friends are more commonly called what?
 7. When was the date of Presidential inauguration changed from March 4 to January 20?

- The Answers**
1. Texas War of Independence.
 2. William the Conqueror.
 3. Epic.
 4. California (Mount Whitney in California, 14,501 feet, and Death Valley, 300 feet below sea level).
 5. Shortly before taps (giving notice to repair to quarters).
 6. Quakers.
 7. In 1937. The change was effected by the 20th amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

BRIEFS . . . by Baukhage

The best time to fumigate stored grain is in the fall before the temperature drops below 50 degrees.

Buy War Bonds

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