

Washington Digest

Old Pitfalls Stand in Way of Future Peace

Survival of German Myth, Desertion of Democratic Elements Would Weaken Postwar Security Structure.

By BAUKHAGE

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SAN FRANCISCO. — California sunshine is pouring down on the bay, a great white fog has begun to drape the distant, gray-green hills in the folds of its "casting" robe.

It has been a day of conferences and interviews where the great tragedies of the little countries—Albania, Korea, Poland—and the little differences between great countries have been tossed at us, in vibrant earnest voices, in stiff and proper accents. It would be easy to lose sight of woods for the trees. But as I sit here leafing over faded notes of another such conference, I know that the tremendous goal for which these delegates have striven is so much higher, so much wider than all the little controversies that it still is just what the chambermaid in my hotel said it was.

She was gray haired. She had a son on Salpax, she told me, and when I asked her what she thought of this gathering she laid down an armful of linen and looked up. "I guess this is just about the most important thing that ever happened," she said, "trying to stop wars."

How important this meeting will prove to be depends on how well the world avoids the pitfalls which wrecked its last attempt to treat war as we treat disease; not as something that we irrevocably consider as an act of God, like a tornado, but something to which mankind is exposed through ignorance and indifference and which can be prevented.

Why did the League of Nations fail? What are the pitfalls which the United Nations must avoid?

Germans Thought Armies Unbeatable. I have been talking over that Paris conference with a friend whom I met there—a quarter of a century ago. He lived with the League of Nations through its early uncertain days, on until its death of malnutrition. Together we agreed on certain fundamental mistakes avoided in the past which must be avoided if the result of the San Francisco conference is a success.

The object of the United Nations is the same as the object of the League of Nations: to stop aggression before it starts. Last time, efforts were directed specifically toward Germany as the one potential aggressor. Germany has been so utterly defeated that she cannot strike back for a long time but our conduct toward Germany after the last war can be related to all future attempts at aggression.

The first mistake made last time, namely, allowing the myth to grow up that the German army was not defeated, that other causes enforced capitulation, cannot be made again since the German army is now destroyed. But there is danger that another myth may grow which will encourage nazi-fascism elsewhere.

Even if the so-called German government headed by Admiral Doenitz formally capitulated to the Allies instead of having the various generals surrender separately, the Nazis might well claim that they themselves never did surrender.

A very good legal case might be made out supporting the thesis that Doenitz was not the authorized head of the German government and that government still existed in exile.

Whether Hitler, Himmler, or Goebbels made no difference. No proof can be adduced that Doenitz is the authorized successor to Hitler. There has been no recognized revolution which could be recognized first, de facto, then de jure.

We do not know that Hitler authorized Doenitz as his successor.

We do know that he had publicly indicated certain successors.

I saw and heard him do it in the Reichstag meeting in the Kroll opera house in Berlin on September 1, 1939, when he announced that he was going to the front to join the army already invading Poland.

I saw him turn from the lectern and indicate, first Herman Goering, sitting high on the presidium as his successor, if he failed to return and second, the tall and lanky Hess sitting in the first row on the rostrum.

There has never been any other official designation of succession by the German government. When Hitler made that pronouncement Doenitz played no role in the Nazi party —he was just another naval officer.

Therefore it would be easy for whoever claims official leadership to have moved into Norway while it was still in German hands, take a long-distance submarine and find asylum and support in some country which would conceal his identity and where sufficient sympathy for nazifascism existed, to carry on underground activities and foster the myth of the immortality of nazi-dom just as the myth of the German army's invincibility was kept alive.

That is one thing that apparently is not realized. It is important. It must be watched.

Now there are a number of other pitfalls which I might mention but I won't spend too long over these faded notes with fresh breezes from the Pacific reminding me that we are living in the land of tomorrow and not yesterday.

But alas, some of the dark shadows of yesterday have stretched down the years to today.

Selfish Interests Stunt Democracy. One of the great mistakes which the peace-loving nations of the world, as they now call themselves, made the last time was that they failed to help the democratic elements in Germany against the very reactionary or national elements which made the world War II possible.

At present there is no question about elements in the German government for it is under Allied military rule. That problem is some distance in the future. But here at San Francisco and wherever the executive council or the assembly of the organization planned here may meet, the same question will arise.

We have a concrete example in the question of Argentina, not too important in itself, but interesting insofar as it reveals whose selfish political and economic interests affect world affairs.

Certain countries wanted to renew normal business relations with Argentina.

Great Britain has a great interest in Argentina because of her trade and Canada because the financing of many institutions there was handled through Canadian banks.

The representatives in the Mexico City conference yielded to this pressure and when they came to San Francisco could not reverse their position. Russia looked on, chortled, and said: "Democracies aren't so democratic after all if they invite a fascist government to join up with them."

This is not too important but it is an example of what must be avoided if the United Nations really champion the cause of democracy throughout the world.

But the strong hope of avoiding the pitfalls of the last time lies in the interest, the participation of the people. The people of America.

As I sit here in San Francisco and see the earnest effort of these men of all creed and color, I feel they have the will to peace.

Let their voices all cry in the wilderness unless the people support them.

I look over these gray-green hills and think—into thin hands, the hands of the people of America.

In order to provide agricultural information to servicemen and veterans of this war who are interested in agriculture, the USDA has arranged to place kits containing samples of available information in separate centers, hospitals, libraries and vocational guidance and retraining centers of the army, navy, air forces, and the Veterans administration.

In cooperation with Washington representatives of the various branches of the armed forces and the Veterans administration, these kits will be available for review in approximately 1,000 places in the continental U. S. and overseas. Accompanying each kit will be a supply of order blanks on which the veteran or serviceman can order from the department by a simple check mark, any item or group of items he may want.

Among the materials being offered are several general publications designed to help the agriculturally inclined serviceman or veteran decide whether or not he really does want to become a farmer.

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Truman Warns Japs to Quit as U.S. Shifts Weight to Pacific; More Civilian Goods to Come

Released by Western Newspaper Union

EDITOR'S NOTE: When opinions are expressed in these columns, they are those of Western Newspaper Union's news analysts and not necessarily of this newspaper.



Flags identify Allied forces occupying German territory in accordance with postwar plans. In addition to Russia taking over the east, the British the northwest, and the Americans the south, the French reportedly are to occupy the Rhineland.

ONE FRONT: Speedy Shift

Despite persistent reports of Jap peace feelers, America is going full speed ahead for an all-out war in the Pacific following Germany's unconditional surrender, bringing the European conflict to an end after almost six years of the bitterest fighting in history.

No sooner had Col. Gen. Gustav Jodl officially thrown in the sponge for Germany on orders of Fuehrer Karl Doenitz than the American high command geared itself for a shift to the Pacific, with plans calling for retention of an army of 6,968,000 and navy of 3,389,000; the transfer of many air wings to the east to supplement Super-Fort raids on Japan, and the shipment of almost 3,000,000 troops from Europe within a year.

At the same time, however, provision was made for keeping 400,000 American troops in Germany to occupy the southwestern part of the country while the French take over the Rhineland, the British the northwest and the Russians the east.

Reading the handwriting on the wall even while Germany was still hanging on the ropes, Jap businessmen, seeing their industries being reduced to rubble even before the U. S. could throw her full weight into the fray, reportedly made indirect approaches for peace.

If such is Japan's intent despite the recent announcement of her government officials about a fight to the finish, Pres. Harry S. Truman was seen as offering the Japanese an opportunity to give up and still save face by his detailed definition of "unconditional surrender" in a V-E day statement.

"It (unconditional surrender) means the end of the war," "It means the termination of the influence of the military leaders who have brought Japan to the present brink of disaster."

"It means provision for the return of soldiers and sailors to their families, their farms, their jobs."

"It means not prolonging the present agony and suffering of the Japanese in the vain hope of victory."

In shifting U. S. strength to the Pacific, the services plan to ship some construction, supply and maintenance forces directly from the European theater, while moving the bulk over through this country.

Map Movements. Including some 1,000,000 troops with extended combat records, who are to be released along with the wounded and overaged, the army will bring 845,000 men home in the first quarter after V-E day, 1,185,000 in the second, and 807,000 in the third. Those who will be retained for the Pacific war will be given a 30-day furlough, then reassigned for duty.

Need for staggering the return of troops from Europe stems from the gigantic task of transferring equipment for the Pacific war. According to estimates, from 60 to 75

200,000 barrels daily, "A" and commercial card holders may be allowed small ration increases. Though more tires may become available, an acute shortage will persist.

Allied Terms. Having vanquished Germany, the Allies showed no disposition to soften up in the imposition of terms, with extended military occupation aimed at a close supervision of industry, finance and government to prevent a rebirth of militarism.

According to occupation plans, the British have taken over the most highly developed industrial territory of Germany along with the important North sea ports; the Russians the heavy wheat and grain growing districts and "Little Ruhr" of Silesia; and the U. S. the agricultural area of the southwest.

Long sought by the French for its military as well as industrial importance, the Rhineland reportedly was assigned to them. Prize plum of this territory is the Saar coal land, which provided the French with one-third of their prewar solid fuel.

HIGHLIGHTS . . . in the week's news

United States stocks of corn, oats and barley on farms, at terminal markets, and government-owned on April 1 totaled 47,700,000 tons, about 19 per cent more than a year earlier and almost as large as the average for the five preceding years, when stocks were comparatively large. The carryover of corn next October 1 may amount to 450,000,000 to 500,000,000 bushels.

A sufficient number of new workers joined the labor force during the last year to permit an increase of 1,100,000 in the armed forces and an increase of 300,000 in the civilian supply of workers. As a result of this increase in the supply, the number of civilian workers employed rose to 59,830,000 in March from 59,500,000 last year.

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Against protests that such arrangements would narrow the activities of a general security organization and eventually displace it, South American nations pushed for recognition of regional defense systems at the San Francisco conference.

Based on the Act of Chapultepec drawn at the recent Pan-American convention in Mexico City, the South American proposal envisions the use of force to repel aggression against any of the Latin republics without awaiting the official sanction of the international security organization, any of whose major members might veto such a move.

An extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the plan thus preserves primary responsibility for the security of an area in the hands of countries immediately concerned.

Discussion of the regional security proposal came as the U. S. and Britain tried to reconcile their differing views on postwar trusteeships over conquered territories after the war, with this country standing for exclusive use of military bases upon strategic islands and the British insisting upon control subject to the security organization.

Meantime, sentiment in congress grew for unfettered U. S. use of any postwar bases in the Pacific vital to defense in the area. Since this country primarily will be responsible for keeping the peace in the Pacific, Senator Byrd (Va.) declared it should not be subject to supervision by any other nation or group. "It's little enough for us to ask," said the senator.

Paraphrasing the phrase, "highest types of Negro leaders," the highest types of Negro leaders, they hate and fear militancy among the rank and file. They are forever admonishing their dues-payers not to go "too far" in their demands, and to remember that the boss is entitled to "fair profit." Their timorous quality is acclaimed by the plutocratic press as "labor statesmanship."

The president may be perfectly sincere in urging equality of opportunity and education for the Negro. He is doubtless sincere in his belief that social equality is out of the question and that "the Negro himself knows better." It is possible that he doesn't understand that these things go together, and that where there is segregation either by race or custom, the freedom of neither equality of opportunity nor of education. Whatever the President's understanding or lack of understanding, on this score, the fact remains that his attitude toward Negroes is such as to bar action in their behalf.

Importation of twelve million short tons of foods will be necessary to improve living conditions in liberated nations and to prevent starvation in enemy territory in Continental Europe this year, according to an analysis completed by the office of foreign agricultural relations. This total would consist largely of wheat but should also include substantial quantities of fats, animal proteins, foods and sugar, the report says. Surveys of food conditions on the continent indicate the food supply this year will be from 50 to 70 per cent of the prewar energy intake.

bootlegging and inaccurate appraisal of existing stocks have all played a hand in the growing shortage.

Though officers' inability to secure sufficient help to harvest sugar beets and bootleggers' use of illegal supplies of the commodity have contributed to the tight situation, the committee found, the industry's indication that adequate stocks existed led to consumption of about 800,000 tons more last year than originally allotted.

SUPREME COURT: Award Miners. Drawn after laborious parley between companies and union representatives, the new soft coal contract was clouded by a Supreme court decision holding that miners were entitled to pay for full underground travel time under the wages and hours law.

Thus, the high court's ruling upsets the new contract's provision that such pay was to be made on the basis of an average of all miners' underground travel time, and at the same time allow for a reexamination of the pact.

In line with a previous Supreme court verdict covering iron ore miners, the latest decision came at a time when negotiations between hard coal miners and operators had bogged over differences in underground travel pay.

WAR COSTS: High Toll. With the war half-way, U. S. casualties total over 950,000 and military expenditures \$275,000,000,000. Late reports showed 747,164 casualties in the European theater, with the army reporting 139,498 dead, 467,408 wounded, 72,574 missing and 52,990 prisoners; the navy 6,415 dead, 3,612 wounded, 594 missing and 29 prisoners, 1 missing, 1 wounded and 3 prisoners.

Having already spent \$275,000,000,000 on the war, government expenditures will remain high during the Japanese war and for some time after to finance veterans' care, pensions, benefits and interest on the public debt, presently at \$236,000,000,000.

PUBLIC WELFARE. Steps were taken by more than a dozen states this year to increase old age assistance allotments and aid to dependent children.

Aged persons in Delaware now may receive \$30 monthly under legislation raising the maximum to that figure from \$25 a month. Wyoming raised its maximum to \$50 a month. Utah increased maximum benefits from \$30 to \$40. Washington put old age assistance on the basis of need and provided \$50 minimum for persons over 65.

examine his attitude toward Negroes and the Negro's place in society.

Fortunately we don't have to resort to speculation. Mr. Truman's attitude is that of the "loyal liberal Southerner," as Margaret Moberg described it in The Nation. That is, he advocates equality of opportunity and education, but considers social equality out of the question, now or ever. The Pres-

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ident summed up his views in an address in 1940 before the National Colored Democratic Association, when he said: "Before I go any farther I wish to make it clear that I am not appealing for social equality for the Negro. The Negro himself knows better than that, and the highest types of Negro leaders say frankly they prefer the society of their own people."

Paraphrasing the phrase, "highest types of Negro leaders," the highest types of Negro leaders, they hate and fear militancy among the rank and file. They are forever admonishing their dues-payers not to go "too far" in their demands, and to remember that the boss is entitled to "fair profit." Their timorous quality is acclaimed by the plutocratic press as "labor statesmanship."

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There is no denial of the need for federal aid. A peacetime release of June 20, 1942 disclosed that there are 1,458,540 males between the ages of 18 and 45 who have had less than four years of grade school. By 1943 the army had trained about 85,000 of the eligible men in the fundamentals but this is only a fraction of the million-odd men. The 1940 census listed 2,000 illiterates and 10,000,000 functional or semi-illiterates. Here then is nearly one tenth of the population, unable even to serve their own immediate needs effectively much less those of national or international importance.

A concern then in education is a definite obligation of the national government as it has been from the time of the Land Ordinance of 1782 which set aside one section in each township for the support of public schools. True the states during the past 160 years have been the main burden of education, but the number of illiterates now plus the increasing demands for federal aid from every section of the country indicate the inadequacy of the state system in meeting national needs.

Just how shall the national government operate in the field of education and for what purpose?

Only a few principles will be considered here: a, sound business principles; b, separation of church and state; c, national standards and supervision.

Appropos of the first, it has always been considered good business in public administration for an agency appropriating funds to state specifically for what purpose these funds are allocated, how they should be spent and means for government and the public to check to see whether their desires have been carried out. Cities and states which have not followed this policy have been subject to a great deal of graft and corruption. Any other policy which does not provide for this check is just as bad for education as it is for any other public purpose.

This is where the issue of states rights is raised and states and even educators allege that national supervision and control would mean political domination. This can be easily avoided by providing for a mutual check by the state and national office of education and also including national organizations of teachers in the public schools to help to determine policies and check their administration.

Further, the whole purpose of federal aid is stated to be equalizing educational opportunity. There is no way of equalizing anything without having a measure which can be used as a standard. The national government should set the standard. If the army wants men with at least a fourth grade education, educators should demand that the government grant money to see that every child capable of receiving schooling should have 8 years of 9 months each of training. Not to use such a yardstick as this results in the same

inequalities as at present. For instance, under S 181 Mississippi gets \$4,570,742 for equalizing purposes and \$4,550,000 for emergency use; New York state gets no money from the equalizing fund but \$17,036,200 from the emergency fund. This is provided in a year when New York state has a surplus of \$148,000,000 in its state treasury. By no stretch of the imagination could it be that the boy in Mississippi would have an equal chance with the New York boy. What does equalizing mean then?

Appropos of complete separation of church and state, this has been a cardinal principle for our country ever since its founding. To provide national money now for religious or any other non-public schools would mean not only that the public school would be drained of pupils of particular beliefs or sects, but it would also mean constant interference from the public school system by these outside groups. Nearly all decisions of state courts in regard to the use of public funds for private or sectarian schools has been a gainst the sectarian schools.

A religious group which states that no federal aid to education bill will pass unless there is provision for its schools shows how dangerous the prospect of the kind of political interference and control educators want to avoid.

Federal aid, yes; but of whom for whom and by whom are important considerations.

Poetic Corner CHEERFUL FEELING Every Friday, I do go to the Swing Inn, not to a show. I go to see her every night. I hope and pray, she'll be all right. With her two sisters she does

DO'S AND DON'TS:

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