

Army Talks

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**FIVE POINTS OF
U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**



NEWSFRONT

Among the Ruins of Berlin

The Allied Control Council for Germany, it has been announced, will be located in Berlin — or rather in what is left of the place.

The Russians have been there before. With the Austrians they occupied the city in 1760 during the Seven Years' War. They stayed only three days — their commander was bribed by the Prussian king, Frederick the Great. The French have also been there before. Napoleon's troops marched into Berlin after the Prussian defeat at Jena in 1806.

The Berliners were not unhappy to see the French troops because Napoleon was once widely regarded as a sort of democratic champion.

And people in those days did not regard their own private lives wholly bound up with the fate of their nation — to them conquest was mainly just another changing of the guard, not a cause for national suicide in the Nazi manner.

The German self-destruction of 1945 has left Berlin with more wreckage than any other city on earth. Since 1940, one hundred

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apart. In such a situation political and economic problems (which could be handled by a going organization) would probably wreck the formation of an international organization.

Better Standards of Living.

Few people have stopped to realize what America's staggering productive capacity could do for us after the War. In 1944 America produced over 80 billion dollars worth of war materials. Marquis W. Childs and Edward A. Harris, writing in the 2 December 1944 *Liberty*, translate our war production record into these peacetime terms: "By the end of the war... we will have devoted enough resources to the war to have been able to rebuild, with those same resources, all our reproducible assets — every office building, every home, every bridge, every automobile, everything we see and wear." Think of that. The same amount of labor and resources could in the same time (or spread out at a slower tempo) rebuild America!

One might ask what that has to do with foreign policy. The answer is that it has a whole of a lot to do with foreign policy. A prosperous America is possible only in a world which is trading — *both ways* — with America and is prospering also. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau puts it this way: "... We have learned a great lesson in the bitter school of war — that peace is indivisible. ... we know now that the improvement of living standards which we seek at home can be realized only through an improvement of living standards in all portions of the world." If the war has taught us that peace is indivisible, the depression years taught us that prosperity also is indivisible.

We think of our country as rich in raw materials, and it is. However,

here are many things we don't have. Our chief sources of rubber were the Dutch East Indies before Japan grabbed them. Most of our tin must be imported. Supplies for building American automobiles come from eighteen different countries. ... 25 countries supply products to American hardware manufacturers ... the average beauty parlor depends on seventeen nations for its wares. ... the products of fifteen countries go into a telephone.

We also depend on selling products to the rest of the world. In normal peace times, approximately half of the cotton produced in the southern states is sold abroad. If we could not sell products to other nations, three million cotton farmers might be out of jobs.

The unemployed cotton farmers could not buy automobiles from Michigan or textiles from New England or fruit from California or lumber from the Northwest. If the rest of the world could not buy our cotton, we would have three million unemployed farmers in the South — and every region in our country would be hurt. The same chain of cause and effect applies to many other products of which we normally export large proportions — 41% of typewriters, 30% of sewing machines, 23% of agricultural machines, 50% of motorcycles, 18% of our wheat.

The goal of 60 million productive jobs in the US after the war requires a large and flourishing foreign trade. In addition to the large amounts of goods which the US exported in normal pre-war years, there will be two reasons after the war for an even greater export trade.

First, vast areas of the United Nations will need to be rebuilt after wartime devastation. Second, large

sections of Asia, South America and other non-industrialized lands will seek modern plants and equipment. The US is capable of taking the leading part in both the rebuilding and industrialization. Doing so will be our only way to maintain full employment and production at home.

World industrialization is our opportunity, not a threat to our prosperity. Sumner Welles, former Undersecretary of State, writes in *The Time for Decision*: "It has become a fetish (a bugaboo) in the US on the part of many groups that the industrialization of other countries automatically cuts off export trade from the US and that this tendency should be blocked at all hazards. The truth is, of course, that industrialization automatically raises the standard of living and that this country is always benefited by an increase in the living standards of other peoples. For the higher their living standards the greater is their demand for those products of our own factories and farms which we here are able to produce more efficiently and in better quality than anyone else."

The trade agreements policy which the US has been following for over ten years is an important feature in American foreign policy. Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act we have negotiated trade treaties with many countries reducing tariff barriers to our mutual benefit.

Since the beginning of the war several United Nations conferences have met to try to work out solutions to the economic problems which will come up after the war.

The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture was held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in June 1943. In August 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the International Monetary sessions took place. And at Chicago in December 1944, post-war aviation problems

were discussed. The thousands of complex aspects of these problems cannot be settled in a half dozen conferences, but the fact that the conferences have been held, and that more are planned, points to the spirit which moves the United Nations.

Promoting the Democratic Way of Life

From the statement of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter back in 1941 to the Yalta declaration of the "Big Three" in 1945, the United Nations have sounded the call for the democratic way of life for each nation according to its own customs and desires. For the US this is not merely idealistic chatter. We know that it is to our own interest that the ways of democracy prosper.

Former Undersecretary of State, Sumner Welles, wrote: "...the US must dedicate itself to the task of creating such world conditions as will foster the growth of democratic government throughout the earth. For the progressive growth of democracy in other parts of the world means increasing safety for the US."

The policy of the US toward the Philippines is an example of action toward this objective. The Island Commonwealth has received more and more powers heading toward complete independence.

Since the start of the war both the US and Great Britain have given up their former rights to "extra-territoriality" in China. Under extra-territoriality, British and American citizens were tried and could bring actions in British and American rather than Chinese courts in China. In effect, for many years we had not granted the Chinese the right to establish their own laws in their own country. That right is now given full recognition. Its effect on the peoples of the East has been very great.

tragedy of wars is that peace is made by the survivors."

* * *

No people has greater reason to know this than we have; we who know what came after Lincoln and after Wilson. Only by bearing it ever in mind can we make sure that all our highest hopes and purposes do not disintegrate under the harsh factionalism of our public life, the pitiless pressures, which are the price of our freedom, and the discipline which accompanies our individualism. . . . Yet, though we cannot and must not hide from ourselves the risk which is imposed upon us by the death of the leader who personified so much of what we can hope for and most need to do, there is good reason to think that we shall not repeat the disasters which followed our other wars. For the experience of the past has become part of us, and if we are no better men, we are forewarned and therefore wiser.

The nation has suffered. In almost every home there is an anxious vigil, in so many, sorrow and irreparable loss. We have learned much and learned it in the hard way; few men living today but have had their whole lives bent and misshapen by the wars and convulsions of our epoch. This, then, has been no mere excursion, no triumphant adventure to be celebrated and forgotten. Our people have repurchased very dearly the freedom which they had inherited so easily and were beginning to hold too lightly.

* * *

"Whose feet they hurt in the stocks; the iron entered into his soul." . . . Roosevelt lived to see the nation make crucial decisions upon which its future depends; to face evil and to rise up and destroy it, to know that America must

and throughout the world Allies who will be its friends, to understand that the nation is too strong, too rich in resources and in skill, ever to accept again as irremediable the wastage of men who cannot find work and of the means of wealth which lie idle and cannot be used. Under his leadership, the debate on these fundamental purposes has been concluded and the decision has been rendered and the argument is not over the ends to be sought, but only over the ways and means by which they can be achieved.

* * *

Thus he led the nation not only out of the mortal danger from abroad, but out of the bewilderment over the unsettled purposes, which could have rent it apart from within. With his death, the issues which confront us are difficult. But they are not deep and they are not irconcilable. Neither in our relations with other peoples, nor among ourselves are there divisions within us that cannot be managed with common sense. . . . The genius of the good leader is to leave behind him a situation, which common sense, without the grace of genius, can deal with successfully. Here lay the political genius of Franklin Roosevelt: that in his own time he knew what were the questions that had to be answered, even though he himself did not always find the full answer. It was to this that our people and the world responded, preferring him instinctively to those who did not know what the real questions were.

Here was the secret of the sympathy which never ceased to flow back to him from the masses of mankind, and the reason why they discounted his mistakes. For they knew that he was asking right questions and if he did not always find right answers, some one who had learned what to look for eventually would.

5

POINTS OF U. S.
FOREIGN POLICY

Before joining the Army few soldiers ever dreamed of being American ambassadors...of carrying out US foreign policy. In peace time they thought of foreign policy as super-polite conversation or diplomatic sparring which was handled by the State Department. Foreign policy was a high sounding statement in the Republican and Democratic party platforms each election. But it never had anything to do with them or their families.

That was in the days when America was going on alone...the days before war came to the US...the days before we realized that we had enemies who could hit us...the days before we realized we had friends who could help us.

That was in the days before foreign policy became the main job of the US...the full time job of eleven million Americans in the armed forces.

Foreign policy no longer has an "up in the clouds" flavor. Foreign policy is now as down to earth as mud and blood and bullets. For, as the German strategist von Clausewitz said years ago, "war is the conduct of politics by forcible means."

The main objectives of US foreign policy as outlined several times recently by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius provide a blueprint for

our present military, diplomatic and economic policies. Here they are as he stated them to Congress and to the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City:

1. To give the fullest possible support for our armed forces so that the war may be won at the earliest possible moment.

2. To take any steps necessary to prevent Germany and Japan from ever again having the military or industrial power to make war.

3. To establish at the earliest possible moment a united international organization to build and maintain peace — by force, if necessary — for generations to come.

4. To promote a great expansion of our foreign trade and of productiveness and trade throughout the world so that we can maintain full employment in our own country — and together with the other United Nations — and enter on an era of constantly expanding production and consumption and of rising standards of living.

5. To encourage all those conditions of international life favorable to development by men and women everywhere of the institutions of a free and democratic way of life in accordance with their own customs and desires.

Although *Army Talks* has not conducted its own Gallup poll on



all of these topics, it has queried a number of combat veterans on their ideas about preventing future Axis aggression and about world organization to keep the peace*.

From that survey and from those polls — Gallup, Fortune and National Opinion Research Center — which are continually measuring public opinion in the US**, it may be seen that Secretary Stettinius has put into formal terms, goals with which the great majority of Americans — in and out of uniform — agree. Stated a little differently — in the language of daily conversation — the five objectives would read:

1. Naturally, winning the war as quickly as possible is the most important thing for all of us. The first objective of the infantryman's foreign policy is to get that German with the mg in that wrecked house. . . for the ASF man, it's to load that truck with ammo or rations. . . for the airman, it's that concentration of Tigers or that German oil refinery. It's an M-1, a 6x6, a P-47 foreign policy.

2. The idea is really to *win* it, not just to *end* it. We must beat the Germans and Japs so they know and admit they are licked and then completely destroy their military machines.

* See ARMY TALKS, Vol. II, No 50, 30 Dec. 1944, *The Combat Man Speaks*.

3. We don't want any more wars. In another twenty⁴ years we don't want to have to hit the Berlin road or the Tokyo highway again. The only way to prevent another war is for the United Nations to stick together permanently in an organization which has teeth to it.

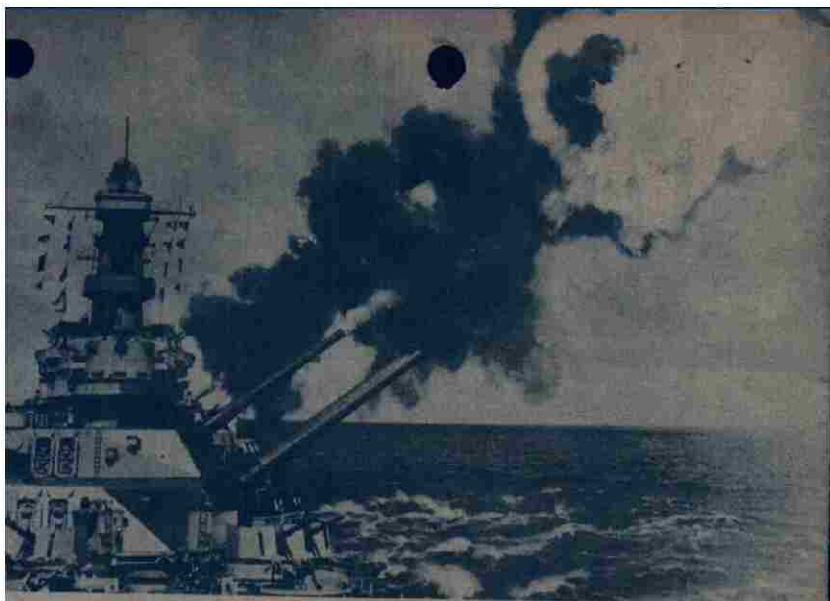
4. We want to go home to a decent job. . . to a better job and a better standard of living than we left. As President Roosevelt said on 6 Jan 1945 in his report to Congress on the State of the Union, "Full employment means not only jobs, but productive jobs. Americans do not regard jobs that pay sub-standard wages as productive jobs."

5. The people of the liberated countries have the same right to develop their affairs in a democratic way as we. We want them to be able to exercise that right.

Coalition

If foreign policy were summed up in one word, that word would be "coalition". A coalition, according to the dictionary, is an "alliance for joint action." Our foreign policy is being put into action by the general coalition of the United Nations and by the coalition of the "Big Three" — the US, the USSR, and Great

** See 31 March 1945 issue ARMY TALKS, *What Households Think*.



I *Prime point of US foreign policy—and one that touches members of armed forces most closely—is winning the war as quickly as possible. Photos show this policy at work.*



Britain. The coalition points toward two great goals...winning the war...building the peace.

Just as joint action by the United Nations is necessary to winning the war, so it is also the key to controlling our enemies after their defeat and to maintaining the peace. The need for ever closer United Nations teamwork was recently underlined by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, chief Republican spokesman on foreign policy. He listed three fundamentals: "First: The inexpressibly vital need to prevent World War III through collective security. Second: The paramount importance of a just peace if it is to be a permanent peace. Third: The hazard to these objectives if each of the United Nations starts going its own way even before we have clinched our total victory. Let's frankly face our American responsibilities in this connection." The United Nations coalition has grown tighter as all of the United Nations have put more and more into the joint war effort. "This is a great lesson which Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt have learned and are applying," wrote Walter Lippmann in the *New York Herald Tribune* on 25 February. "They have checked and reversed the normal tendency of a victorious coalition to dissolve as the war, which called it into being, approaches its end. They have seen to it that the coalition has become closer and larger, the alliance more firmly knit, as the war has developed. The conferences at Moscow (November 1943) and then at Teheran (December 1943) and now at Yalta (February 1945) show an impressive progress from general promises of united aspiration to more and more concrete measures of united action.

"For this reason the military alliance is proving itself to be no transitory thing, good only in the presence of a common enemy, but in truth the nucleus and core of a

new international order. It is the development of this real association which gives life to the promises of Dumbarton Oaks, of Bretton Woods and of the other plans of international co-operation."

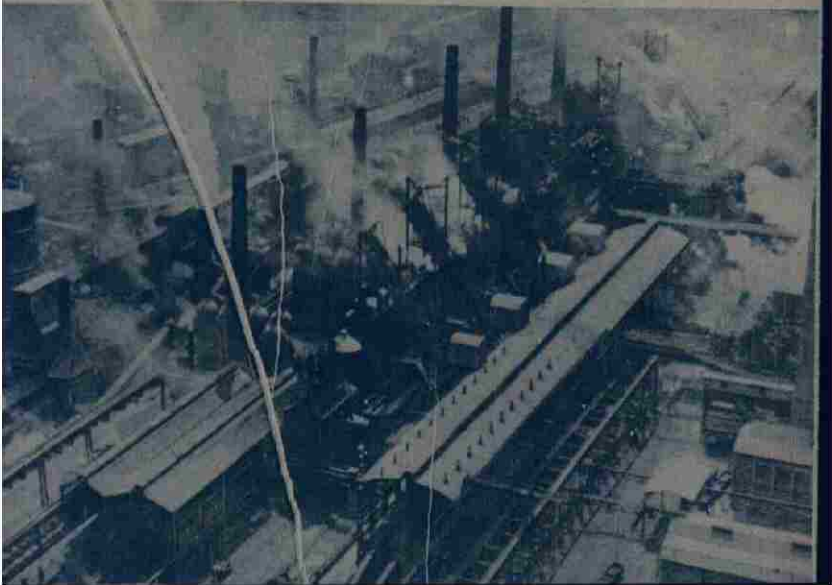
Hitler's main hope of escaping defeat has always been that the United Nations could be split. His propaganda machine worked overtime trying to split us. The crop of peace rumors a couple of months ago followed the old splitting line. The Germans carefully planted a story that they would surrender in the West to the Americans and British if they were left free to continue fighting against the Red Army.

Another recent notable example of Nazi propaganda to split the Allies — this time the Americans and British — was the faked BBC broadcast of 8 January 1945. The German station, known as "Mary of Arnhem," situated somewhere in Holland, frequently picked up and rebroadcast BBC programs, inserting carefully disguised propaganda at intervals. On 8 January this station sent out a program carefully designed to stir American troops against Field Marshal Montgomery by slighting the American achievements in stopping von Rundstedt's breakthrough last December. The broadcast said: "In the three weeks since Montgomery tricked the German Ardennes offensive he has transformed it into a headache for Rundstedt. It is the most brilliant and difficult task he has yet managed. He found no defense lines, the Americans somewhat bewildered, few reserves on hand and supply lines cut. The American First Army had been completely out of contact with Gen. Bradley. He quickly studied maps and started to 'tidy up' the front. He took over scattered American forces, planned his action and stopped the German drive. His staff, which has been with him since



2

Next objective of foreign policy is to prevent Germans and Japs from ever again being able to start wars. Above, part of the job completed. Below, war factories yet to be dismantled.



Alamein, deserves high praise and credit. The Battle of the Ardennes can now be written off, thanks to Field Marshal Montgomery." This broadcast was exposed as a fake, but not before it had done some of its dirty work by heating up a lot of American troops against the British and by taking in a few newspapers back home. Before the exposure was made a few American papers played the broadcast under headlines reading "Applause for Monty; Apple Sauce to Yanks" and "Monty Gets the Glory, Yanks Get the Brush-off!"

But instead of falling for Hitler's lies that we are fighting Britain's war or to spread Russian communism or for Uncle Sam's control of the world, the Allies have grown closer and closer together. This tightening of the United Nations coalition is shown in a thousand different ways. . . in combined military operations. . . in concrete plans for control of Germany and Japan after VE and VJ Days. . . in the steps already taken to build a permanent organization to keep the peace. . . in the agreement for joint action on touchy political questions such as Poland and Yugoslavia. . . in the many joint meetings of special groups such as businessmen and labor union leaders with their opposite numbers from the other United Nations.

Joint action — after more frequent joint consultation and planning and with ever increasing harmony — runs as the main idea through the progress we have made toward each of the five foreign policy objectives listed by Secretary Stettinius.

Winning the War

Policy toward this goal has developed along two lines: official statements of United Nations intentions and specific actions. A long series of meetings of United Nations leaders has resulted in statements of

war aims and plans for carrying them out. By the Declaration of the United Nations on New Year's Day 1942 each nation pledged itself to use its full military and economic resources against the enemy and to make no separate peace or armistice. This broad declaration of policy has been made more specific, the "unconditional surrender" policy proclaimed and military decisions reached on the scope and timing of major offensives at the Casablanca (January 1943), Quebec (August 1943), Moscow (October 1943), Cairo (December 1943), Teheran (December 1943) and Yalta (February 1945) meetings of the chiefs of state and foreign ministers of the "Big Three." The Yalta declaration announced agreement on military plans in these words: "We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied Powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. . . The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope, and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed upon and planned in detail."

Although President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill and their foreign ministers found it necessary in the past to get together only irregularly and at intervals of sometimes six months, at Yalta they agreed upon regular meetings every three or four months of the foreign secretaries of the three countries.

Joint military plans have been worked out daily. The Combined Chiefs of Staff, from their headquarters in Washington, direct the over-all strategy of the war. Carrying out the strategic decisions of the Combined Chiefs of Staff are the Combined Boards for Production,



3

We don't want to repeat the job 20 or 30 years from now. That means an international organization to enforce peace. These pictures symbolize first two steps—Yalta and San Francisco.



Raw Material Allocation, Munitions Assignments and Ship Routings. And all over the globe, from the ETO to the Burma-India Theater, the joint war is being directed and fought as the greatest combined operation in history.

One of President Truman's first acts when he assumed office was to assure the world that the close-knit unity of the Allies would continue.

In the air the degree of cooperation has reached a new high. The US Eighth Air Force and R.A.F. Bomber Command operate almost as one unit with interchange of planes, personnel, equipment, training facilities, weather data, and other information. On the ground the Ninth US Army once fought as a part of the 21 Army Group commanded by Field Marshal Montgomery, which was in turn under General of the Army, Eisenhower, as Supreme Allied Commander.

In the field of supply the spirit of cooperation has guided our relations with our Allies. Lend-Lease has put thousands of planes, tanks, trucks in the hands of whichever of the Allies could use them most effectively against the common enemy. We have received great help from Britain, France and Belgium.

On the economic front our efforts have been directed toward getting strategic materials for ourselves and keeping our enemies from getting those they want. In remote corners of the earth we have stepped up production of vitally needed war materials. We have blacklisted hundreds of firms which acted as fronts in neutral countries through which our enemies obtained strategic material.

Our diplomatic policy toward neutral countries has at times been criticized by people who thought that in a war against fascism we should be fighting all fascists. How-

ever, we have followed the policy of concentrating on the two main spigots of fascism — Germany and Japan — rather than spreading our military forces too thin. While so doing we have brought diplomatic pressure to bear on certain neutrals — for example, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Argentina and Turkey, until the latter two recently joined the war against Germany — and have gotten them to stop or reduce exports of war materials to the enemy.

Preventing Future Axis Aggression

At Yalta in February 1945 Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin decided on measures to prevent Germany from again menacing the peace of the world. At Cairo in December 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang-Kai-Shek agreed on similar measures to control Japan.

The results of those plans will become plain only after the complete military defeat of the Axis powers and their occupation by Allied armies. The scope of the Allied plans is indicated by the Yalta Declaration: "We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to justice and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for destruction wrought by Germans; wipe out Nazi party laws, organizations and institutions; remove all Nazi and militarist influence from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world."



4

Purpose of winning the war and the peace is a better world for the future. Essential to achieving that goal is increased foreign trade and full employment.



The phrase "take in harmony" is the key to the prevention of future aggression. We have learned from the history of the twenty years before this War. We have learned from the failure of the peace-loving nations to "take in harmony" measures necessary to prevent aggression.

Permanent Organization to Build the Peace

As far back as November 1943 the US, the USSR, Great Britain and China in the joint declaration signed at Moscow, agreed on the necessity of setting up a world organization to maintain peace. Point four of the declaration reads: "They recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Determination to establish a permanent organization before the end of the War resulted in the Dumbarton Oaks meeting in September 1944. There the framework for a world security organization was laid. At the Yalta conference the "Big Three" felt the necessity of hastening the establishment of the world organization. So they agreed on the San Francisco conference of the United Nations to be held in April 1945.

Widespread agreement among Americans on the necessity of a permanent world peace organization has been shown by all of the leading public opinion polls for the past two years. The Republican and Democratic Parties both support it. Governor Thomas E. Dewey states that the majority of the American people are determined that the United States shall "take a full and responsible part in the establishment of

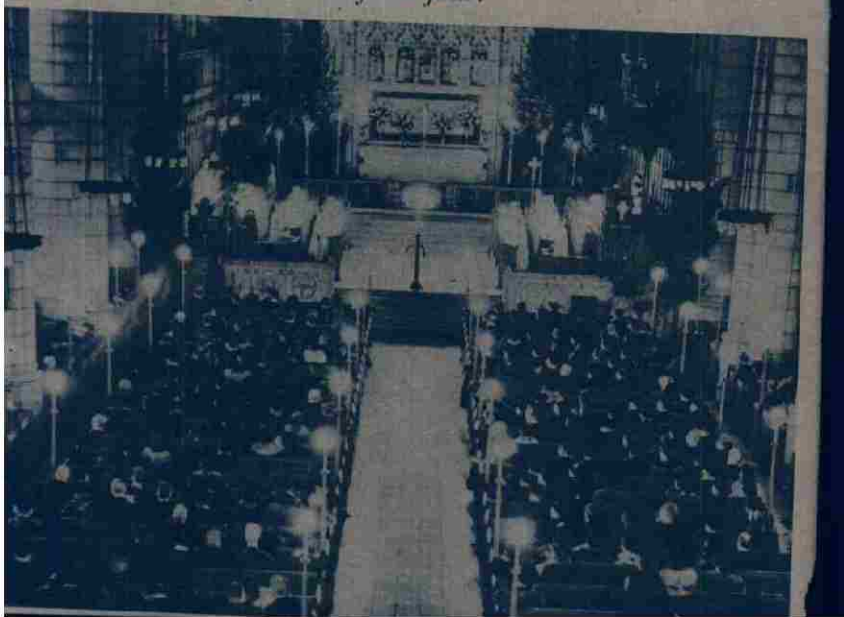
collective security among nations." John Foster Dulles, Governor Dewey's foreign policy adviser during the 1944 campaign, will serve as an adviser to the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference. He will "...thus consolidate the precedent of bipartisan action to establish a world organization participated in by me as Governor Dewey's representative...when I cooperated with Secretary Hull in reference to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference." Senator Vandenberg's position is typical of other leading former isolationists who now urge joint action. He says: "No nation hereafter can immunize itself by its own exclusive action. Only collective security is to our advantage. And we serve America if we can help to make it work."

Following World War I the League of Nations came into being after the wrangles of the Versailles Peace Conference had already divided the Allies. This time the form for permanent cooperation among the United Nations is being welded while the urgency of military necessity is still upon us. In their wisdom, the leaders of the three Allies — upon whose continued unity depends the future peace of the world for many years — have stated in each of their joint declarations of policy that they are determined to build a framework for the peace while they are still united for the purpose of winning the victory.

The differences which will arise — which are bound to arise — between big and small nations alike will be easier to settle if we have a going organization maintaining a cooperation which has been born of war. If we came out of the war with no permanent organization of the United Nations, then each small dispute would loom much larger. The immediate post-war period might then see the United Nations drifting



5 *In the world of the future the rights of individuals must be safeguarded. These rights include freedom of speech...freedom of worship...freedom from want...freedom from fear.*



thousand tons of bombs have been dumped on what was :

—the world's No. 1 manufacturing city.

—the world's No. 2 city in area.

—the world's No. 3 city in population.

Berlin became Germany's capital because about the time Columbus discovered America the people of Tangermuende, a town on the Elbe, refused to pay a beer tax to their Prussian prince. The prince moved his court 60 miles east to the swampy town of Berlin, whose people were willing to put up with this royal shakedown on their brew.

This princely family, the Hohenzollerns, were only one of many small-fry ruling families in Germany. So Berlin remained something of a one-horse town when places like Cologne and Munich and Nuremberg were famous capitals. In fact, Berlin was small enough to be a walled city right down to 1868.

Then, when Prussia defeated France in 1870 and organized the crazy-quilt of German states into the German Empire, Berlin really began to grow.

Its growth was rapid...so fast that windmills still stood among its vast electrical and engine factories...so fast that pine forests and lakes as well as slums lay within its 339 square miles. It became a vast assemblage of government offices and barracks and factories. It also

became the hub of a canal network, of twelve railroads, of Hitler's super-highway system...the control center of all Germany's famous "organization"...the vast symbol of a regimented nation.

Hence Germans have never felt as much pride or affection for Berlin as they have for many of their older cities. Berlin always struck them as bleak and dismal—lacking character, dignity, traditions.

The Prussians in the Kaisers' time and the Nazis in Hitler's day tried to dress Berlin up like Paris or Rome. For example, they blew a million dollars just for a statue of the Kaiser, Wilhelm I. But only along Unter den Linden, Berlin's most famous boulevard, did they achieve an impressive group of buildings and monuments—now like its factory and residential sections, nearly as ruined as the cities of ancient Mexico or Egypt.

The ancient ruins are inhabited only by rats and lizards, who don't bother anyone. Berlin is still inhabited by human beings—several million of them. Someday they will rebuild the center of a new Germany on the fragments of the Kaisers' pomp and Hitler's show. They will be paying their old beer tax to some new government. The character of the new Berlin will be very much our concern—if we want today's unpleasant visit to this unpleasant city to be our last.



Zaitzev Has an Appointment

"When our men say 'We must get to Berlin,' the Red Army soldier Zaitzev of Minsk, pulls out a sheet of paper with an address on it: 'Berlin, Uhlendstrasse 39.' It is the address of a German named Meller who killed Zaitzev's wife and two daughters, one aged eight, the other three. Zaitzev knows where he is going—and why."

Ilya Ehrenbourg, Soviet War Correspondent.



Roosevelt is Gone

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

The nation has received the news of President Roosevelt's death with profound sorrow, but without dismay. Surely he would have wanted it to be that way. For the final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and will to carry on.

The man must die in his appointed time. He must carry away with him the magic of his presence and that personal mastery of affairs which no man, however gifted by nature, can acquire except in the relentless struggle with evil and blind chance.

Then comes the proof of whether his work will endure and the test of how well he led his people; whether when he is no longer able to give voice to their hopes, they still have the same hopes; whether the course which he laid out, when he was in power, fixes the place where the broad highways will

run, over which the nation will continue to move. If not, then the man is great only in his own moment, a spectacular accident, like a comet which does not alter the course of things.

But if others can finish what he began, can decide what he had not yet decided, can plan what he did not have time to plan, can do what needs doing beyond the things he actually did, then his work is founded in reality and endures. . . In the first hours after the President was dead, men took consolation in gratitude and in their confidence that the nation itself now knows where it is going and why and how. They felt relief from the shock and loss.

This noble mood can pass away, as it did after Lincoln and Wilson were dead, and high resolve be squandered and dissipated in the quarrels of the pygmies. A wise but saddened man once said: "The

Another demonstration by the US that it means to treat other nations in a democratic manner is the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prevented any Chinese from becoming American citizens.

The Yalta declaration has set a pattern for the re-establishment of the democratic way of life in the countries liberated from German occupation. That pattern includes not only the democratic rights of the peoples involved but also provides for joint action to meet the political and economic problems in the liberated areas.

Why is the US safe only in a world of peoples free to conduct their affairs in a democratic way "in accordance with their own customs and desires?" The answer is because democratic countries don't start wars.

If wars start anywhere in the world, they can't spread very far without involving us. Foreign aggression is an inherent part of fascism. Only when fascism and its ideas are crushed will we be safe.

The coalition of the United Nations is the key to carrying out all the five objectives of our foreign policy. Just as a swift victory is dependent on Allied unity — so is permanent peace.

What should be the role of the American soldier in shaping future foreign policy and carrying it out? After World War I many Americans crawled into their shells and said that the rest of the world could go chase itself. They felt secure behind 3,000 miles of ocean on the East and 6,000 miles of ocean on the West. Events proved the oceans weren't very good barriers. We know now that we must take a leading part in world affairs*.

The US and the other United

Nations have taken their stand and made their decision on the policy of positive action for future peace and security. "There can be no middle ground here," said President Roosevelt in his report to Congress on the Yalta Conference. "We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."

The personal responsibility of every individual to take a share in his government and its policy was also stressed by the President in his State of the Union message last January when he said: "Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples, and the peoples' hope is peace here as in England; in England as in Russia, as in China, as in France, the continent of Europe, and throughout the world; wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the people are for peace, a peace that is durable and secure. The firm foundation can be built, and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves."

For the American in uniform — and out of uniform — this means keeping himself informed about what his government is doing in foreign affairs. It means taking an active part in his government... through the ballot, the responsibilities of citizenship, public office itself. The future of America is literally in our hands.

"President Truman has authorized me to say that there will be no change of purpose or break of continuity in the foreign policy of the United States government. We shall press forward with other United Nations toward victory."

— Secretary of State
Edward R. Stettinius, 14 April.

*See 31 March 1944 issue of ARMY TALKS:
What Homefront Think.

The same damn thing !



Up to the time they had to stare smack into its grisly, grinning face, the Germans and Japs worshiped Death. Photos above show : **Top**, pageant glorifying "heroes" who fell building the defenses of Hitler's "Fortress Europe." **Bottom** : Japs bowing before "Yasukuni," heavenly home of the "Samurai" warriors — including those who raped Nanking.