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The Soviet Table

or

The Rise of Civilization in Cleveland

By John W. Raper

Published by the Public Affairs Committee
of Cuyahoga County
1935

Current Comment

GUFFEY'S COURAGE
AND DEVOTION PLEASE
ALL PENNSYLVANIANS

In another column of this page appears a "story behind the news" from a special Washington correspondent. It deals with the most timely topic of the moment, action formulated by leaders of the United States Senate to uphold the hands of President Roosevelt in this great world crisis and to make America safe for every American.

We urge it for your careful reading and thoughtful reflection.

The writer of the article is not a Pennsylvanian, but he commends Pennsylvania's Senator Joe Guffey highly for his unselfish and patriotic stand with the President and with those other patriotic leaders who have the vision and possess the integrity of mind to work for America first, last and always, letting their own, personal, immediate political future rest on the reaction of the voters back home while they devote their entire time and effort to the matters of transcendent moment in Washington.

This evident determination of Senator Guffey to forego the usual political campaign to devote every moment of his time to national service in Washington will not lose. Voters of Pennsylvania, regardless of the partisan and selfish stand of some of the state's biggest newspapers, are quite capable of recognizing true service when they see it. Joe Guffey will not lose one vote here in Fayette county, at least, because he is big enough to put his country first and himself last.

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It's a picture of danger, of menace and of possible destruction from overseas. The issue today is just one—Americanism. And on this point no enemy of Joe Guffey, regardless of politics, can say that he has not always in the past and does not now stand 100 per cent for America.

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And on this stand, and this alone, the voters will judge him when the time comes for his re-election to the Senate. The crisis in Europe has become the crisis of America, the crisis for the world. And in this crisis the political differences of opinion that loomed so large just a few years ago now sink into forgotten insignificance when confronted by the acute problems of the immediate future.

And on these great problems, the ones that will affect the lives and future of every one of us, Joe Guffey's stand is right. It is so right that voters of all parties must recognize it and undoubtedly will when the time comes to make known the people's mind on election day.

This writer has known Senator Guffey for many years. We knew him in the days when he gave freely of his time and means to keep the spark of life vigorous in a very much minority Democratic party in Pennsylvania. And we have known him since the Democratic party came into power both in the nation and in the state. He has never changed. He doesn't lie and he doesn't cheat. And he's standing shoulder to shoulder with President Roosevelt to make sure that our great heritage as Americans is protected from any madman in Europe to be handed down safe to generation of Americans as yet unborn.

And that's what Pennsylvanians want.

"O. K."

2 Youths Shot While M

Daily News Sta

"THE PAPER THAT GOES INTO THE HOME"

VOLUME 52. NO. 159



UNIONTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, SATURDAY, JUNE 22

France Dela

Not Spies—Just Hard Working Farmers



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"O. K."

Days getting shorter.

—OK—

Only 151 more shopping days till Christmas.

—OK—

Is it "peace" or "pieces" the French are getting from Hitler? You won't know France when it's all over.

—OK—

Too bad the Russian Bear is all growl and little bite. There are signs that Stalin is waking up.

—OK—

If Adolf keeps going, the news services will be sore-pressed for reports from "neutral observers."

—OK—

History may have been made in the Senate the other day when Claude Pepper of Florida, in an extemporaneous speech, presented his "seven points" for America's constructive national program.

—OK—

They are condensed in a "box" elsewhere on this page, with a news story about our own Senator Guffey. Both are very much worth reading.

—OK—

Uniontown Typographical Union celebrates its 50th birthday today. Congratulations, boys, and shroud to all of you, with etahn for years to come!

—OK—

The News Standard oldest Uniontown daily, was 50 in December, 1938, so the union came in when the Standard was a baby of 18 months. They didn't wait long, did they?

—OK—

Go to church tomorrow.



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(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Penn Theatre To Be Improved

\$40,000 Program Will Be Launched At Once

The Penn theatre closes tonight for extensive repairs and completion of the air-conditioning plant.

Work on the air-conditioning has been going on for the past six weeks. This work is being done by the York Ice Machinery corporation of York, Pa., at a cost of \$25,000, and will give the patrons of the Penn theatre year-round air-conditioning.

To complete the air-conditioning, it is necessary that the theatre be closed for a few days. During this time the theatre will also be completely redecorated, including new drapes, new doors, etc. In all, the Penn State Amusement company, operators of the Penn theatre, will spend \$40,000 to give the theatre-goers of Fayette county the utmost in comfort.

The theatre will reopen Friday evening, June 28.

Dearth Negro In Jail For Threatening Wife

Accused of threatening to kill his wife and throwing her out of the house, Edward Peterson, 34, Negro, of Dearth, was put in county jail this morning to await court trial. The hearing on charges of assault and battery was held yesterday before Alderman R. F. Hopwood.

NOTICE!

Members Local 6291, United Mine Workers, New Salem, Pa.

Election of officers and checkweighmen will be held at the local Union Hall Sunday, June 23, 1940, at 2 P. M.

ROBERT KINNEY, Pres.

MICHAEL G. HREZO, Sec'y.

Nation Mourns Butler's Death

Colorful General Dies In Naval Hospital

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United States Marine corps, retired. Butler, who recently had been one of the strongest opponents of any course that might lead to American intervention in European affairs, died late yesterday in the naval hospital here of an abdominal complaint from which he had suffered for many years and which had become graver during the past month.

Cumberland Township Population Increases

A preliminary census report shows that the population of Cumberland township, Greene county, has increased by 96 persons in the last decade. The report was released by Census Supervisor J. Ed Smith.

The population of the township on April 1, 1940 was 7,285, compared to 7,189 on April 1, 1930. The increase is approximately one and one-third per cent.

PICNIC TOMORROW

But—White Eagles

Benefit of St. Joseph's Church

DANCE TONIGHT

TERESA'S PLACE - ROUTE 40

Rex King And His Orchestra

BINGO-BINGO

ST. TERESA'S R. C. CHURCH

Street Fair Every Night This Week

61 Mill St., Uniontown, Pa.

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He admitted stealing \$430 from Richard Hise while he was under the influence of liquor. Of this sum, \$230 was returned.

Bryner said that he could start to work immediately at the mine and support his wife and two children if freed.

Robert Jordan, 49-year-old Dunbar man, admitting liquor law violations, said that he suffered from rheumatism aggravated by his incarceration and that he would procure employment at a Mount Bradock fire brick plant if released.

He was arrested April 5 by Agent Charles E. Green of the liquor control unit and directed to pay a \$300 fine and costs and serve three months by Judge Morrow.

Hearing To Be Scheduled Soon For Inez McDaniels

Date for hearing will be set soon by County Detective Billy Long for Inez McDaniels, 18-year-old Allison negroess, accused of killing Charles Rucker, 43, early yesterday morning when he threatened her mother, Mrs. Anna McDaniels.

The hearing probably will be held before Squire Jerry Abbadini of Republic.

OPEN AIR MARKET

Bananas, large 7 lbs. 25c
Large Sweet Cherries 2 lbs. 35c
Peaches 4 lbs. 25c
Plums, Yellow-Red 2 doz. 25c
Cantaloupes, vine ripe each 10c
Watermelons, Oranges and Other Fruits and Vegetables Priced Low.
Open Sunday and Every Day.
TURNER'S INN
2 Miles East Uniontown, Route 4

Gutley's Attention

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(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Local Printers Golden Jubilee

Banquet, Dance At Country Club; Baker Will Be P

Printers from the tri-state area arrived in Uniontown early today to join with Uniontown Typographical Union No. 263 in the celebration of the golden anniversary.

Today's program opened with a musical game at Lafayette field between the Uniontown and Johnstown teams at 2:30 o'clock.

Highlight of the afternoon was to be the WMBS radio address of Claude M. Baker, Indianapolis, president of the International Typographical Union, here to join local printers in the observance of their 50th anniversary. He speaks at 3:30 o'clock.

Speaker for Banquet

Mr. Baker will be the principal speaker at the banquet in the Uniontown Country club at 6 o'clock this evening. Members of the ticket committee announced that more than 200 reservations have been made for the banquet.

Dancing will begin at 9 o'clock. Guests unable to attend the banquet will arrive later for an evening of dancing.

The following program is announced by L. O. Hlnerman, presi-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 8)

For
Reservations
Call 250

FINE FLOOR SHOW
SUMMIT HOTEL.

Water Show
On Sunday
3 P. M.

Not While Marching In Parade

News Standard

"THE PAPER THAT GOES INTO THE HOME"

WEATHER FORECAST

Partly cloudy and warmer with showers in northwest portion tonight. Sunday partly cloudy and somewhat warmer.

UNIONTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, SATURDAY, JUNE 22

PRICE THREE CENTS

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Senator Pepper's 7-Point Program For Defense

1. Confer upon the President full war-time power to prepare and defend America.
2. Universal defense service so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense.
3. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and Departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgment interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense material.
4. Confer upon the President the power to suspend the present debt limitations, if in his judgment such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.
5. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgment at this time constitute America's first line of defense.
6. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and adoption of a defense budget and tax program adequate to the national defense.
7. Confer power in the President to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would, in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.

These powers to continue only for the duration of the emergency.

GOP Is Facing Germans Again Either Deal Or Bomb British Long Deadlock Coast Villages

None Of Three Leading Candidates Can Get A Majority Of Votes

PHILADELPHIA, June 22—(UP)—Forty-eight hours before the convention meets, Republican leaders were confronted today with a choice between a deal or a deadlock among a handful of candidates seeking the party's presidential nomination.

It seemed clear that none of the three leading candidates—Thomas E. Dewey, New York district attorney; Sen. Robert A. Taft, and Wendell L. Willkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern corporation, would be able to command a majority of the convention votes on any of the early ballots.

Delegates Gathering

Talk of a deal was without substance if persistent, and there was no indication that any of the leading candidates would take second place on the ticket to assure a quick nomination.

Republicans were gathering for the convention which convenes Monday under circumstances more promising to their future than at any time since the political tide shifted from them in 1930, but

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Berlin Claims Heavy Damage Is Inflicted; Italians Active

LONDON, June 22—(UP)—Coming in waves for the third time in four nights, German planes bombed town and countryside in southeastern, eastern and northeastern England today.

A fire was started in an eastern county, it was admitted, and a man, his wife and their servant were killed in Suffolk county when a bomb struck their house while they sought refuge in the garden. Windows over a three-mile area were shattered by heavy bombs which struck in a timber yard in an eastern area.

BERLIN CLAIMS DAMAGE

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ITALIAN PLANES ACTIVE

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Three Men Accused Of Operating Card Joint

Acceptance Of Hitler's Terms Sure, However

Meanwhile, Berlin Is Triumphantly Waiting Full Capitulation

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS
(United Press Foreign News Editor)

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Struggle Would Continue

But in Bordeaux the French newspapers—despite Petain's attitude and despite Rome and Berlin claims that acceptance was certain—pointed out the vast police problem that would confront Germany if France did not agree and declared that the struggle would continue if the German terms were not "honorable."

The war went on in France between British and German fleets was intense, there was sharp fighting.

British airplanes bombed the outskirts of Berlin, injuring seven persons, following new raids by German airplanes on the British Isles, especially the East coast.

Italian Troops Fall

The French reported officially that Italian troops had failed in local attacks on the French Alpine

(Continued on Page 1, Col. 1)

VFW Delegates Elect Officers

Convention Hears Ross Assail Col. Lindbergh

YORK, Pa., June 22—(UP)—Delegates to the convention of the Pennsylvania department, veterans of Foreign Wars, elected officers today and planned for the annual convalesce parade.

Officials estimated that more than 8,000 persons would be in the line of march, including scores of bands, drum corps and lively musical organizations. Forty musical and drill teams competed last night for \$3,500 in prizes.

The Cora Lumas Moses post of Tamaqua was awarded the department trophy for the largest percentage increase in membership last year. The award for the lowest

2 Fayette City Lads Are Shot; 1 Badly Injured

Revolver Explodes In Firemen's Parade At Port Vue Last Night

Shot while marching in a firemen's parade at Port Vue last night, two members of the Fayette City "Golden Trojans" band were in McKeesport hospital, one in serious condition today, after the explosion of a revolver carried as one of the features of the drill sergeant's uniform.

The wounded youths are Ralph Clegg, 22, shot through the abdomen and in critical condition, and John Beatty, 20, whose thigh was grazed by the bullet before it struck Clegg.

During Rest Period

The bullet was from the gun of Police Chief John Whitelaw, Fayette City, who had lent it to Earl Ophar, 32, high constable of Fayette City, the drill sergeant, to carry in the parade.

The accident occurred during a rest period near the end of the parade, after members of the band had fallen out of line and were clowning before resuming their march.

The gun had been unloaded by Chief Whitelaw earlier in the evening and given to Ophar, who returned it, saying it was too heavy.

Unable to find a lighter one before the parade began, Ophar hurriedly snatched up the gun just as the marching signal was given, not knowing that it had been reloaded.

Snaps It Twice

During a pause in the parade Ophar removed the gun from his holster, and Clegg remarked that it was reported to have a "hair trigger."

Thinking it was empty, the drill sergeant snapped the gun twice, the first bullet grazing Beatty's thigh and going completely through Clegg, the second striking a nearby bank building.

Chief Whitelaw, who drove a fire truck in the parade, told investi-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Paroles Asked In Court Today

Will Support Families If Freed, Testify

Two county jail inmates today appeared before Judge S. John Morrow asking release to secure employment and support their families.

First to appear in court was Robert Bryner, 47, of Searight, serving a six-month to one-year term on burglary charges. Bryner was arrested by Constable George Zemo on April 29.

He admitted stealing \$4.30 from Richard Hise while he was under the influence of liquor. Of this sum, \$2.30 was returned.

Bryner said that he could start to work immediately at the mine and support his wife and two children if freed.

Robert Jordan, 49-year-old Dunbar man, admitting liquor law violations, said that he suffered from rheumatism aggravated by his incarceration and that he would procure employment at a Mount Braddock fire brick plant if released.

He was arrested April 5 by Agent Charles E. Green of the liquor control unit and directed to pay a \$300 fine and costs and serve three months by Judge Morrow.

Hearing To Be Scheduled Soon For Inez McDaniels

Date for hearing will be set soon by County Detective Billy Long for Inez McDaniels, 18-year-old Allison negress, accused of killing Charles Rucker, 43, early yesterday morning when he threatened her mother, Mrs. Anna McDaniels.

The hearing probably will be held before Squire Jerry Abbudini of Republic.

OPEN AIR MARKET

Bananas, large 7 lbs. 25c
Large Sweet Cherries 2 lbs. 35c
Peaches 4 lbs. 25c
Plums, Yellow-Red 2 doz. 25c
Cantaloupes, vine ripe each 10c
Watermelons, Oranges and Other Fruits and Vegetables Priced Low.
Open Sunday and Every Day.

TURNER'S INN
3 Miles East Uniontown, Route 4

Guffey's Courage Merits Attention Of The Nation

Leaves His Political Future In Hands Of Voters As He Devotes Time To Needs Of U. S.

(Special to News Standard)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22—Senator Joe Guffey has fought many a fight. He does not smile. He walks in and out of the Senate with the firmness and definiteness of a high powered business man going somewhere—a contrast to the mature, sometimes senile meanderings of most of his colleagues. But today Guffey is showing emotion which puts the human touch in everything he does. He is definitely serious, not as a politician, but as a seeing realist and statesman about the defense of America.

He isn't making any speeches, but there was an eye-opener to fellow Senators the other day—Senators who had considered him a hard boiled product of a hard boiled state—when he walked over to Claude Pepper, the Florida Senator, on the open floor to pat Pepper on the back, almost to support him, as the rather slight Floridian sank exhausted after a speech taxing his vitality in which he called upon the Senate to use greater vision.

Pepper emotionally upset the Senator's slowness. He had interrupted Leader Barkley, who was bumbling along about tax protection for straight whisky distillers as against brewers. Senator Pepper said: "I do not interrupt the continuity of the present discussion if I did not believe that it will be such a relatively short time before all these factors will have to be doubled and trebled, and therefore make the legislation we might pass today out of date, that I think I may do so without any great injustice to the issue involved."

Watch Clock, Not Calendar

For over an hour Pepper, refusing to be interrupted, poured out his whole soul in a cry, "We must. We must. We must," saying, "I am

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Mother Asking Son's Custody

Mrs. Amelia Santilli Seeks Child, Three

Seeking custody of her three-year-old son, Mrs. Amelia Santilli, now of Ehoaf, came into court today for hearing in the habeas corpus action instituted by her against her husband, Albert Santilli of Prospect street, Uniontown.

Mrs. Santilli, indicted for conspiracy in a plot to murder her hus-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Local Printers Observe Golden Jubilee Today

Banquet, Dance At Country Club Climaxes The Program; Baker Will Be Principal Speaker

Printers from the tri-state area arrived in Uniontown early today to join with Uniontown Typographical Union No. 262 in the celebration of the golden anniversary.

Today's program opened with a mushball game at LaFayette field between the Uniontown and Johnstown teams at 2:30 o'clock.

Highlight of the afternoon was to be the WMBS radio address of Claude M. Baker, Indianapolis, president of the International Typographical Union, here to join local printers in the observance of their 50th anniversary. He speaks at 3:30 o'clock.

Speaker for Banquet

Mr. Baker will be the principal speaker at the banquet in the Uniontown Country club at 6 o'clock this evening. Members of the ticket committee announced that more than 200 reservations have been made for the banquet.

Dancing will begin at 9 o'clock. Guests unable to attend the banquet will arrive later for an evening of dancing.

The following program is announced by L. O. Hinerman, presi-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Senator Pepper's 7-Point Program For Defense

1. Confer upon the President full war-time power to prepare and defend America.
 2. Universal defense service so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense.
 3. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and Departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgment interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense material.
 4. Confer upon the President the power to suspend the present debt limitations, if in his judgment such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.
 5. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgment at this time constitute America's first line of defense.
 6. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and adoption of a defense budget and tax program adequate to the national defense.
 7. Confer power in the President to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would, in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.
- These powers to continue only for the duration of the emergency.

GOP Is Facing Germans Again Either Deal Or Bomb British Long Deadlock Coast Villages

None Of Three Leading Candidates Can Get A Majority Of Votes

PHILADELPHIA, June 22—(UP)—Forty-eight hours before the convention meets, Republican leaders were confronted today with a choice between a deal or a deadlock among a handful of candidates seeking the party's presidential nomination.

It seemed clear that none of the three leading candidates—Thomas E. Dewey, New York district attorney; Sen. Robert A. Taft, and Wendell L. Willkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern corporation, would be able to command a majority of the convention votes on any of the early ballots.

Delegates Gathering

Talk of a deal was without substance if persistent, and there was no indication that any of the leading candidates would take second place on the ticket to assure a quick nomination.

Republicans were gathering for the convention which convenes Monday under circumstances more promising to their future than at any time since the political tide shifted from them in 1930, but

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Germans Again Bomb British Coast Villages

Berlin Claims Heavy Damage Is Inflicted; Italians Active

LONDON, June 22—(UP)—Coming in waves for the third time in four nights, German planes bombed town and countryside in southeastern, eastern and northeastern England today.

A fire was started in an eastern county, it was admitted, and a man, his wife and their servant were killed in Suffolk county when a bomb struck their house while they sought refuge in the garden. Windows over a three-mile area were shattered by heavy bombs, which struck in a timber yard in an eastern area.

BERLIN CLAIMS DAMAGE

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ITALIAN PLANES ACTIVE

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Three Men Accused Of Operating Card Joint

Three men were released on \$1,000 bail fixed on gambling charges, and nine patrons put up \$10 deposits last night after Motor police raided an alleged card and dice joint in Snowden square, Brownsville.

Held as alleged operators of the place were Joseph Yett, Gus Francis and William Viola, who are to appear for a hearing before Squire Daniel A. Golden, Brownsville, Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock.

THEATRE TIME TABLE

SATURDAY, JUNE 22

STATE—"My Favorite Wife"—11:50-1:52-3:54-5:56-7:58-10.

PENN—"Flight Angels"—12:12-2:39-5:06-7:33-10:00.

"Cowboy From Sundown"—1:25-3:52-6:19-8:46.

CAPITOL—"Give Me a Sailor"—1:51-4:34-7:17-10:00.

"Taming of the West"—12:58-3:41-6:24-9:07.

This time table gives you the time that each feature picture begins. On the first day of each picture the time given may be slightly inaccurate due to conditions beyond control of either the theatres or The Daily News Standard.

Acceptance Of Hitler's Terms Sure, However

Meanwhile, Berlin Is Triumphantly Waiting Full Capitulation

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS
(United Press Foreign News Editor)

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The French delay in accepting or refusing the still undisclosed terms laid down by Hitler was not explained, except for the fact that an instant decision could not be expected. There had seemed to be no doubt that the French council of ministers, meeting with Premier Marshal Henri Petain and President Albert Lebrun, would be forced to accept even the harshest demands.

Struggle Would Continue

But in Bordeaux the French newspapers—despite Petain's attitude and despite Rome and Berlin claims that acceptance was certain—pointed out the vast police problem that would confront Germany if France did not accept and declared that the struggle would continue if the German terms were not "honorable."

The war went on in France but between British and German fleets was intense.

British airplanes bombed the outskirts of Berlin, injuring seven persons, following new raids by German airplanes on the British Isles, especially the East coast.

Italian Troops Fall

The French reported officially that Italian troops had failed in local attacks on the French Alpine

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

VFW Delegates Elect Officers

Convention Hears Ross Assail Col. Lindbergh

YORK, Pa., June 22—(UP)—Delegates to the convention of the Pennsylvania department, veterans of Foreign Wars, elected officers today and planned for the annual convocation parade.

Officials estimated that more than 8,000 persons would be in the line of march, including scores of bands, drum corps and novelty musical organizations. Forty musical and drill teams competed last night for \$3,500 in prizes.

The Cora Lumas Moses post of Tamaqua was awarded the department trophy for the largest percentage increase in membership last year. The award for the largest numerical gain went to the Howard W. Kohler post of Williamsport.

Yesterday, the delegates heard State Treasurer F. Clair Ross assail Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, but later endorsed a state resolution by the state chaplain, that Ross' statement did not necessarily express the sentiments of the VFW.

Round and Square Dance Tonight
Revere McClellandtown Road

In Today's Paper

Beauty Advice	12
Boake Carter	11
Book a Day	4
Catton—Washington	4
Classified	9
Comics	10-11
Death Notices	2
Dix—Lovelorn	12
Editorials	4
Fidler in Hollywood	2
Looking Backward	4
Mind Your Manners	11
Radio	2
Round Town	12
Society	5
Sports	6-7
Story	10
Wishing Well	11

GUFFEY'S COURAGE

(Continued From Page 1)

watching the clock, not the calendar. He named Hitler as "the beast of speed."

Guffey had been the only member of the Foreign Relations committee with the vision to vote in the committee to send planes to the Allies.

Later the Administration asked for and obtained almost by unanimous consent the power that Pepper urged the Senate to give the President without the asking. Only Guffey saw with Pepper eye to eye that it is better for a democracy and the Senators of a democracy to untie the President's hands so that he could defend at the best place to defend—with guns overseas since Mussolini in joining Hitler had said, "The decadent democracies shall keep neither their wealth nor their gold."

Guffey is a realist in politics and business. Only such a realist can see Hitler. The bumbler in the Senate drone on. Some have been relieved by the about face that Hitler and Mussolini both took this week, saying, "We don't want anything at all in North or South America." Guffey knows that Europe is the great customer of food stuff which makes the difference between fair living and absolute death to millions of South Americans. Guffey knows, as a business man that Hitler is merciless, that he generally puts out his biggest lies just ahead of a strike, and that he wants to lull North and South America into sleep until he is ready to continue his westward journey for world control.

Guffey Shows Courage

Guffey knows that a beaten England is the last line of defense. Guffey hopes that the Beast of Berlin will turn eastward with his major force to crush Russia and get his winter food safe before he rains full strength horror over England.

The main thing is that Guffey knows what it is all about, while a gallery spectator senses that at least 70 Senators are asleep.

It took rare courage for Guffey to turn his back on 19 Senators of his committee, to join a young Senator who had not even asked the President or Senator Pittman, his committee chairman, for the right to his say.

Pittman, Johnson, Nye, Clark—all the isolationists who had defeated Roosevelt and Hull last year—were very bitter at Pepper, and turned cool to Guffey.

Guffey's courage was of the higher order because he is running for re-election in a state which is close in recent years. Pepper, with four years to go in the Senate, was in better position to let history tell the story.

Guffey's courage, patriotism, or idealism—whatever you call it—has kept him in Washington when his very political future was demanding, he be in Pennsylvania campaigning night and day.

No one knows whether Pennsylvania voters will understand the evidence and will realize that Guffey could have much more Philadelphia and Pittsburgh newspaper support ad he dropped the flag of his convictions for the immediacy of campaigning support.

But somehow this writer believes that they will and that they will support Guffey in the same fore-square manner that he is supporting President Roosevelt.

ACCEPTED

(Continued From Page 1)

frontier area and that German advance elements, including mechanized units, had been repulsed 38 miles south of Lyon in the Rhone valley and that fighting continued south of the Loire river. French troops were still holding out in the Maginot line area near Switzerland.

The German high command said that more than 200,000 prisoners were captured in the last few days, but for the most part the German advance and slowed down in order to consolidate positions.

Alexandria

In North Africa, Alexandria was bombed slightly and Cairo had an air raid alarm as the Italians struck back at Egypt, where the British air forces bombing Libya have been based. The British said two Italian warships were bombed at Tobruk.

On the frontier of British Kenya and Italian Ethiopia, in East Africa, the British said they had completely destroyed the Italian military post of El Wak although they were later forced to retire due to an Italian counter-attack.

Triumphant Berlin, hourly expecting the news that France had yielded completely to Hitler's terms,

Celebrate Golden Anniversary



On Monday Mr. and Mrs. Frank Yarris, Sr., of 96 Crawford street will celebrate their golden wedding anniversary.

A family dinner will be held in the ballroom of the White Swan hotel this evening at 7 o'clock in honor of the event, with 42 guests expected to be present including eight children and 24 grandchildren. Decorations will be in keeping with the golden anniversary, with a tier cake to occupy the center of the table.

Relatives and friends will congratulate the couple on Sunday when open house will be held at he home all day.

Mr. and Mrs. Yarris were married in Uniontown 50 years ago. Mrs. Yarris was the former Marie Zaccovic.

Among the out-of-town guests who will attend the celebration are Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Yarris and daughter, Ruth, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Yarris and son, Roy, of Cleveland.

DISTRICT'S FIRST

(Continued From Page One)

small plane might make anything but the most dangerous of emergency landings.

Mr. Griesser was amazed to learn of the rumor.

"Why I'm not even a German, although my old home was gobbled up by Germany," he said, "I'm an Austrian, and the reason they called me German Bob was because we speak that language in my old home town of Strasbourg.

"I've been so busy with my crops that I haven't had time to keep up with the war news much, and the first I heard about myself was when people in Clarksville asked me if it were true that I had been run out of Bobtown because I was a Nazi."

Stories that Ross Vona, who lives with the Griessers had been arrested amused him very much. Vona, brother of Mrs. J. E. Girard, of the East National Pike, was also hard at work in the cornfield.

GERMANS AGAIN

(Continued From Page One)

11th war communique said today. There were reports here that the whole town of Mersa Matruh had been "razed to the ground."

The communique said Italian planes also had bombed intensively the French port of Marseille and the French naval base of Bizerta in Tunisia "in successive waves"; that three Allied ships, two of them armed, had been sunk and an Allied cruiser damaged by airplane bombs east of the Balearic islands.

TROUBLE IN BALKANS

TALLINN, Estonia, June 22.—(UP)—A left wing government friendly to Russia took office today after a brief, bloodless uprising by workers and socialists. Dispatches reported pro-Russian demonstrations at Riga, Latvia, and pressure on the Lithuanian cabinet by left-radicals.

They are the other Baltic countries between Russia and Germany. Coinciding with a surge of left wing activity in the Baltic republics, came the announcement at Stockholm that a hastily summoned secret session of the League of Nations had considered "an important communication by the King

3 Sons Of Legion To Attend Keystone Camp

Three representatives of the Sons of the American Legion were selected to attend the Keystone Boys' camp at Indiantown Gap, Pa., from July 21 to 30 at a meeting in the Lafayette Post home last night.

They were Harold Jones, 85 Morgantown street; Dante Grasso, 80 Park avenue; and Martin Mehall, Brownfield.

Alternates chosen were William Winning, 200 Hogsett street; Robert Volpe, 44 Maple street; and Robert Sisler, 249 Morgantown street.

The sons will meet again Friday, July 5.

Banker Is Named As Presidential Aide

HYDE PARK, N. Y., June 22.—(UP)—President Roosevelt today enlarged the executive department of the government to expedite the national defense program by naming James Forrestal, president of Dillon, Read and Co., New York investment bankers, as an administrative presidential assistant.

Uniontown Hospital

ADMISSIONS

Vernon Devan 102 Harrison Ave., Masontown
Helen Coburn Lemont Furnace
Mrs. John Rubie 38 Walnut St.
Richard McNeil 2107 St. Clair St. Cleveland, O.
Pat J. Murphy Fairchance
Ida Thomas Feathers Ave.
Isabelle Wheeler 63 Vernon St.
George Rattay Masontown
Mary Heffernan 53 Barton Mill road

DISCHARGES

Charles Funk Carmichaels
Mrs. Harold Jeffreys and baby daughter R. D. 4, City
Walter Ringer 44 Iowa St.
Charles Robinson Smithfield
Daniel Yoder 12 Lawn Ave.
Velma Vecinelly
..... Cedar Ave., Masontown
Bruce Diehl Mather
Helen Wilcosky Buffington
Mary Tassone Republic
George Stanford Lemont Furnace

FRANK KRESHKO ARRESTED
Frank Kreshko, of 90, Beeson

RADIO PROGRAMS

PITTSBURGH STATIONS

(Eastern Standard Time)

Saturday

4:00-4:15 P. M.
WWSW—Baseball Game.
KDKA—Baseball Game.
WCAE—Hi-Y Congress; World's F.
WJAS—Bull Session.
KQV—Today's Sports.
4:30-4:45 P. M.
WCAE—Boy, a Girl, a Band.
WJAS—Dwyer Stakes; Rhythm.
5:00-5:15 P. M.
WWSW—Bill Roberts Orch.
KDKA—Dance Orch.
WCAE—Tommy Dorsey.
WJAS—Buffalo Presents.
KQV—Melody Parade.
5:30-5:45 P. M.
WWSW—Scores; Music.
KDKA—The Way of Life.
WCAE—Orchestra Music.
WJAS—To be announced.
6:00-6:15 P. M.
WWSW—News; Entertainment.
KDKA—News; Music.
WCAE—News of Road.
WJAS—Scores; News of World.
KQV—Modernaires.
6:30-6:45 P. M.
WWSW—Entertainment; Music.
KDKA—Jack Hollister; Music.
WCAE—Chet Smith; Sereade.
WJAS—Yella Pessi; World Today.
KQV—Sports Review; Ensemble.
7:00-7:15 P. M.
WWSW—Strack String Ensemble.
KDKA—Message of Israel.
WCAE—Rep. Conv. Preview.
WJAS—People's Platform.
KQV—Review of the News.
7:30-7:45 P. M.
WWSW—Jim Jab; Music.
KDKA—Weekly Record Review.
WCAE—Confidentially Yours; Sport.
WJAS—Joey Sim. Orch.
KQV—Four Aces; Music.
8:00-8:15 P. M.
WWSW—News; Dr. Bidwell.
KDKA—"Aid the Allies."
WCAE—Drama.
WJAS—The Gay Nineties.
KQV—Louise Taylor; Singers.
8:30-8:45 P. M.
WWSW—Organ Recital.
KDKA—Radio Guild.
WCAE—Dance Melodies.
WJAS—Human Adventure.
KQV—Coliseum Presents.
9:00-9:15 P. M.
KDKA—National Barn Dance.
WCAE—Hamilton Fish Talk.
WJAS—Your Hit Parade.
KQV—Sons of American Revol.
9:30-9:45 P. M.
WWSW—Stars Over Manhattan.
WCAE—Jack McLean.
WJAS—Saturday Night Serenade.
KQV—Music; Vocalettes.
10:00-10:15 P. M.
WWSW—House of Hospitality.
KDKA—News; Republican Con.
WCAE—Bob Crosby Music Shop.
WJAS—Saturday Night Serenade.
KQV—News; Music.
10:30-10:45 P. M.
WWSW—News; Music.
KDKA—Melody in the Night.
WCAE—Will Osborne Orch.
WJAS—To be announced; Music.
KQV—Sports; Music.
11:00-11:15 P. M.
WWSW—Music; Gardens Parade.
KDKA—News; Music.
WCAE—News; Music.
WJAS—News; Music.
KQV—Pittsburgh Jamboree.
11:30-11:45 P. M.
WWSW—Dance Music.
KDKA—Dance Orchestra.
WCAE—Dance Music.
WJAS—Dance Music.
12 MIDNIGHT TO CLOSE
WWSW—1500 Club.
KDKA—News; Dance Music.
WCAE—News; Dance Music.

WMBS SCHEDULE

(Daylight Saving Time)

THIS AFTERNOON
1:15—"Dedicatunes."
1:30—Baseball Lineup.
1:35—"Dedicatunes."
2:00—WMBS Jamboree Preview.
3:00—Aloha Land.
3:15—Slovene Trio.
3:30—Claude M. Baker, President International Typographical Union.
3:45—Carl T. Anstine, Pianist.
4:00—Parade of Business.
4:15—Tin Pan Alley.
4:30—Jake Taylor's Riff Splitters.
5:00—Baseball Scores.
5:05—Hit Revue.
5:30—News.
5:40—Nathaniel Shilkret Orch.
6:00—Baseball Resume.
6:05—Summit Serenade.
6:30—Concert Master.
7:00—Dance Varieties.
8:00—WMBS Jamboree and Barn Dance.

Bar Association Outing Will Be Held July 13

Annual all-day outing of the Fayette County Bar association will be held Saturday, July 13, at Chief Williams' Hook and Ladder club, Bultermilk road, members of the committee announced today.

The committee has made arrangements for an excellent chicken dinner and refreshments. The day's program will be entirely informal and no speaking program has been arranged.

PITTSBURGH STATIONS

(Eastern Standard Time)

Sunday

4:00-4:15 P. M.
WWSW—Warm-Up Time; Pittsburgh-Brooklyn ame.
KDKA—Bernie Armstrong.
WCAE—Red Cross.
WJAS—Columbia Symphony.
KQV—Today's Sports.
4:30-4:45 P. M.
WWSW—Second Game.
KDKA—Shadyside Services.
WCAE—World Is Yours.
WJAS—Invitation to Learning.
5:00-5:15 P. M.
KDKA—Rhythm; Baseball Res.
WCAE—Heap O'Living; News.
WJAS—Choose Up Sides.
KQV—News; Is That Right?
5:30-5:45 P. M.
KDKA—Republican Convention.
WCAE—Hollywood Today.
WJAS—Flow Gently Sweet Rhy.
KQV—News; Lec Sellers.
6:00-6:15 P. M.
WWSW—News; Cong. Corbett.
KDKA—News; Gray Gordon.
WCAE—Catholic Hour.
WJAS—Fun in Print.
KQV—Music.
6:30-6:45 P. M.
WWSW—Music; Anna Mae Sh.
KDKA—Beat the Band; Wcem.
WCAE—Show of the Week.
WJAS—Gene Autry, Songs.
KQV—Italian Hour.
7:00-7:15 P. M.
WWSW—Christian Science; M.
KDKA—News from Europe.
WCAE—Aldrich Family.
WJAS—World News.
KQV—Italian Hour.
7:30-7:45 P. M.
WWSW—Old Songs of the Ch.
KDKA—Magnolia Blossoms.
WCAE—Bandwagon.
WJAS—Elery Queen.
KQV—George Seibel; Story Ho.
8:00-8:15 P. M.
WWSW—American Forum.
KDKA—Sunday Night Concert.
WCAE—Bergen and McCarthy.
WJAS—Columbia Workshop.
KQV—Standard Jamboree.
8:30-8:45 P. M.
WWSW—American Forum.
WCAE—One Man's Family.
WJAS—Johnny Presents.
KQV—The Dreamers; Music.
9:00-9:15 P. M.
WWSW—Old-Fashioned Reviva.
KDKA—Walter Winchell; Park Family.
9:30-9:45 P. M.
WCAE—Merry-Go-Round.
WJAS—Ford Hour.
KQV—This Week in Washington.
9:30-9:45 P. M.
KDKA—Irene Rich; Sports.
WCAE—Music Album.
KQV—Ave Maria Hour.
10:00-10:15 P. M.
WWSW—Evening in Rhythm.
KDKA—Goodwill Hour.
WCAE—Hour of Charm.
WJAS—Take It or Leave It.
KQV—News; Poetic Reveries.
10:30-10:45 P. M.
WWSW—News; Memory Hour.
WCAE—Bobby Bryne Orch.
WJAS—Republican Convention.
KQV—Orchestra Music.
11:00-11:15 P. M.
WWSW—Fireside Memory Hour.
KDKA—News; To You.
WCAE—News; Music.
WJAS—News; Col. McGovern.
KQV—Bill Leroy Orch.
11:30-11:45 P. M.
WWSW—Glen Gray; Moon Mag.
KDKA—Lou Breetz.
WCAE—Johnny McGee Orch.
WJAS—Art Giles' Orch.
KQV—Music for Reading.
12 MIDNIGHT TO CLOSE
WWSW—1500 Club.
KDKA—News; Music.
WCAE—Music; News.

WMBS SCHEDULE

(Daylight Saving Time)

SUNDAY, JUNE 23
7:30—Rainbow Trio.
7:45—Morning Devotions.
8:00—Zora Tambouritzia Orch.
8:30—Norman Mitterling, Orga.
9:00—Salvation Army Program.
10:00—WMBS Hymn Singers.
10:15—Modern Salon Group.
10:30—Sunday Song Service.
11:00—Second Presbyterian Ch.
12:00—Blue Danube Tamb. Orch.
12:30—Italo-American Welfare Hour.
1:00—"Big City Parade."
1:15—Music.
1:25—Baseball Lineup.
1:30—"March of Dollars."
2:30—Spelling Bee.
3:00—Allen Roth's Symphony.
3:30—American Slovak Hour.
4:00—Musical Varieties.
4:20—Baseball Scores.
4:30—Concert Hall of the Air.
5:00—Brethren Bible Fellowship.
5:30—The Catholic Truth Hour.
6:30—Sign-Off.

JOBS FOR JUNE

(Continued From Page 4)

to promise opportunities in enterprises dealing with creative ideas and work in science, mechanics, literature, electric merchandising, management, nance and the like which capitalize on personal growth, com and character.

America," Guffey knows that Europe is the great customer of food stuff which makes the difference between fair living and absolute death to millions of South Americans. Guffey knows, as a business man that Hitler is merciless, that he generally puts out his biggest lies just ahead of a strike, and that he wants to lull North and South America into sleep until he is ready to continue his westward journey for world control.

Guffey Shows Courage

Guffey knows that a beaten England is the last line of defense. Guffey hopes that the Beast of Berlin will turn eastward with his major force to crush Russia and get his winter food safe before he rains full strength horror over England.

The main thing is that Guffey knows what it is all about, while a gallery spectator senses that at least 70 Senators are asleep.

It took rare courage for Guffey to turn his back on 19 Senators of his committee, to join a young Senator who had not even asked the President or Senator Pittman, his committee chairman, for the right to his say.

Pittman, Johnson, Nye, Clark—all the isolationists who had defeated Roosevelt and Hull last year—were very bitter at Pepper, and turned cool to Guffey.

Guffey's courage was of the higher order because he is running for re-election in a state which is close in recent years. Pepper, with four years to go in the Senate, was in better position to let history tell the story.

Guffey's courage, patriotism, or idealism—whatever you call it—has kept him in Washington when his very political future was demanding he be in Pennsylvania campaigning night and day.

No one knows whether Pennsylvania voters will understand the evidence and will realize that Guffey could have much more Philadelphia and Pittsburgh newspaper support if he dropped the flag of his convictions for the immediacy of campaign support.

But somehow this writer believes that they will and that they will support Guffey in the same fore-square manner that he is supporting President Roosevelt.

ACCEPTED

(Continued From Page 1)

frontier area and that German advance elements, including mechanized units, had been repulsed 38 miles south of Lyon in the Rhone valley and that fighting continued south of the Loire river. French troops were still holding out in the Maginot line area near Switzerland.

The German high command said that more than 200,000 prisoners were captured in the last few days, but for the most part the German advance and slowed down in order to consolidate positions.

Alexandria

In North Africa, Alexandria was bombed slightly and Cairo had an air raid alarm as the Italians struck back at Egypt, where the British air forces bombing Libya have been based. The British said two Italian warships were bombed at Tobrouk.

On the frontier of British Kenya and Italian Ethiopia, in East Africa, the British said they had completely destroyed the Italian military post of El Wak although they were later forced to retire due to an Italian counter-attack.

Triumphant Berlin, hourly expecting the news that France had yielded completely to Hitler's terms, was jarred back to the realities of war at 1:40 a. m. when hostile planes, presumably British, showed incendiary bombs near the outskirts of the city. The official German version was that three incendiary bombs had fallen near the old railway station at Babelsberg, home of the famous UFA film industry, and had caused only slight damage. United Press correspondents in Berlin however, reported hearing at least 25 heavy explosions, distinctly different from anti-aircraft firing.

MOTHER

(Continued From Page One)

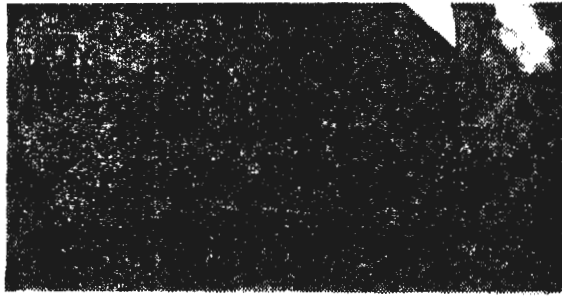
band to collect his insurance, seeks custody of the lad, Albert Santilli, Jr., now living with his father.

Attorney E. J. McDaniel, representing the mother, was prepared to call a series of character witnesses before Judge W. Russell Carr late this morning.

Attorney McDaniel said that if the child is turned over to the mother, it will be taken to the home of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leon Remonko, well known residents of Shoft.

The wife claims the child on the ground that she is its mother and therefore the proper person to retain custody.

Representing Santilli was Attorney Andrew Cavalcante.



On Monday Mr. and Mrs. Frank Yarris, Sr., of 96 Crawford street, will celebrate their golden wedding anniversary.

A family dinner will be held in the ballroom of the White Swan hotel this evening at 7 o'clock in honor of the event, with 42 guests expected to be present including eight children and 24 grandchildren.

Decorations will be in keeping with the golden anniversary, with a tier cake to occupy the center of the table.

Relatives and friends will congratulate the couple on Sunday when open house will be held at he home all day.

Mr. and Mrs. Yarris were married in Uniontown 50 years ago. Mrs. Yarris was the former Marie Zaccovic.

Among the out-of-town guests who will attend the celebration are Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Yarris and daughter, Ruth, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Yarris and son, Roy, of Cleveland.

DISTRICT'S FIRST

(Continued From Page One)

small plane might make anything but the most dangerous of emergency landings.

Mr. Griesser was amazed to learn of the rumor.

"Why I'm not even a German, although my old home was gobbled up by Germany," he said. "I'm an Austrian, and the reason they called me German Bob was because we speak that language in my old home town of Strasbourg."

"I've been so busy with my crops that I haven't had time to keep up with the war news much, and the first I heard about myself was when people in Clarksville asked me if it were true that I had been run out of Bobtown because I was a Nazi."

Stories that Ross Vona, who lives with the Griessers had been arrested amused him very much. Vona, brother of Mrs. J. E. Girard, of the East National Pike, was also hard at work in the cornfield.

GERMANS AGAIN

(Continued From Page One)

11th war communique said today. There were reports here that the whole town of Mersa Matruh had been "razed to the ground."

The communique said Italian planes also had bombed intensively the French port of Marseille and the French naval base of Bizerta in Tunisia "in successive waves"; that three Allied ships, two of them armed, had been sunk and an Allied cruiser damaged by airplane bombs east of the Balearic islands.

TROUBLE IN BALKANS

TALLINN, Estonia, June 22.—(UP)—A left wing government friendly to Russia took office today after a brief, bloodless uprising by workers and socialists. Dispatches reported pro-Russian demonstrations at Riga, Latvia, and pressure on the Lithuanian cabinet by left-radicals.

They are the other Baltic countries between Russia and Germany. Coinciding with a surge of left wing activity in the Baltic republics, came the announcement at Stockholm that a hastily summoned secret session of the Swedish parliament had considered "an important communication by the king and government affecting Sweden's foreign policy" as a sequel to Germany's conquest of Norway.

G. O. P. IS

(Continued From Page One)

their immediate course was confused by three developments:

1. Dissension in a platform sub-committee over the phraseology and intent of the foreign relations plank of the party platform to be adopted next week, especially whether the party should pledge itself to give aid to the Allies, and, if so, how much.

2. The political astonishing growth of the Willkie-for-president boom.

3. The necessity for the party to adjust itself to the situation created by President Roosevelt's nomination of two veteran Republican statesmen to his cabinet.

2 FAYETTE CITY

(Continued From Page One)

gating officers that Ophar often borrowed the gun to use in marching.

"I am satisfied it was an accident," Chief Whitelaw said, "as no doubt Mr. Ophar thought the gun was empty as it usually was when I loaned it to him to carry as drill sergeant."

3 Sons Of Legion To Attend Keystone Camp

Three representatives of the Sons of the American Legion were selected to attend the Keystone Boys' camp at Indiantown Gap, Pa., from July 21 to 30 at a meeting in the Lafayette Post home last night.

They were Harold Jones, 85 Morgan street; Dante Grasso, 80 Park avenue; and Martin Mehail, Brownfield.

Alternates chosen were William Winning, 200 Hogsett street; Robert Volpe, 44 Maple street; and Robert Sisler, 249 Morgan street.

The sons will meet again Friday, July 5.

Banker Is Named As Presidential Aide

HYDE PARK, N. Y., June 22.—(UP)—President Roosevelt today enlarged the executive department of the government to expedite the national defense program by naming James Forrestal, president of Dillon, Read and Co., New York investment bankers, as an administrative presidential assistant.

Uniontown Hospital

ADMISSIONS

Vernon Devan
...102 Harrison Ave., Masontown
Helen Coburn...Lemont Furnace
Mrs. John Ruble...38 Walnut St.
Richard McNeil
...2107 St. Clair St. Cleveland, O.
Pat J. Murphy...Fairhance
Ida Thomas...Feathers Ave.
Isabelle Wheeler...63 Vernon St.
George Ratlay...Masontown
Mary Heffernan...53 Barron Mill road

DISCHARGES

Charles Funk...Carmichaels
Mrs. Harold Jeffreys and baby daughter...R. D. 4, City
Walter Ringer...44 Iowa St.
Charles Robinson...Smithfield
Daniel Yoder...12 Lawn Ave.
Velma Veinelly
...Cedar Ave. Masontown
Bruce Diehl...Mather
Helen Wilcosky...Buffington
Mary Tassone...Republic
George Stanford...Lemont Furnace

FRANK KRESHKO ARRESTED
Frank Kreshko, of 90 Benson street, East End, was free in \$1000 bond today to await court trial on a numbers writing charge. The arrest was made by State Troopers John Rock and C. R. Dubulis with the hearing held before Alderman M. R. Grege.

BACK TO OHIO

John Rivak, of Puritan, was taken back to Ohio today by Trumbull county authorities on an armed robbery charge. Rivak, who was arrested this week near his home after being a fugitive for nearly a year, waived extradition at a hearing before Alderman Smith.

TEAR 'EM UP

Webster defines the word "mangle" to lacerate, mutilate or tear to pieces. It might seem strange that an electric ironer be named for such a word, for after all, we'd hate to take a chance on running our best lingerie through a "mutilating machine." But we're wrong again. The mangle was named for its inventor, Mr. Mangle, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the verb.

The words "Daily News Standard Ads" always denote Results At Low Cost, and they are synonymous with Profit. Use them to sell, buy, trade or rent.

THE DAILY NEWS STANDARD
Want Ad Headquarters
Phone No. 1

WWSW—Entertainment; Music.
KDKA—Jack Hollister; Music.
WCAE—Chet Smith; Serenade.
WJAS—Yella Pessi; World Today.
KQV—Sports Review; Ensemble.
7:00-7:15 P. M.

WWSW—Strack String Ensemble.
KDKA—Message of Israel.
WCAE—Rep. Conv. Preview.
WJAS—People's Platform.
KQV—Review of the News.
7:30-7:45 P. M.

WWSW—Jim Jab; Music.
KDKA—Weekly Record Review.
WCAE—Confidentially Yours; Sport.
WJAS—Joey Slim. Orch.
KQV—Four Aces; Music.

WWSW—News; Dr. Bidwell.
KDKA—"Aid the Allies."
WCAE—Drama.
WJAS—The Gay Nineties.
KQV—Louise Taylor; Singers.

8:30-8:45 P. M.
WWSW—Organ Recital.
KDKA—Radio Guild.
WCAE—Dance Melodies.
WJAS—Human Adventure.
KQV—Coliseum Presents.

9:00-9:15 P. M.
KDKA—National Barn Dance.
WCAE—Hamilton Fish Talk.
WJAS—Your Hit Parade.
KQV—Sons of American Revol.

9:30-9:45 P. M.
WWSW—Stars Over Manhattan.
WCAE—Jack McLean.
WJAS—Saturday Night Serenade.
KQV—Music; Vocalists.

10:00-10:15 P. M.
WWSW—House of Hospitality.
KDKA—News; Republican Con.
WCAE—Bob Crosby Music Shop.
WJAS—Saturday Night Serenade.
KQV—News; Music.

10:30-10:45 P. M.
WWSW—News; Music.
KDKA—Melody in the Night.
WCAE—Will Osborne Orch.
WJAS—To be announced; Music.
KQV—Sports; Music.

11:00-11:15 P. M.
WWSW—Music; Gardens Parade.
KDKA—News; Music.
WCAE—News; Music.
WJAS—News; Music.
KQV—Pittsburgh Jamboree.

11:30-11:45 P. M.
WWSW—Dance Music.
KDKA—Dance Orchestra.
WCAE—Dance Music.
WJAS—Dance Music.
12 MIDNIGHT TO CLOSE

WWSW—1500 Club.
KDKA—News; Dance Music.
WCAE—News; Dance Music.

WMBS SCHEDULE (Daylight Saving Time)

THIS AFTERNOON
1:15—"Dedications."
1:30—Baseball Lineup.
1:35—"Dedications."
2:00—WMBS Jamboree Preview.
3:00—Aloha Land.
3:15—Slovene Trio.
3:30—Claude M. Baker, President International Typographical Union.
3:45—Carl T. Anstine, Pianist.
4:00—Parade of Business.
4:15—Tin Pan Alley.
4:30—Jake Taylor's Rall Splitters.
5:00—Baseball Scores.
5:05—Hit Revue.
5:30—News.
5:40—Nathaniel Shilkret Orch.
6:00—Baseball Resume.
6:05—Summit Serenade.
6:30—Concert Master.
7:00—Dance Varieties.
8:00—WMBS Jamboree and Barn Dance.

Bar Association Outing Will Be Held July 13

Annual all-day outing of the Fayette County Bar association will be held Saturday, July 13, at Chief Williams' Hook and Ladder club, Buttermilk road, members of the committee announced today.

The committee has made arrangements for an excellent chicken dinner and refreshments. The day's program will be entirely informal and no speaking program has been arranged.

Members of the committee are J. Essey Sherrard, chairman; James A. Reilly, F. C. Newcomer, Nicholas J. Comfort and Herman M. Buck. Additional arrangements will be announced later.

Evangelistic Services At 1st Brethren Church

A full week of Bible and Evangelistic meetings will begin tomorrow at the First Brethren church with Fred B. Cowell, evangelist and chalk artist of Camden, N. J., in charge. The services will begin each night at 7:30 o'clock.

Each sermon by Mr. Cowell, who conducted meetings in this city several months ago, will be illustrated with drawings by the evangelist.

The public is invited to the church, which is located on the corner of Union and Bryan streets. Rev. William Clough is pastor.

State VFW Nominates Commissioner Rankin

County Commissioner John W. Rankin was nominated for senior vice-commander of the Pennsylvania department, Veterans of Foreign Wars at the state convention in York last night.

Balloting on the nominations was to come some time today.

KQV—Music.
6:30-6:45 P. M.
WWSW—Music; Anna Mae St.
KDKA—Beat the Band; Ween
WCAE—Show of the Week.
WJAS—Gene Antry, Songs.
KQV—Italian Hour.

7:00-7:15 P. M.
WWSW—Christian Science; M
KDKA—News from Europe.
WCAE—Aldrich Family.
WJAS—World News.
KQV—Italian Hour.

7:30-7:45 P. M.
WWSW—Old Songs of the Ch
KDKA—Magnolia Blossoms.
WCAE—Bandwagon.
WJAS—Ellery Queen.
KQV—George Seibel; Story Ho

8:00-8:15 P. M.
WWSW—American Forum.
KDKA—Sunday Night Concert.
WCAE—Bergen and McCarthy.
WJAS—Columbia Workshop.
KQV—Standard Jamboree.

8:30-8:45 P. M.
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WJAS—Johnny Presents.
KQV—The Dreamers; Music.

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KDKA—Walter Winchell; Park
Family.

9:30-9:45 P. M.
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WJAS—Ford Hour.
KQV—This Week in Washingto

10:00-10:15 P. M.
KDKA—Irene Rich; Sports.
WCAE—Music Album.
KQV—Ave Maria Hour.

10:30-10:45 P. M.
WWSW—Evening in Rhythm.
KDKA—Goodwill Hour.
WCAE—Hour of Charm.
WJAS—Take it or Leave it.

10:45-11:00 P. M.
KQV—News; Poetic Reveries.
WWSW—News; Memory Hour.
WCAE—Bobby Byrne Orch.
WJAS—Republican Convention.
KQV—Orchestra Music.

11:00-11:15 P. M.
WWSW—Preside Memory Hour
KDKA—News; To You.
WCAE—News; Music.
WJAS—News; Col. McGovern.
KQV—Bill Leroy Orch.

11:30-11:45 P. M.
WWSW—Glen Gray; Moon Mag
KDKA—Lou Breeze.
WCAE—Johnny McGee Orch.
WJAS—Art Giles' Orch.
KQV—Music for Reading.

12 MIDNIGHT TO CLOSE
WWSW—1500 Club.
KDKA—News; Music.
WCAE—Music; News.

WMBS SCHEDULE (Daylight Saving Time)

SUNDAY, JUNE 23
7:30—Rainbow Trio.
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4:20—Baseball Scores.
4:30—Concert Hall of the Air.
5:00—Brethren Bible Fellowship
5:30—The Catholic Truth Hour.
6:30—Sun-Off.

JOBS FOR JUNE

(Continued From Page 4)

to promising opportunities in enterprises dealing with creative ideas and work in science, mechanics, literature, electrical merchandising, management, finance and the like which capitalize on personal growth, courage and character.

They are generally small, medium-sized concerns rather than large companies. So state there are greater opportunities for freedom, independence, satisfaction and growth for a couple on a small town wheel than on a metropolitan newspaper.

Others point to small, growing experimental laboratories or manufacturing firms in preference organizations of long standing.

—AT THE COOL—

CAPITO

NOW PLAYING!

**MARTHA RAYE
& BOB HOPE**

**"GIVE ME A
SAILOR"**

—PLUS—

**BILL (WILD BILL) ELLIOT
'TAMING of the WEST'**
Greatest Serial "The SHADOW"
Cartoon—Late News

Starts Monday: "REBECCA"

Pepper has been talking for over a year about the necessity of leadership in the Senate. He has called over and over for positive action on the part of America. He has insisted that Americans be realists. He has stated his beliefs over and over again in his attempt to call America back to what he believes.....

Then, on May 6, 1941, Senator Pepper called on the Senate again to take the leadership he has called upon it for since the beginning of his struggle to extend aid to the Allies. Particularly because of his advance position in that instance it is interesting to examine his point of view at that stage of world events:

"If there was anything distinctive about the character of Andrew Jackson it was the quality of positiveness and certainty that grew out of an unequivocal conviction. If there was anything he scorned, it was evasion and indirectness. If there was anything that marked Andrew Jackson the man, it was the manliness of all that he did. Therefore when this Nation is the last citadel of democracy standing in the world, and when the chief assault is not now in the Balkans, or even at the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or Suez, but upon the ramparts of American public opinion, it is well that we consider what America shall think and do in this troubled time.

"I hope the Senate will not misunderstand me if I advert to the fact that about 10 months ago, on the sad day when the Republic of France fell, I ventured to make some comment in the Senate and to propose what I thought might be regarded as a constructive program containing seven points.

"Mr. President, in the 10 months which have elapsed since those utterances were made here in this body the world has been made over. Those sinister forces which some thought had come to their culmination in that period 10 months ago have now grown even stronger, and they threaten even a larger area than that which was within the scope and compass of their thought then. Where their strategy at that time was Europe-wide, it has now become the grandest strategy ever conceived in the imagination of mortal man; it is as wide as the circumference of the globe itself; it touches every crucial point upon the face of the earth.

"The question naturally presents itself to us, When shall we see enough to rouse us from our lethargy, and to make America for once take an affirmative and

in the rapidly flowing stream of life all along together, whether we want it or not, whether we know it or not. If we would guide our own course we must guide the course of it all, for where they go, we go, and where we go, all go.

"But those who shall break the new ground as the pioneers must have the intrepid spirit of the old. They must be unafraid, strong, and have in their minds no thought except Forward, ever forward.

"The fascinating adventure of this future reaches out its hand to us. We shall look it in the eye and grasp its hand in the typical way that we have in the Americas."

In speaking at a luncheon before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Canada, on March 19, 1941, Senator Pepper closed his address with these words: "You and I know how we have flung away opportunities to save the peace in the past. You will understand me, I know, when I say that I know how culpable my own country has been; that our regret is not what we did in the last war, but what we did not do when the storm of that struggle had passed. We have not committed the only error, either of omission or commission, which has been committed. We are not alone at fault. Some of our leaders have not been the only ones who did not see.

"But when the mischief has been undone again the test of the sincerity of our repentance will be what use we make of future opportunities.

"What is there to prevent the application of the principles of Pan Americanism to the wide-world--to other hemispheres as well as our own? It may or may not be too soon, even when peace is with us again, to set up the superstate or a proven form of world organism, but it will certainly not be too soon for the representatives of all the nations of the earth, great and small, black and white, yellow and brown, to establish the habit of meeting together, of talking about common problems, of setting up the machinery of cooperation, in meeting those things that threaten us all, disease, crime, ~~unemployment, discontent, these things~~ poor food, poor shelter, poor working conditions, to work out the many non-controversial ways in which we may help one another all may help each.

"I will not believe that any one of the British Commonwealth or of the Pan American republics would object to such an effort and would withhold its honest cooperation from such an aim.

"There has never been such an opportunity as there will be when this outbreak of outlawry shall again be suppressed, there has never been the intimacy among the peoples of the world there now is, physically, intellectually, spiritually. A man now speaks and the world hears him, writes and the world reads him, thinks and the world thinks with him. If there was ever any doubt that any of us was not an integral part of this great world organism, that doubt has passed away. We move

"We cannot ask the world to adopt and live by the principles of Democracy unless we can show them that we have first made Democracy work in our continent. Cooperative democracy in this hemisphere has given peace to more people over a larger area and for a longer time than the world has ever seen before. In this dreary hour when men have so much to bring despair to their hearts, where is there a picture so inspiring, so reassuring as that which is presented over all these thousands of miles, among all of these twenty-two nations, among all these different people, speaking their different languages, having their variable origins, their own distinctive characteristics and aspirations.

"In the foundations can be no other supports than willingness to admit the other man's rights while you insist upon your own, earnest recognition of the interdependence of us all, sincere desire to cooperate helpfully with one another, acceptance of the principles of honest discussion or fair arbitration as a method of settling differences, recognition that whatever impairs or obstructs the fullest possible exchange of goods, services, ideas and inspirations harms all, and above all, understanding that the most glorious monument that man can build is not a dazzling state, but a healthy, busy, happily striving people.

"While the sky is dark, while the hearts of men are heavy and the cries of the anguished echo around the world, those of us who have never lost our faith in man and man's God know that the darkest hour comes just before the dawn and from the fallow ground of suffering have sprung forth the most beautiful specimens of the spirit.

"The portals of the future are ajar. They challenge us to open them and through them to enter into the abundance and the beauty of a better world."

In March of 1941 Senator Pepper was invited to speak before the Empire Parliamentary Association composed of the members of the Senate and House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, Canada. While in Canada, he made several addresses. Some of the things he said in Canada were: "So you and I and Canada and the United States are now grown up, and we shall have to face this modern world like mature men and nations, and we shall not be able to make excuses either for our failure to understand it or to meet it. Our people and our history will observe only that we either did or did not meet that world as we should.

"This modern world presents to the institution of Democracy its most supreme challenge. No institution has ever struggled with a world like this because there has never been a world like this. There were never before so many people, and since people make problems, there were never before so many problems. People never lived so intimately before. They were never so inter-dependent. Their welfare was never so inextricably interwoven. They never were so keenly competitive as they now are. They never had so many things in common. They never had so many reasons to oppose one another for what there is. They never had so many causes to work together to enjoy what there is and to make more.

"If our kind of Democracy is to persist, we must first make it work in our own nations. Second, make it work in our continent, and third, do our part to make it work in the world. Undoubtedly, to make Democracy work in the modern state in this technological age, is the severest test of genius, understanding and patience.

"It is clearly apparent that something must enter into the spirit of man, a new kind of willingness to assume a new kind of discipline, before such Democracy can really save the modern world as we know it in our homelands.

"There are some who think that any discipline is tyrannical. You and I know that the character of the discipline depends upon its source, its authority.

and turn the whole productive power of our people from constructive to destructive purposes.

"We do care whether the clock of time is to be turned back to the dark ages and all that civilization has saved from the wreckage of the past consumed in the crucible of lustful desire. In short, as a responsible family in the world community, we do care what kind of a world we live in and our children shall inherit.

"Hence today the people of this country and their government are resolved upon two aims.

"First, to maintain the national defense, and

"Second, to preserve the national integrity.

"We have no purpose but peace. We threaten no others--we ask only that they do not threaten us.

"We have sent no spies, saboteurs and fifth columnists to any other country--we ask only that they shall not so assault us. We have tried to be a good neighbor to the world, but we would be unworthy of our noble past did we not let men everywhere know that there is something Americans have lived for and there is, if necessary, God forbid it, if all else fails, something Americans will again die for."

A few days later, speaking on Washington's birthday, at Topeka, Kansas, Senator Pepper said: "And when that Government had come into being, he (Washington) it was who made it real, who impressed upon us the indelible imprint of his own integrity, his own vision, his own strength and his own courage. He had to orient this nation into the world of his day, adapt its policy to the course of events as they then ran. How well he did it is attested by the imperishable character of the foundations of our nation, not alone in our institutions in the fabric of our government, but in the sentiment of our people.

"Not, my fellow countrymen, we face difficulties no less challenging than those which confronted Washington in the establishment of this nation. For we are engaged too in orienting our country again into the modern world of adapting it and its policy to the course of the terrible events which now are shaking the very foundation of civilization itself.

"We are not going to be drawn into European wars, but we are not going to be foolish enough to sit by and let a would-be conqueror use all of Europe for a springboard from which to destroy us. Neither does America propose to be without moral vitality in world affairs. We do not care where a particular boundary is—^{the} what/form of any nation's government—what is the character of their philosophy or culture, but we do care whether or not the world is thrust into anarchy and chaos.

"We do care whether international laws and covenants between the nations are mere scraps of paper.

"We do care whether some nation or group of nations is trying to make force the only world law.

"We do care whether the Christian world is to have paganism thrust down its throat.

"We do care whether a nation run amuck can throw us into the center of a mad world which shall lower our standard of living, demoralize our economy,
b
cure our liberties, bend our necks under the burden of terrific debt, for defense,

A free people must not be coerced into unity and dragged into compliance. They must come eagerly together in common council and in common concert, chart their course, charge their leaders, coordinate their efforts and so build a single spirit of unity and resistance that E. Pluribus Unum becomes a fact and not a slogan.

"In a new spirit let us hasten on together like a well disciplined athlete to our place in the hardpressed ranks of free men."

When the Lease-Lend Bill was under consideration, Senator Pepper made a radio address urging its passage. On February 20, 1941, he said: "The Lease-Lend Bill now pending before the Senate and nearing passage, happily, could well be described as America's last clear chance to keep war out of the Americas.

"Our's is strategically both a defensive and an offensive position. We want no world territory. We aim at the conquest of no other land or people. We do not want more ground than we have. We do not seek a single resource, however strategic or critical it may be, save in the ordinary and honorable commercial way. We would not if we could, therefore, attack any other country or join issue with any other land power for the mastery of their soil, but we do expect also to be let alone in our lands. We expect others to do unto us as they would have us do unto them. In a military sense, then the world knows that our only purpose is to act defensively--to save ourselves from any enemy who would come to take our homes away from us.

"As a matter, therefore, of the strictest national security, upon the age old principle of self defense, we are resolved to put every possible weapon in the hands of our heroic brethern of the English speaking world; to give them all possible moral support; to strengthen the sinews of their resistance in every way within the genius and enterprises of our own power. We have chosen this bill as the method by which that shall be accomplished.

"The Congress lays down the policy and the President executes that policy.

"But the policy remains in the hands of the Congress where it should be. It is the Congress which confers the powers granted by the bill. It is the Congress which by the clear provisions of the bill may take them back by a simple majority vote at anytime.

"It is a bad time for democracy to lose confidence in itself and to become suspicious of its own prerogatives. Never more than now did conditions demand that democracy clear its decks for action--bold, intelligent, effective action. The dictators have no division in their strength, no disunity in their attack.

do know this: that if democracy is ever to live, it is not going to be saved accidentally; it is going to be saved intelligently.

"You and I know who have given any thought to what is going on in the world that beginning at the time of the French Revolution there started to sweep across the face of the earth the wings of liberty and freedom. They came from France to America, and from America they spread with renewed vitality to the remotest corners of the earth, until at the end of the First World War one could look upon the geography of the earth and say with historical accuracy, 'The world is safe for democracy.' And then the winds in the magic way of nature shifted and they started in the other direction--first, in Russia in '17--then in Italy in the early '20's--in Germany about the same time--and finally in one European nation after another, until relatively we and the British people stand alone on this earth who dare to champion the principles of democracy.

"It is more than a coincidence that all these hundreds of millions of people have embraced a totalitarian faith--that they gave up their liberty for something, I know not what, that seemed to them more worth having than liberty and freedom. One cannot say as yet whether what happened to the Holy Alliance will likewise happen to Great Britain and America. That is to say, after the Napoleonic wars, the nations who formed the Holy Alliance said: 'Now democracy is forever dead. This burst of liberty, fraternity, and equality that came from Paris and her Bastille and her zealous people is now buried under the earth.' They thought they were right, for they crushed it wherever one timid head presented itself. But all the monarchies in the world, we know now, couldn't have stopped it, no more than King Canute could have stopped the tides which swept over the British Isles in his day or you and I could hold back the winds, because it was in the trend of the times.

"Now, I don't know whether we are at present marooned upon a democratic island in the world of morals and of the spirit. I don't know whether we are the back, the wall against which democracy has its back, only to win ultimately and to thrust itself forward in all of its erstwhile splendor. I don't know and I don't suppose any of us knows just what the situation is going to be. But I

In a speech at Chicago during the campaign of the fall of 1940, speaking in behalf of the Democratic Party, Senator Pepper made some remarks which are of interest to one seeking to understand him. It is interesting to remember that he was addressing the banquet of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce during a political campaign:

"And you know, as a matter of fact, whether Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected or whether Willkie might chance to be elected, that the expenditures of this government are not going to be reduced. They are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased, and your taxes are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased. All of you shall probably have occasion to remember that you are paying less taxes now than you will ever pay again in all your lifetime.

"Let me speak about courage for a few moments on the part of a political party. With an election in prospect a few weeks hence, a Democratic administration has publicly announced that it was going to give every bit of material aid it could possibly give to that heroic and beleaguered people fighting today behind their breastworks of morality and spirit and sentiment as well as arms for the defense of the things we love. Our President said, 'I am going to see that they get them'. He did not quibble about it. Nor did the Congress make it any easier for him to say that either, and I have some reason to know about that.

"I myself had some reason to feel the scorn of my congressional colleagues when it was proposed that the Congress authorize the President to give aid to Britain. They thought it was a monstrous proposition. Knowing the sentiment of the country demanded such action, the President was thus able to insulate himself from impeachment by the Congress of this nation. Now they have come along because they perceive that public sentiment demands such action, but the initial risks were taken by the man at the top, who didn't get much consolation either spiritually or from the votes cast by the members of Congress.

and for action, and for positive character. Thus our forefathers won this continent and all that we love today. It will be because we turn our backs to the principles which actuated them that we shall lose the inheritance our forefathers so desperately fought for."

"I suppose the French people would be willing to appropriate a little more for defense, would they not, if they could go back a few sessions of their chamber. If they had known a few years ago, when the Chamber of Deputies met and quibbled over little things while a mighty Germany grew around but a single invincible will, what they know now, would it have taken them all the afternoon to pass a tax bill? They would have been on their knees praying that every possible resource and power be concentrated at the place where it would do the greatest good.

"The last point is, seven, confer on the President the power to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.

"I say that the American people demand of the American Congress a policy of action. Another day has passed, and we have done nothing substantial. France has fallen. Great Britain is almost to her knees. By now perhaps the French Navy is a part of the forces of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini. When in the name of God are we going to start? When are we to mobilize the will of our people, every factor of our economy, every dollar of our money, every unit of our manpower, and make this mighty Nation move as one man toward our frontiers, upon lines of defense, behind the lines, wherever they will prove to be most effective?

"Mr. President, I do not suppose this is going to get a very favorable recommendation. I suppose Senators will say, 'Oh some more hysteria,' or some other Senators are going to say, 'I wish they would quit making these speeches. They stir up the people.'

"We are not stirring up the people. The people are trying to stir us up. Just listen to them and hear what they say. Hear their words.

"We, as the spokesmen of a democracy, it seems to me, should wake up and lay out a program. I offer one which has come out of the heart of one who wants to be honest about this matter, though he may be deceived.

"This is no time for sentiment. This is no time for ritualism. This is the time for action, because the genius of America has always called for courage,

And, speaking in the Senate on May 23, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"At a time when civilization hangs in the balance, when all that we have salvaged from the sacrifices of the past is in jeopardy, the Government of the United States, and the Congress of the United States are not taking an affirmative stand that is vindicating the spirit and traditions of our country and of democracy. I say that another day toward what I fear is an irreparable "too late" is about to end.

"Gentlemen have said, sincerely, of course, that we cannot afford to do what I have suggested, because it would be a breach of international law. I reply, breach of international law against whom? I am talking about sending airplanes to the Allies to fight Hitler. Is there any such principle as estoppel in international law? Can Hitler, who has raped every sentiment of civilization, claim the benefit of international law?

"When men are so archaic, so outmoded in their thinking as to think that international law has anything to do with this controversy, I am troubled, Mr. President, because it is the same folly and fallacy that Belgium and Holland and the Scandinavian countries were guilty of. They said:

If we will just be scrupulously neutral, if we not let a plane of our would-be friends come to protect us against our known enemy, if we will not let a soldier of our friends come on our territory to defend against the inevitable day, we may hope that the sentiments of decency will find lodgment even in Hitler's heart, and that he will respect the institutions of the civilized states of the world.

"Such persons are still thinking in the time of a civilization that is dead, of a society that has collapsed, and a law that has been trampled under ruthless feet. They might as well betalking about international law in the Dark Ages as to talk about international law and justice to Hitler.

"Mr. President, we have the Johnson Act, forbidding us to lend money to the Allies who have not repaid the war debts. When the judgements of men are written, Mr. President, all of us will be held accountable for what we have done on this earth. The zeal of those who uphold that act, and so-called isolationists' policies, I admit has been honest, and their determination laudable and characteristically American, but I wonder at whom the finger of absolute justice is going to point when it writes in blood the responsibility for the death and suffering

that is going on today in the world.

"We retain the Johnson Act, which says we cannot even lend to the Allies any money to carry on this war, and yet we have just appropriated over a billion dollars for our defense over here. Where could that billion dollars, or even \$2,000,000,000 best be spent? By the Allies over there, or by us over here now? And we have spent several more billion dollars for defense in the last two years. Why? Because of Hitler. If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would not spend even the billion dollars we have voted today.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would have more than an adequate national defense. Yet this agitation and hysteria, justified as it is, stems from one source--Hitler, Hitler, Hitler. 'Hitler, Hitler, Hitler' is pounded into the consciousness of every man, woman, and child on earth.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow where do Senators think braggadocio and purchasable Mussolini would be the next day? Do Senators think he would be apt to declare war against somebody? Where would the swashbuckling Japanese be the next day? Do Senators think they would be talking about taking the Dutch East Indies and depriving us of the manganese and tin and rubber which we must have? No; they would run back to their stolen Manchuria, and be glad to be let alone by the retributive justice of the world.

"But let Hitler live and grow into a giant, more and more colossal, and every one of them sneaks out from under his doghouse and begins to bark at an intimidated world.

"Behold the spectacle, Mr. President. The battle of Armageddon wages and America is virtually a timid spectator, almost afraid to utter a manly sentiment because it might make Hitler angry.

"Do Senators think, do citizens think, that if we shall only be good, if we shall not violate any neutrality laws, if we shall not violate the Johnson Act, if we shall not violate international law, Hitler will say, 'Uncle Sam, I am pleased to observe your conduct, which I hereby pronounce above reproach. Having seen how scrupulously you have lived up to the code of decency, I spare you my wrath'?

"First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America.

"Second. Universal defense service, so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense--every one of them to take his place where his Government may judge that he may best serve--in the Army, in a factory, upon a highway, in building forts or ships, or whatever the defense of this God-blessed country may require.

"Third. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgement interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials.

"If more hours of work are required of labor, I favor conferring upon the President power to require whatever number of hours the national emergency may necessitate.

"I say to the workingman, 'The only chance you have to keep from being a slave, ordered like a scourged slave from one place to another, is for the majesty of the Stars and Stripes not to be questioned in all of this broad land or continent.' So I make no apology to any group whose interests I may seem unjustly to affect, because I am talking about the integrity of America, and in a matter like this there is but one right, and that is the right of society to preserve itself against all enemies.

"Fourth. Confer upon the President power to suspend the present debt limitation if in his judgement such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.

"Fifth. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgement at this time constitute America's first line of defense.

"Sixth. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and the adoption of a defense budget and a tax program adequate for the national defense.

Then on the day the news reached America that France had fallen to the Germans, on June 17, 1940, Senator Pepperspoke again in the Senate: "Mr. President, what has concerned me principally today is a sort of theoretical query which has been in my mind: What kind of an apology have those who would defend this generation's democracy to offer to posterity for this criminal neglect in its defense?

"So here we are. The world which we used to know is dead--as much so as the ruins of Pompeii, which bring back to our mind a civilization long gone. The world in which we lived seven years ago is a collapsed and crushed world, as dead as the ancient ruins of imperial Rome. So we need not speak about the majesty of the past. We had better concern ourselves with the challenge of the present and the future.

"I tell you, Mr. President, that our country today faces the greatest challenge to our security that we have ever had in any day since the dark days when George Washington alone, by almost a Divine intervention on his side and the incomparable courage of the American people, was able to wrest the independence of this country from another.

"That is the reason, Mr. President--because I was disturbed--that I wanted to offer a constructive program, for which today I know I shall be criticized. It will be said that I am a warmonger; that I am engaged in a policy for the dissemination of hysteria; that I am an irresponsible second or third-rate Member of this body; but, Mr. President, I challenge you to wait a few weeks and see if the American people do not demand the program that I am going to offer right now, for they sense, in the way that the intuitive faculties of the people sometimes understand more than they can describe, the traditions of our country that are about to be destroyed, and they sense a jeopardy which we never before experienced.

"Mr. President, it is a seven point program that I submit for the defense of America.

"A few days ago Senators were saying, 'We cannot send anything abroad now; we do not have it.' All right. Let us talk primarily about America and its defense.

"Honest, sincere, misguided men. Unless I misjudge the significance of what is going on, a few days from now they will wish every one of these precious moments could be recalled. Now, we might be able to strike more courage and give greater strength to the courageous arms over there. At least tonight when he speaks, when the American people hear his voice, I wish the President could have in it the vibrance and the confidence that would come from the consciousness that the United States Senate, regardless of party, regardless of philosophy upon domestic matters, upon this one cause--the decent philosophy of a decent world and the sacred integrity of their own country--stood united, one indivisible people; and the sooner we come to be that, Mr. President, the more shall we assure the liberties of our country for posterity yet unborn."

"Anglo-Saxon liberties, institutions, their great cathedrals, the temples of their law, the tombs of their famous dead--when they are desecrated, perhaps we can have a brief memorial service here in the Senate.

"So, Mr. President, we come to a time in history that we have never before experienced, standing alone, without a single first-class power in all the world as our friend. Cast the eye to the Orient and we behold naught but defenseless China there. They begrudgingly, from the limited, hesitant character of our support, may still definitely and delicately call us blessed; but not the Japanese, not Italy, not Russia, not a dominant Germany; and where the ashes of England and France are, the clicking heels of German soldiers will drown out any plaintive appeal that may come to us from those expiring there.

"How long will it be before the Congress catches up with the country in appreciation of the seriousness of this hour?

"Tonight the President speaks at Charlottesville, Virginia, where his eye may turn a little bit and behold Monticello on its noble hill. Under the shade of the elms where Jefferson walked, it may be that in his heart tonight he will be sad as he walks through those hallowed lanes.

"I know his heart will be heavy tonight because he has not heard anything from the United States Senate in the past two or three weeks to hearten him very much. He has not had statesmen with national reputation rise up here and say, "Mr. President, in the name of God and a free people, raise your right arm to its maximum strength and smite down, in all legitimate ways short of war, those who threaten our faith, our philosophy, and our integrity."

"They have been, on the contrary, a little vexed with some of us because we have dared to give some opportunity for the American people to express themselves. They have thought we were a little bit upstarts, that we were stirring them out of a comfortable complacency. They did not want to feel the spur of the American people upon them saying, "In the name of God, go on now, and actively."

"Mr. President, our great leader in the Senate today stated that he hoped our time would not be occupied by remarks that diverted us from making progress upon the bills we are now considering. Mr. President, I say that if we did what we ought to do we could pass these bills in a few minutes, and the rest of our time would be taken with every Senator in his seat, his eyes glued to the Vice President's dais, his heart throbbing with the excitement of the occasion, saying, in unequivocal words, to the President of this country, 'We loose the shackles that restrain you. We tear down the restrictions that limit the reach of your strong and brave hands. Democracy lives again. Pulsing, vibrating democracy, fighting for its life, is a potent force in the world at a moment when it is having its heart struck at by one assassin as the confederate of another.

"Yet another day has passed. The tanks have rolled ominously 1 mile, 5 miles, 10 miles closer to the citadels of liberty. On the southern flank the assassin's knife is already drawn, poised to strike into the back of a nation crushed between converging forces. Yet when they tell this democracy that they seek the riches of the rich nations; when they say that a new philosophy proposes to overturn and dethrone the old, which we epitomize as the oldest single form of government in all the world today, the Senate sits here, and even our leader says that we twaddle when we try to arouse the American people against the terrible hour in the shadow of which they live.

"I suppose it will be tomorrow; it may be even the next day, before Paris is conquered; before the valiant French Army is destroyed; before that great nation goes down to dissolution and defeat, and perhaps disappears forever from the pages of a glorious history. I think perhaps at least the Senate will pause when France dies; when Lafayette's name becomes ignominious, in view of the fact that the great liberties we enjoy were gained by the intervention of the French people.

"Mr. President, another translation of that speech said that he warred against those powers that contained the major part of the world's gold. I myself heard it this morning over the radio. Who has the world's gold? Is it Great Britain or France? No Senator doubts that reference was made to only one nation, the nation which has at least three-fifths of the gold of the whole world within its frontiers.

"Mr. President, Mussolini is a courageous realist. The German Fuehrer, in the time he has been in command of a rejuvenated Germany, has never minced words about German ambitions and about his determination that the German race, superior to other races, must dominate the world.

"Today, Mr. President, another voice in the confederacy has risen to state in unequivocal terms, as another newspaper says--and I am reading from this afternoon's Evening Star: 'This gigantic struggle is only a phase in the development of our revolution. This asserts itself against the stranglers, the rich nations. It is a struggle between young and progressive people as against the decadent people, the struggle of one century as against another century. The dies are now cast.'

"When he spoke of a young people against an old, he was not speaking of the Italian nation as a young people. No one more than he has gloated upon the conquests of ancient Rome, the majesty of which is depicted in marble upon the ruins of the Coliseum which he has restored. He knew, when he spoke of an ancient people historically, that he meant a new philosophy was at war with an old philosophy; the century of democracy, the last century, was at battle with the century which has given rise to totalitarian dictatorship. That is what he meant.

"Mr. President, if there is a citizen in America who does not catch the whole terrible import of those words, I hope tonight on his knees in prayer for guidance he may learn the danger that threatens us upon 43,000 miles of frontier.

In an address to the Senate on June 10, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"Mr. President, today will be remembered as a sad day in the history of mankind. I venture to say it will be remembered as a sad day in the history of a great nation, for eventually the great Italian people will trace their downfall and dissolution to the evil step which their leader has this day made them take. But, Mr. President, in spite of the fact that the latest news from the front indicates that the Germans are within 25 miles of Paris, a distance which has been ruthlessly and relentlessly shortened with the passage of each sorrowing day, there is still something which may offer hope for America, at least about which I am primarily concerned.

"In the remarks of Mussolini today, delivered not secretly but boastfully to the wide world, there seems to me to be a sentiment which should leave no doubt in anybody's mind that Nazi Germany of today has declared war upon the United States of America, and that that war has been joined by Mussolini and the Italian people. For, in plain American language, in the Times-Herald of this afternoon, appears the following from Mussolini's remarks:

'The hour of destiny has arrived for our fatherland,' Mussolini said. 'We are going to war against the decrepit democracies.'

"Then there is a break, and some words are deleted, and the quotation continues: 'to break the chains that tie us in the Mediterranean.'

"Then, in speaking of the watchword of the Fascists, he says: 'It is to win. We salute the Fuehrer of Germany--

"He added--'Fascist Italy is on her feet and prepared to strike..... This revolution---

"He continued--'asserts itself against those who control the riches of the earth.

'It is a struggle of one century against another.

'We take up arms to solve the problems of our continental frontiers and our maritime frontiers. We shall win, and we shall give a long period of peace and prosperity to Italy and the world.'

The work of a man as young, as vital, and as active as Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, is certainly not finished. That is, perhaps, a good reason for looking at a portion of his work that has been rounded out into almost full accomplishment.

More so than with other men, the words of legislators must be taken into account in judging the man. Words are the tools by which these men bring their leadership into effective acceptance by their colleagues and by the country.

In of 1940

Last May, as France and England were locked in tragic struggle with Germany on the battlefields of Europe, Senator Claude Pepper introduced into the discussion of the Senate of the United States the proposition that America should defend herself through aid to the Allies in the form of planes and the machines of war. When that first bill was introduced and sent to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, the vote in that Committee was 12 to 1 against the proposition of aiding the Allies in any material way. From that day forward, beginning with one vote, his own, Pepper has fought an uncompromising fight for the things he believed important to the American people in the light of the developing world events and the threat they carried to Democracy.

He is a young man, just a little over forty, and a man who has not hesitated to lead the way along the paths he believed we should go, as America groped to work out its salvation in a world awry.

Senator Pepper spoke in the Senate last May, when Germany was moving across the face of Europe in a way no man had been prepared to imagine she could move, inflicting horrors that stunned even the casual reader of newspapers upon the peoples in her path:

"Does anybody really believe that? If Hitler wanted anything we have, he would take it regardless of what we did. Does anyone think that Hitler makes any distinction between our sending airplanes which belong to the United States Army to fight him, to drive his Messerschmidts down, to kill his soldiers, and sending planes from our factories over in Maryland, or from the west coast? Does anyone think he cares any less because they come out of a private factory rather than out of our Army stores? What difference does it make on the front where they come from? They are American, and America is helping to defeat him to that degree. His anger would be just as great whether we did anything else or not.

"So Mr. President, another day has passed, drawing now to a sad close. We know not what the next hour, what tomorrow may bring, except that we know that more rivers shall run with more blood, and that the soil shall soak up the life of humanity which is the sole defense of democracy in the Old World. Yet we, a giant, the fabled Atlantic which God has spared through every vicissitude and danger, to be the refuge of Christian sentiments the world over while Armageddon is being fought, talk about international law and about unpaid war debts. And Hitler marches over the graves of 30,000 boys from American homes--boys who gave their lives that this thing might not happen again.

"They did not succeed. Neither did Christ, and neither did the martyrs; but I thank God that the example of Christ and the martyrs has found willing apostles in every succeeding generation. I yet believe--I hope not too late--that the righteous indignation of our country, God's democracy, the defender of God's faith, will throw itself out into the front and say, 'I do stand for something in the earth, and I will do something now to crush the enemies of all that I hold dear.'"

In speaking at a luncheon before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Canada, on March 19, 1941, Senator Pepper closed his address with these words: "You and I know how we have flung away opportunities to save the peace in the past. You will understand me, I know, when I say that I know how culpable my own country has been; that our regret is not what we did in the last war, but what we did not do when the storm of that struggle had passed. We have not committed the only error, either of omission or commission, which has been committed. We are not alone at fault. Some of our leaders have not been the only ones who did not see.

"But when the mischief has been undone again the test of the sincerity of our repentance will be what use we make of future opportunities.

"What is there to prevent the application of the principles of Pan Americanism to the wide-world--to other hemispheres as well as our own? It may or may not be too soon, even when peace is with us again, to set up the superstate or a proven form of world organism, but it will certainly not be too soon for the representatives of all the nations of the earth, great and small, black and white, yellow and brown, to establish the habit of meeting together, of talking about common problems, of setting up the machinery of cooperation, in meeting those things that threaten us all, disease, crime, ~~unemployment, poverty, and other things~~ poor food, poor shelter, poor working conditions, to work out the many non-controversial ways in which we may help one another all may help each.

"I will not believe that any one of the British Commonwealth or of the Pan American republics would object to such an effort and would withhold its honest cooperation from such an aim.

"There has never been such an opportunity as there will be when this outbreak of outlawry shall again be suppressed, there has never been the intimacy among the peoples of the world there now is, physically, intellectually, spiritually. A man now speaks and the world hears him, writes and the world reads him, thinks and the world thinks with him. If there was ever any doubt that any of us was not an integral part of this great world organism, that doubt has passed away. We move

in the rapidly flowing stream of life all along together, whether we want it or not, whether we know it or not. If we would guide our own course we must guide the course of itall, for where they go, we go, and where we go, all go.

"But those who shall break the new ground as the pioneers must have the intrepid spirit of the old. They must be unafraid, strong, and have in their minds no thought except Forward, ever forward.

"The fascinating adventure of this future reaches out its hand to us. We shall look it in the eye and grasp its hand in the typical way that we have in the Americas."

Pepper has been talking for over a year about the necessity of leadership in the Senate. He has called over and over for positive action on the part of America. He has insisted that Americans be realists. He has stated his beliefs over and over again in his attempt to call America back to what he believes.....

Then, on May 6, 1941, Senator Pepper called on the Senate again to take the leadership he has called upon it for since the beginning of his struggle to extend aid to the Allies. Particularly because of his advance position in that instance it is interesting to examine his point of view at that stage of world events:

"If there was anything distinctive about the character of Andrew Jackson it was the quality of positiveness and certainty that grew out of an unequivocal conviction. If there was anything he scorned, it was evasion and indirectness. If there was anything that marked Andrew Jackson the man, it was the manliness of all that he did. Therefore when this Nation is the last citadel of democracy standing in the world, and when the chief assault is not now in the Balkans, or even at the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or Suez, but upon the ramparts of American public opinion, it is well that we consider what America shall think and do in this troubled time.

"I hope the Senate will not misunderstand me if I advert to the fact that about 10 months ago, on the sad day when the Republic of France fell, I ventured to make some comment in the Senate and to propose what I thought might be regarded as a constructive program containing seven points.

"Mr. President, in the 10 months which have elapsed since those utterances were made here in this body the world has been made over. Those sinister forces which some thought had come to their culmination in that period 10 months ago have now grown even stronger, and they threaten even a larger area than that which was within the scope and compass of their thought then. Where their strategy at that time was Europe-wide, it has now become the grandest strategy ever conceived in the imagination of mortal man; it is as wide as the circumference of the globe itself; it touches every crucial point upon the face of the earth.

"The question naturally presents itself to us, When shall we see enough to rouse us from our lethargy, and to make America for once take an affirmative and

In March of 1941 Senator Pepper was invited to speak before the Empire Parliamentary Association composed of the members of the Senate and House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, Canada. While in Canada, he made several addresses. Some of the things he said in Canada were: "So you and I and Canada and the United States are now grown up, and we shall have to face this modern world like mature men and nations, and we shall not be able to make excuses either for our failure to understand it or to meet it. Our people and our history will observe only that we either did or did not meet that world as we should.

"This modern world presents to the institution of Democracy its most supreme challenge. No institution has ever struggled with a world like this because there has never been a world like this. There were never before so many people, and since people make problems, there were never before so many problems. People never lived so intimately before. They were never so inter-dependent. Their welfare was never so inextricably interwoven. They never were so keenly competitive as they now are. They never had so many things in common. They never had so many reasons to oppose one another for what there is. They never had so many causes to work together to enjoy what there is and to make more.

"If our kind of Democracy is to persist, we must first make it work in our own nations. Second, make it work in our continent, and third, do our part to make it work in the world. Undoubtedly, to make Democracy work in the modern state in this technological age, is the severest test of genius, understanding and patience.

"It is clearly apparent that something must enter into the spirit of man, a new kind of willingness to assume a new kind of discipline, before such Democracy can really save the modern world as we know it in our homelands.

"There are some who think that any discipline is tyrannical. You and I know that the character of the discipline depends upon its source, its authority.

A free people must not be coerced into unity and dragged into compliance. They must come eagerly together in common council and in common concert, chart their course, charge their leaders, coordinate their efforts and so build a single spirit of unity and resistance that E. Pluribus Unum becomes a fact and not a slogan.

"In a new spirit let us hasten on together like a well disciplined athlete to our place in the hardpressed ranks of free men."

"We cannot ask the world to adopt and live by the principles of Democracy unless we can show them that we have first made Democracy work in our continent. Cooperative democracy in this hemisphere has given peace to more people over a larger area and for a longer time than the world has ever seen before. In this dreary hour when men have so much to bring despair to their hearts, where is there a picture so inspiring, so reassuring as that which is presented over all these thousands of miles, among all of these twenty-two nations, among all these different people, speaking their different languages, having their variable origins, their own distinctive characteristics and aspirations.

"In the foundations can be no other supports than willingness to admit the other man's rights while you insist upon your own, earnest recognition of the interdependence of us all, sincere desire to cooperate helpfully with one another, acceptance of the principles of honest discussion or fair arbitration as a method of settling differences, recognition that whatever impairs or obstructs the fullest possible exchange of goods, services, ideas and inspirations harms all, and above all, understanding that the most glorious monument that man can build is not a dazzling state, but a healthy, busy, happily striving people.

"While the sky is dark, while the hearts of men are heavy and the cries of the anguished echo around the world, those of us who have never lost our faith in man and man's God know that the darkest hour comes just before the dawn and from the fallow ground of suffering have sprung forth the most beautiful specimens of the spirit.

"The portals of the future are ajar. They challenge us to open them and through them to enter into the abundance and the beauty of a better world."

A few days later, speaking on Washington's birthday, at Topeka, Kansas, Senator Pepper said: "And when that Government had come into being, he (Washington) it was who made it real, who impressed upon us the indelible imprint of his own integrity, his own vision, his own strength and his own courage. He had to orient this nation into the world of his day, adapt its policy to the course of events as they then ran. How well he did it is attested by the imperishable character of the foundations of our nation, not alone in our institutions in the fabric of our government, but in the sentiment of our people.

"Not, my fellow countrymen, we face difficulties no less challenging than those which confronted Washington in the establishment of this nation. For we are engaged too in orienting our country again into the modern world of adapting it and its policy to the course of the terrible events which now are shaking the very foundation of civilization itself.

"We are not going to be drawn into European wars, but we are not going to be foolish enough to sit by and let a would-be conqueror use all of Europe for a springboard from which to destroy us. Neither does America propose to be without moral vitality in world affairs. We do not care where a particular boundary is--^{the} what/form of any nation's government--what is the character of their philosophy or culture, but we do care whether or not the world is thrust into anarchy and chaos.

"We do care whether international laws and covenants between the nations are mere scraps of paper.

"We do care whether some nation or group of nations is trying to make force the only world law.

"We do care whether the Christian world is to have paganism thrust down its throat.

"We do care whether a nation run amuck can throw us into the center of a mad world which shall lower our standard of living, demoralize our economy,
b
oune our liberties, bend our necks under the burden of terrific debt, for defense,

and turn the whole productive power of our people from constructive to destructive purposes.

"We do care whether the clock of time is to be turned back to the dark ages and all that civilization has saved from the wreckage of the past consumed in the crucible of lustful desire. In short, as a responsible family in the world community, we do care what kind of a world we live in and our children shall inherit.

"Hence today the people of this country and their government are resolved upon two aims.

"First, to maintain the national defense, and

"Second, to preserve the national integrity.

"We have no purpose but peace. We threaten no others—we ask only that they do not threaten us.

"We have sent no spies, saboteurs and fifth columnists to any other country—we ask only that they shall not so assault us. We have tried to be a good neighbor to the world, but we would be unworthy of our noble past did we not let men everywhere know that there is something Americans have lived for and there is, if necessary, God forbid it, if all else fails, something Americans will again die for."

When the Lease-Lend Bill was under consideration, Senator Pepper made a radio address urging its passage. On February 20, 1941, he said: "The Lease-Lend Bill now pending before the Senate and nearing passage, happily, could well be described as America's last clear chance to keep war out of the Americas.

"Our's is strategically both a defensive and an offensive position. We want no world territory. We aim at the conquest of no other land or people. We do not want more ground than we have. We do not seek a single resource, however strategic or critical it may be, save in the ordinary and honorable commercial way. We would not if we could, therefore, attack any other country or join issue with any other land power for the mastery of their soil, but we do expect also to be let alone in our lands. We expect others to do unto us as they would have us do unto them. In a military sense, then the world knows that our only purpose is to act defensively—to save ourselves from any enemy who would come to take our homes away from us.

"As a matter, therefore, of the strictest national security, upon the age old principle of self defense, we are resolved to put every possible weapon in the hands of our heroic brethren of the English speaking world; to give them all possible moral support; to strengthen the sinews of their resistance in every way within the genius and enterprises of our own power. We have chosen this bill as the method by which that shall be accomplished.

"The Congress lays down the policy and the President executes that policy.

"But the policy remains in the hands of the Congress where it should be. It is the Congress which confers the powers granted by the bill. It is the Congress which by the clear provisions of the bill may take them back by a simple majority vote at anytime.

"It is a bad time for democracy to lose confidence in itself and to become suspicious of its own prerogatives. Never more than now did conditions demand that democracy clear its decks for action—bold, intelligent, effective action. The dictators have no division in their strength, no disunity in their attack.

do know this: that if democracy is ever to live, it is not going to be saved accidentally; it is going to be saved intelligently.

"You and I know who have given any thought to what is going on in the world that beginning at the time of the French Revolution there started to sweep across the face of the earth the wings of liberty and freedom. They came from France to America, and from America they spread with renewed vitality to the remotest corners of the earth, until at the end of the First World War one could look upon the geography of the earth and say with historical accuracy, 'The world is safe for democracy.' And then the winds in the magic way of nature shifted and they started in the other direction--first, in Russia in '17--then in Italy in the early '20's--in Germany about the same time--and finally in one European nation after another, until relatively we and the British people stand alone on this earth who dare to champion the principles of democracy.

"It is more than a coincidence that all these hundreds of millions of people have embraced a totalitarian faith--that they gave up their liberty for something, I know not what, that seemed to them more worth having than liberty and freedom. One cannot say as yet whether what happened to the Holy Alliance will likewise happen to Great Britain and America. That is to say, after the Napoleonic wars, the nations who formed the Holy Alliance said: 'Now democracy is forever dead. This burst of liberty, fraternity, and equality that came from Paris and her Bastille and her zealous people is now buried under the earth.' They thought they were right, for they crushed it wherever one timid head presented itself. But all the monarchies in the world, we know now, couldn't have stopped it, no more than King Canute could have stopped the tides which swept over the British Isles in his day or you and I could hold back the winds, because it was in the trend of the times.

"Now, I don't know whether we are at present marooned upon a democratic island in the world of morals and of the spirit. I don't know whether we are the back, the wall against which democracy has its back, only to win ultimately and to thrust itself forward in all of its erstwhile splendor. I don't know and I don't suppose any of us knows just what the situation is going to be. But I

In a speech at Chicago during the campaign of the fall of 1940, speaking in behalf of the Democratic Party, Senator Pepper made some remarks which are of interest to one seeking to understand him. It is interesting to remember that he was addressing the banquet of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce during a political campaign:

"And you know, as a matter of fact, whether Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected or whether Willkie might chance to be elected, that the expenditures of this government are not going to be reduced. They are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased, and your taxes are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased. All of you shall probably have occasion to remember that you are paying less taxes now than you will ever pay again in all your lifetime.

"Let me speak about courage for a few moments on the part of a political party. With an election in prospect a few weeks hence, a Democratic administration has publicly announced that it was going to give every bit of material aid it could possibly give to that heroic and beleaguered people fighting today behind their breastworks of morality and spirit and sentiment as well as arms for the defense of the things we love. Our President said, 'I am going to see that they get them'. He did not quibble about it. Nor did the Congress make it any easier for him to say that either, and I have some reason to know about that.

"I myself had some reason to feel the scorn of my congressional colleagues when it was proposed that the Congress authorize the President to give aid to Britain. They thought it was a monstrous proposition. Knowing the sentiment of the country demanded such action, the President was thus able to insulate himself from impeachment by the Congress of this nation. Now they have come along because they perceive that public sentiment demands such action, but the initial risks were taken by the man at the top, who didn't get much consolation either spiritually or from the votes cast by the members of Congress.

and for action, and for positive character. Thus our forefathers won this continent and all that we love today. It will be because we turn our backs to the principles which actuated them that we shall lose the inheritance our forefathers so desperately fought for."

"I suppose the French people would be willing to appropriate a little more for defense, would they not, if they could go back a few sessions of their chamber. If they had known a few years ago, when the Chamber of Deputies met and quibbled over little things while a mighty Germany grew around but a single invincible will, what they know now, would it have taken them all the afternoon to pass a tax bill? They would have been on their knees praying that every possible resource and power be concentrated at the place where it would do the greatest good.

"The last point is, seven, confer on the President the power to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.

"I say that the American people demand of the American Congress a policy of action. Another day has passed, and we have done nothing substantial. France has fallen. Great Britain is almost to her knees. By now perhaps the French Navy is a part of the forces of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini. When in the name of God are we going to start? When are we to mobilize the will of our people, every factor of our economy, every dollar of our money, every unit of our manpower, and make this mighty Nation move as one man toward our frontiers, upon lines of defense, behind the lines, wherever they will prove to be most effective?

"Mr. President, I do not suppose this is going to get a very favorable recommendation. I suppose Senators will say, 'Oh some more hysteria,' or some other Senators are going to say, 'I wish they would quit making these speeches. They stir up the people.'

"We are not stirring up the people. The people are trying to stir us up. Just listen to them and hear what they say. Hear their words.

"We, as the spokesmen of a democracy, it seems to me, should wake up and lay out a program. I offer one which has come out of the heart of one who wants to be honest about this matter, though he may be deceived.

"This is no time for sentiment. This is no time for ritualism. This is the time for action, because the genius of America has always called for courage,

And, speaking in the Senate on May 23, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"At a time when civilization hangs in the balance, when all that we have salvaged from the sacrifices of the past is in jeopardy, the Government of the United States, and the Congress of the United States are not taking an affirmative stand that is vindicating the spirit and traditions of our country and of democracy. I say that another day toward what I fear is an irreparable "too late" is about to end.

"Gentlemen have said, sincerely, of course, that we cannot afford to do what I have suggested, because it would be a breach of international law. I reply, breach of international law against whom? I am talking about sending airplanes to the Allies to fight Hitler. Is there any such principle as estoppel in international law? Can Hitler, who has raped every sentiment of civilization, claim the benefit of international law?

"When men are so archaic, so outmoded in their thinking as to think that international law has anything to do with this controversy, I am troubled, Mr. President, because it is the same folly and fallacy that Belgium and Holland and the Scandinavian countries were guilty of. They said:

If we will just be scrupulously neutral, if we not let a plane of our would-be friends come to protect us against our known enemy, if we will not let a soldier of our friends come on our territory to defend against the inevitable day, we may hope that the sentiments of decency will find lodgment even in Hitler's heart, and that he will respect the institutions of the civilized states of the world.

"Such persons are still thinking in the time of a civilization that is dead, of a society that has collapsed, and a law that has been trampled under ruthless feet. They might as well betalking about international law in the Dark Ages as to talk about international law and justice to Hitler.

"Mr. President, we have the Johnson Act, forbidding us to lend money to the Allies who have not repaid the war debts. When the judgements of men are written, Mr. President, all of us will be held accountable for what we have done on this earth. The seal of those who uphold that act, and so-called isolationists' policies, I admit has been honest, and their determination laudable and characteristically American, but I wonder at whom the finger of absolute justice is going to point when it writes in blood the responsibility for the death and suffering

that is going on today in the world.

"We retain the Johnson Act, which says we cannot even lend to the Allies any money to carry on this war, and yet we have just appropriated over a billion dollars for our defense over here. Where could that billion dollars, or even \$2,000,000,000 best be spent? By the Allies over there, or by us over here now? And we have spent several more billion dollars for defense in the last two years. Why? Because of Hitler. If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would not spend even the billion dollars we have voted today.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would have more than an adequate national defense. Yet this agitation and hysteria, justified as it is, stems from one source--Hitler, Hitler, Hitler. 'Hitler, Hitler, Hitler' is pounded into the consciousness of every man, woman, and child on earth.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow where do Senators think braggadocio and purchasable Mussolini would be the next day? Do Senators think he would be apt to declare war against somebody? Where would the swashbuckling Japanese be the next day? Do Senators think they would be talking about taking the Dutch East Indies and depriving us of the manganese and tin and rubber which we must have? No; they would run back to their stolen Manchuria, and be glad to be let alone by the retributive justice of the world.

"But let Hitler live and grow into a giant, more and more colossal, and every one of them sneaks out from under his doghouse and begins to bark at an intimidated world.

"Behold the spectacle, Mr. President. The battle of Armageddon wages and America is virtually a timid spectator, almost afraid to utter a manly sentiment because it might make Hitler angry.

"Do Senators think, do citizens think, that if we shall only be good, if we shall not violate any neutrality laws, if we shall not violate the Johnson Act, if we shall not violate international law, Hitler will say, 'Uncle Sam, I am pleased to observe your conduct, which I hereby pronounce above reproach. Having seen how scrupulously you have lived up to the code of decency, I spare you my wrath'?

"First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America.

"Second. Universal defense service, so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense--every one of them to take his place where his Government may judge that he may best serve--in the Army, in a factory, upon a highway, in building forts or ships, or whatever the defense of this God-blessed country may require.

"Third. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgement interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials.

"If more hours of work are required of labor, I favor conferring upon the President power to require whatever number of hours the national emergency may necessitate.

"I say to the workingman, 'The only chance you have to keep from being a slave, ordered like a scourged slave from one place to another, is for the majesty of the Stars and Stripes not to be questioned in all of this broad land or continent.' So I make no apology to any group whose interests I may seem unjustly to affect, because I am talking about the integrity of America, and in a matter like this there is but one right, and that is the right of society to preserve itself against all enemies.

"Fourth. Confer upon the President power to suspend the present debt limitation if in his judgement such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.

"Fifth. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgement at this time constitute America's first line of defense.

"Sixth. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and the adoption of a defense budget and a tax program adequate for the national defense.

Then on the day the news reached America that France had fallen to the Germans, on June 17, 1940, Senator Pepperspoke again in the Senate: "Mr. President, what has concerned me principally today is a sort of theoretical query which has been in my mind: What kind of an apology have those who would defend this generation's democracy to offer to posterity for this criminal neglect in its defense?

"So here we are. The world which we used to know is dead--as much so as the ruins of Pompeii, which bring back to our mind a civilization long gone. The world in which we lived seven years ago is a collapsed and crushed world, as dead as the ancient ruins of imperial Rome. So we need not speak about the majesty of the past. We had better concern ourselves with the challenge of the present and the future.

"I tell you, Mr. President, that our country today faces the greatest challenge to our security that we have ever had in any day since the dark days when George Washington alone, by almost a Divine intervention on his side and the incomparable courage of the American people, was able to wrest the independence of this country from another.

"That is the reason, Mr. President--because I was disturbed--that I wanted to offer a constructive program, for which today I know I shall be criticized. It will be said that I am a warmonger; that I am engaged in a policy for the dissemination of hysteria; that I am an irresponsible second or third-rate Member of this body; but, Mr. President, I challenge you to wait a few weeks and see if the American people do not demand the program that I am going to offer right now, for they sense, in the way that the intuitive faculties of the people sometimes understand more than they can describe, the traditions of our country that are about to be destroyed, and they sense a jeopardy which we never before experienced.

"Mr. President, it is a seven point program that I submit for the defense of America.

"A few days ago Senators were saying, 'We cannot send anything abroad now; we do not have it.' All right. Let us talk primarily about America and its defense.

"Honest, sincere, misguided men. Unless I misjudge the significance of what is going on, a few days from now they will wish every one of these precious moments could be recalled. Now, we might be able to strike more courage and give greater strength to the courageous arms over there. At least tonight when he speaks, when the American people hear his voice, I wish the President could have in it the vibrance and the confidence that would come from the consciousness that the United States Senate, regardless of party, regardless of philosophy upon domestic matters, upon this one cause--the decent philosophy of a decent world and the sacred integrity of their own country--stood united, one indivisible people; and the sooner we come to be that, Mr. President, the more shall we assure the liberties of our country for posterity yet unborn."

"Anglo-Saxon liberties, institutions, their great cathedrals, the temples of their law, the tombs of their famous dead--when they are desecrated, perhaps we can have a brief memorial service here in the Senate.

"So, Mr. President, we come to a time in history that we have never before experienced, standing alone, without a single first-class power in all the world as our friend. Cast the eye to the Orient and we behold naught but defenseless China there. They begrudgingly, from the limited, hesitant character of our support, may still definitely and delicately call us blessed; but not the Japanese, not Italy, not Russia, not a dominant Germany; and where the ashes of England and France are, the clicking heels of German soldiers will drown out any plaintive appeal that may come to us from those expiring there.

"How long will it be before the Congress catches up with the country in appreciation of the seriousness of this hour?

"Tonight the President speaks at Charlottesville, Virginia, where his eye may turn a little bit and behold Monticello on its noble hill. Under the shade of the elms where Jefferson walked, it may be that in his heart tonight he will be sad as he walks through those hallowed lanes.

'I know his heart will be heavy tonight because he has not heard anything from the United States Senate in the past two or three weeks to hearten him very much. He has not had statesmen with national reputation rise up here and say, "Mr. President, in the name of God and a free people, raise your right arm to its maximum strength and smite down, in all legitimate ways short of war, those who threaten our faith, our philosophy, and our integrity.'

"They have been, on the contrary, a little vexed with some of us because we have dared to give some opportunity for the American people to express themselves. They have thought we were a little bit upstarts, that we were stirring them out of a comfortable complacency. They did not want to feel the spur of the American people upon them saying, 'In the name of God, go on now, and actively.'

"Mr. President, our great leader in the Senate today stated that he hoped our time would not be occupied by remarks that diverted us from making progress upon the bills we are now considering. Mr. President, I say that if we did what we ought to do we could pass these bills in a few minutes, and the rest of our time would be taken with every Senator in his seat, his eyes glued to the Vice President's dais, his heart throbbing with the excitement of the occasion, saying, in unequivocal words, to the President of this country, 'We loose the shackles that restrain you. We tear down the restrictions that limit the reach of your strong and brave hands. Democracy lives again. Pulsing, vibrating democracy, fighting for its life, is a potent force in the world at a moment when it is having its heart struck at by one assassin as the confederate of another.

"Yet another day has passed. The tanks have rolled ominously 1 mile, 5 miles, 10 miles closer to the citadels of liberty. On the southern flank the assassin's knife is already drawn, poised to strike into the back of a nation crushed between converging forces. Yet when they tell this democracy that they seek the riches of the rich nations; when they say that a new philosophy proposes to overturn and dethrone the old, which we epitomize as the oldest single form of government in all the world today, the Senate sits here, and even our leader says that we twaddle when we try to arouse the American people against the terrible hour in the shadow of which they live.

"I suppose it will be tomorrow; it may be even the next day, before Paris is conquered; before the valiant French Army is destroyed; before that great nation goes down to dissolution and defeat, and perhaps disappears forever from the pages of a glorious history. I think perhaps at least the Senate will pause when France dies; when Lafayette's name becomes ignominious, in view of the fact that the great liberties we enjoy were gained by the intervention of the French people.

"Mr. President, another translation of that speech said that he warred against those powers that contained the major part of the world's gold. I myself heard it this morning over the radio. Who has the world's gold? Is it Great Britain or France? No Senator doubts that reference was made to only one nation, the nation which has at least three-fifths of the gold of the whole world within its frontiers.

"Mr. President, Mussolini is a courageous realist. The German Fuehrer, in the time he has been in command of a rejuvenated Germany, has never minced words about German ambitions and about his determination that the German race, superior to other races, must dominate the world.

"Today, Mr. President, another voice in the confederacy has risen to state in unequivocal terms, as another newspaper says---and I am reading from this afternoon's Evening Star: 'This gigantic struggle is only a phase in the development of our revolution. This asserts itself against the stranglers, the rich nations. It is a struggle between young and progressive people as against the decadent people, the struggle of one century as against another century. The dies are now cast.'

"When he spoke of a young people against an old, he was not speaking of the Italian nation as a young people. No one more than he has gloated upon the conquests of ancient Rome, the majesty of which is depicted in marble upon the ruins of the Coliseum which he has restored. He knew, when he spoke of an ancient people historically, that he meant a new philosophy was at war with an old philosophy; the century of democracy, the last century, was at battle with the century which has given rise to totalitarian dictatorship. That is what he meant.

"Mr. President, if there is a citizen in America who does not catch the whole terrible import of those words, I hope tonight on his knees in prayer for guidance he may learn the danger that threatens us upon 43,000 miles of frontier.

In an address to the Senate on June 10, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"Mr. President, today will be remembered as a sad day in the history of mankind. I venture to say it will be remembered as a sad day in the history of a great nation, for eventually the great Italian people will trace their downfall and dissolution to the evil step which their leader has this day made them take. But, Mr. President, in spite of the fact that the latest news from the front indicates that the Germans are within 25 miles of Paris, a distance which has been ruthlessly and relentlessly shortened with the passage of each sorrowing day, there is still something which may offer hope for America, at least about which I am primarily concerned.

"In the remarks of Mussolini today, delivered not secretly but boastfully to the wide world, there seems to me to be a sentiment which should leave no doubt in anybody's mind that Nazi Germany of today has declared war upon the United States of America, and that that war has been joined by Mussolini and the Italian people. For, in plain American language, in the Times-Herald of this afternoon, appears the following from Mussolini's remarks:

'The hour of destiny has arrived for our fatherland,' Mussolini said. 'We are going to war against the decrepit democracies.'

"Then there is a break, and some words are deleted, and the quotation continues: 'to break the chains that tie us in the Mediterranean.'

"Then, in speaking of the watchword of the Fascists, he says: 'It is to win. We salute the Fuehrer of Germany--

"He added--'Fascist Italy is on her feet and prepared to strike..... This revolution--

"He continued--'asserts itself against those who control the riches of the earth.

'It is a struggle of one century against another.

'We take up arms to solve the problems of our continental frontiers and our maritime frontiers. We shall win, and we shall give a long period of peace and prosperity to Italy and the world.'

The work of a man as young, as vital, and as active as Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, is certainly not finished. That is, perhaps, a good reason for looking at a portion of his work that has been rounded out into almost full accomplishment.

More so than with other men, the words of legislators must be taken into account in judging the man. Words are the tools by which these men bring their leadership into effective acceptance by their colleagues and by the country.

In of 1940

~~Last~~ May, as France and England were locked in tragic struggle with Germany on the battlefields of Europe, Senator Claude Pepper introduced into the discussion of the Senate of the United States the proposition that America should defend herself through aid to the Allies in the form of planes and the machines of war. When that first bill was introduced and sent to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, the vote in that Committee was 12 to 1 against the proposition of aiding the Allies in any material way. From that day forward, beginning with one vote, his own, Pepper has fought an uncompromising fight for the things he believed important to the American people in the light of the developing world events and the threat they carried to Democracy.

He is a young man, just a little over forty, and a man who has not hesitated to lead the way along the paths he believed we should go, as America groped to work out its salvation in a world awry.

Senator Pepper spoke in the Senate last May, when Germany was moving across the face of Europe in a way no man had been prepared to imagine she could move, inflicting horrors that stunned even the casual reader of newspapers upon the peoples in her path:

"Does anybody really believe that? If Hitler wanted anything we have, he would take it regardless of what we did. Does anyone think that Hitler makes any distinction between our sending airplanes which belong to the United States Army to fight him, to drive his Messerschmidts down, to kill his soldiers, and sending planes from our factories over in Maryland, or from the west coast? Does anyone think he cares any less because they come out of a private factory rather than out of our Army stores? What difference does it make on the front where they come from? They are American, and America is helping to defeat him to that degree. His anger would be just as great whether we did anything else or not.

"So Mr. President, another day has passed, drawing now to a sad close. We know not what the next hour, what tomorrow may bring, except that we know that more rivers shall run with more blood, and that the soil shall soak up the life of humanity which is the sole defense of democracy in the Old World. Yet we, a giant, the fabled Atlantic which God has spared through every vicissitude and danger, to be the refuge of Christian sentiments the world over while Armageddon is being fought, talk about international law and about unpaid war debts. And Hitler marches over the graves of 30,000 boys from American homes--boys who gave their lives that this thing might not happen again.

"They did not succeed. Neither did Christ, and neither did the martyrs; but I thank God that the example of Christ and the martyrs has found willing apostles in every succeeding generation. I yet believe--I hope not too late--that the righteous indignation of our country, God's democracy, the defender of God's faith, will throw itself out into the front and say, 'I do stand for something in the earth, and I will do something now to crush the enemies of all that I hold dear.'"

SPEECH OF SENATOR CLAUDE PIPPER OF FLORIDA
AT TOPIKA, KANSAS, FEBRUARY 22nd, 1941
WITH RADIO HOOKUP AT JACKSON DAY DINNER
HELD ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

MY CHAIRMAN AND MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

You have given me a pleasure and paid me a compliment which I shall never forget in giving me the privilege of being in the great State of Kansas on this significant occasion - at this crucial time in the history of the American people and the American continent. I have long looked forward to an opportunity to visit Kansas, for we all know that here in this region is the very bone and sinew of the nation to be found.

I want to bring you greetings and cordial sentiments of friendship from some of your fellow countrymen, the people of the South, whence I come, and to give you assurances that we in the South are your friends and we recognize you to be our friends. Most important of all, for that is the basis of friendship, we want you to understand us better and we want better to understand you. In these times American must face its enemies as one mighty, united people, for we face today in this mad world a crisis to which only the periods of our struggle for independence and our Civil War are comparable.

I commend you upon having chosen as the occasion for this dinner, the birthday of George Washington. We cannot too often rekindle the flame of our recollections of his colossal stature. George Washington grows greater as we are able to see in perspective the reach and grasp of his mind - the magnitude of his spirit - the herculean strength of his will - how big he was.

Napoleon said: "Washington's measure of fame is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of Revolutions".

Speaking in Springfield, Illinois, 1842, Abraham Lincoln said: "Washington is the mightiest name on earth - long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun, or glory to the name of Washington, is alike impossible. Let none attempt it."

As I have learned more about George Washington the picture which has formed clearest and strongest in my mind is that of George Washington, the pioneer. George Washington throughout his whole life grappled with new problems, followed a way blazed by no predecessor, chartered a course which had its principal support only from his keen judgment, noble conscience, vast understanding and irresistible will. His was an affirmative character; his course was always a forward course. It is as impossible to conceive of George Washington as a negative character as it is to think of him as a dishonest man.

Born to a frontier in a new country his earliest efforts were to survey that country, to bring it from uncertainty to man's certain use, to mark it out for habitation and cultivation, to domesticate, as it were, the wild acres for man's sustenance and comfort. We see him as a young man learning soldiery in a practical way, in the savage inhabited wilderness itself. Later, we find him taking the command of an army that was largely nonexistent to be fashioned out of his genius and courage, and sustained by his faith and confidence. He sees clearly with unshakable singleness of purpose that there is no compromise with tyranny and no substitute for the complete independence of this nation from the power of a foreign dictator.

Again when that independence had been gained it was he, the pioneer again, who saw that the one way by which the integrity of this nation might be secure, was by setting up a government - that personifies the institution of Democracy in workable form. Here again, no compromise upon the issue of national sovereignty, no substitute for a government, worthy of the dignity and the destiny which a beneficent providence had bestowed upon our fortunate people.

And when that Government had come into being, he it was who made it real, who impressed upon us the indelible imprint of his own integrity, his own vision, his own strength and his own courage. He had to orient this nation into the world of his day, adapt its policy to the course of events as they then ran. How well he did it is attested by the imperishable character of the foundations of our nation, not along in our institutions in the fabric of our government, but in the sentiment of our people.

Now, my fellow countrymen, we face difficulties no less challenging than those which confronted Washington in the establishment of this nation. For we are engaged too in orienting our country again into the modern world of adapting it and its policy to the course of the terrible events which now are shaking the very foundation of civilization itself.

I wish I had the power to take you away to some great mountain top where you could see in perspective both the history and geography of the United States; where we could see together the kind of a world in which we grew to be great, the factors which made it possible for us to be safe and secure so that we could devote the full strength of our labor to the building of our prosperity and our culture here; and then to be able to turn the glass to the present world and the world that lies in prospect and to be able to point out how that world has changed from what it was, how terribly it appears to be changing from what it now is; and how all this affects the very life, the very family, the very home of every man, woman and child in the State of Kansas.

In the past we have relied upon three fundamental factors for our security as a nation.

First, we defended our geographical isolation. We thought the broad Atlantic, the mighty Pacific untraversable barriers for any enemy. Yet even before the modern bombing plane, history records that the British were able to transport across the seas a force sufficient to burn our Capitol in the war of 1812; that the French during our Civil War put Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico with a French army transported across this same Atlantic; that we defeated the Spanish in Manila Bay and occupied territory in the Orient in the war of 1898; that in the World War we put two million American soldiers and their equipment upon the soil of France. But now days the range of the modern bomber is wider than the ocean and it is the policy of certain nations to think only of the range necessary to get to their destination and not to include calculations for a return. Indeed we have learned that the ocean may be but open highways to bring an enemy here, if they are not dominated by our own Naval power.

Secondly, our security has been assured by the principle of the balance of power among the nations of Europe. For one hundred years from the end of the Napoleonic war until the World War, there was relative peace upon the European continent because of approximate equality in the division of the strength of Europe. How that bore upon our own safety is well reflected from the earliest days of our history.

When the Holy Alliance, an earlier axis of the three dominant monarchs of Europe, turned their lustful eyes toward the American continent for conquest, determined to re-establish here European domination, they were thwarted, not by the strength of the American Navy or nation, but by the fact that Great Britain threw the screen of her strength and her Navy between them and us. It is not generally remembered that three months before the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine by our President, the British Government proposed a bilateral declaration of the same objectives because of a mutuality of interest between Great Britain and ourselves in preserving this continent free from further European aggression. Obviously, so long as Europe was divided into relatively equal camps, neither would venture too far from home, lest it be smitten in its exposed flank by the enemy who remains there.

Now, there is no balance of power in Europe; there is no Europe; there is but one cruel will which stands astride that prostrate continent, molding it all with tyrannical determination and efficiency into one single state, one economy, one system, ruled by one unquestioned head and for one unquestioned purpose--exploitation and world conquest. There has never been under Charlemagne, Napoleon or any other such a Europe; a single will ordering it all into the pattern of

dictatorial power; each area and each people appointed to a particular function; one for agriculture; one for mining; one for industry; some to be slaves, a few to be masters, the Germans to be the Lords of it all and over them, to sit Hitler like Zeus of Mythology ruling the Gods from his Olympian heights.

As a master of Europe, Hitler now had a coastline which runs from the Arctic circle to the Mediterranean almost and it is evident that he intends and is in the process of making his empire to stretch in an unbroken line from the Baltic and North seas to the Mediterranean. His grand Admiral, Admiral Raeder, told the world just a few years ago that German ships would soon roam the seas of the earth. He meant, of course, as the master of those seas.

Such a state will have access to immense stores and varieties of raw materials, the like of which no nation in the world has so readily accessible. Hitler's will commands two hundred to three hundred millions of people. He shall not only tell them where they shall live and what work they shall do and what their duties and their privileges shall be, he shall also tell them to whom they may sell and from whom they may buy. He thus will have it in his power, by shutting off that market, to deny prosperity to all the rest of the world and particularly to the United States of America. Those who shall trade with them at all shall observe only his terms, use his currency and meet his humiliating demands.

If the sweep of his conquest is extended further, it will probably include the Mediterranean and all the lands tributary thereto. Probably thereafter will come the continent of Africa, the near East and then by an arrangement with Russia, he will extend his dominion to the Pacific. If Japan shall succeed in her bloody attacks upon China and achieve her aims of a new order in the East, it is not inconceivable that she should become the master at least with Hitler's help and Russian collusion or aid, of both China and India and all the areas of the East, thereby bringing under her cruel sway, a billion people, nearly half of the population of the earth. As a member of Hitler's axis and in Hitler's constellation, all the unparalleled resources of Europe, Africa, Eurasia, and the territory adjacent thereto, would lie like the coils of a mighty boa constrictor around the Western continent, to be tightened and tightened until we should be either crushed or victor in a death grapple with his sinister power.

In such a world, where should we stand if Great Britain were crushed and Hitler and his fellow conspirators had the mastery of the seas, which they now have if the British fleet is not considered? It is an established fact that the combined Navies of the axis powers and Japan are much larger than the Navy of the United States and they will be for some years yet. For it takes four to five years to build a battleship, three to four years to build a cruiser, one year or almost as much to build a destroyer. It is a dangerous fact that without the interference of the British Navy the axis powers at any time with the Japanese ally could concentrate at a given point upon the high seas Naval strength distinctly superior to our own.

That brings me to the third factor upon which we have heretofore relied for our security - the British Navy. For more than a century Great Britain has adhered to and subscribed to the Monroe Doctrine. All these years the superior British fleet has lain across the exits from Africa, the Mediterranean, the English Channel and the North sea to the Western hemisphere and been ready to join at an instant's notice the American Navy in the defense of the Monroe Doctrine. That course has not been charity on the part of the British. It was a happy instance of an identity of interest between ourselves and them. We did not desire to see a European nation establish itself upon this continent and neither did Britain. We both therefore committed ourselves to its prevention and we have thus far succeeded.

A new factor however, has grown up in the world which mightily affects us in the last few decades - the Japanese empire. First opened by an American Admiral about the middle of the last century, this energetic and imitative people has grown to be one of the powers of the world possessing a Navy comparable to that of the United States and Great Britain and now attempting to become the ruler of the resources and the people of the whole East. She is the typical

pirate without scruples, without moral restraint, without national or international integrity, ready to pounce upon any unsuspecting or inferior victim at a moment's notice, greedy and hungry for every possible loot. Her actions and her attitude have given us such concern that we have felt constrained to base our Navy in the Pacific ocean and to build the greatest bases we have for our defense there. We could do this as long as the British Navy dominated the Atlantic and be sure we were still safe from attacks from over either ocean.

But now we find ourselves facing the possibility that the British Navy, like the French Navy, might fall into Hitler's hands. Of course it seems inconceivable to us, but so did it seem impossible only a few months ago that Hitler should command any of the French Navy and that there should ever be in Paris a government which was but a puppet for the head of a nation which has been France's enemy from time immemorial. It may be but a few days until Pierre Laval, a traitorous puppet may order at Hitler's behest the powerful ships of the French Navy to sail into battle to make the Mediterranean a Hitler sea, or to strike down those heroic defenders of their homes and their lives upon the British Isles.

Strange things have happened in this mad world of recent years. If Hitler possessed the British fleet along with those he now controls and had the collaboration of the Japanese fleet he would be so distinctly master of the oceans that he could land at will in almost every part of the world, including the United States.

South American would be easy prey for such a fleet based on the Westernmost coast of Africa or upon the islands off the African coast, within far less than two thousand miles from the mainland of South America. Such Naval power could keep our ships out of every sea to which our trade would normally go, could cut off from us the import of every commodity which administered to our needs.

Then we would have real isolation for the United States.

Some would say that we would build a Navy as great as all the other Navies of the world combined. Leaving out the elements of time, expense, personnel and shipbuilding facilities, yes. But if Hitler conquered England and remained dominant in Europe, it has been estimated that he would have shipbuilding facilities seven and a half times what we have; that he would have his ships in being and we could build ours only if we had time. Is there anyone who would believe that in such a case Hitler would give us that time? Would he stand by and let us build the world's dominant Navy, the world's greatest Air Force, the world's most complete armament, the world's greatest Army, the world's greatest industrial system, set up for war production? Does anyone who has seen the evil genius which he has displayed to the astonishment of the world, really think that he would wait until we were fully prepared to strike at us?

Incidentally, for what it may be worth, the late Lord Lothian said in my presence that if the United States alone expected adequately to protect the Western hemisphere against assault, it would have to build not two Navies, but three. One in the Pacific, one to protect the shores of the Western Hemisphere itself and another to close the exits of Europe, so that no Navy could leave Europe to come to us. The one thing Hitler lacks is control of the seas to make him at least master of all the world outside this continent. The one nation which stands in the way of his mastery of the seas is Great Britain. It may not be too much to say that the one power which stands between him and world conquest is the British Navy and the British Nation.

For the first time, almost in our history we stand before the prospect of facing the powerful nations of the earth as enemies, without a single first class power as our friend if England falls. It has many times been imagined that the Yellow race would some day send its hundreds of millions swarming down upon the White race to devour it. In older days dictators of the East rode their horses to Central Europe. At other times the Pagan almost gained foothold in and mastery over the Western world; but this is the first time that we have seen tangible evidence of the possibility of a combination of

all the powerful nations of the non-English speaking world, combining their power to destroy the English speaking world. Even now this night, who is there but Britain and ourselves, in spite of the heroism of the Chinese and the Greeks and the faithfulness of our friends upon this continent, to stand up against the sweep of tyranny and dictatorship across the face of the earth? Sooner than we ever thought therefore, we have almost come to see our kind standing with its back to the world against a hostile world.

I know there can no longer be any doubt about what the real purposes of the dictators are. Hitler came to power upon the basis of his attacks upon the Versailles Treaty, the injustices to his nation imposed by the Allies. It was a plausible doctrine even to outsiders. For the world forgets so quickly it had ceased to recall that there was no Versailles Treaty when Bismarck built the German empire upon blood and iron and laid its foundation in conquest; that he forged the telegram so as to give an imaginary excuse for assaulting France in the war of 1870, out of which came the German Empire. It was not remembered that there was no Versailles Treaty which sent the German horde across neutral and defenseless Belgium in 1914 against unprepared and unsuspecting France and Britain and brought about a holocaust which almost despoiled the earth. The world watched, therefore, with considerable sympathy when Hitler reclaimed the Rhineland, rebuilt the German Navy, reinstated military conscription, stopped payment to all German creditors, except upon bartered terms; when he talked about bringing together in one great nation all German people and correcting territorial injustices he charged to the Allies. The world even saw some logic in the annexation of Austria. Its countenance even Munich when Hitler avowed with every sacred assurance he could give that he had no other territorial demands in Europe and he wanted only to bring these ancient Germans of the Sudetenland back into the German family.

I was in England when Chamberlain returned from Munich and later Cottesburg. I remember how the old man smiled, a trusting smile and said: "This means peace in our time", as he exhibited Hitler's pledge of no more war. Yet I wonder whether Chamberlain's heart did not grow cold as he sat in Munich and heard this strange man rage like a fanatic and later in the week at Cottesburg heard from his own lips enough to imply that he meant to drench the world in blood or conquer it. I have considerable sympathy for Chamberlain's plight, for the policy of appeasement which had destroyed England's backbone and almost her heart, goes back as much to Baldwin and many others.

But it wasn't long after Munich before Hitler occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia without reason or pretense. Then came the deluge - the flood of conquest swept over Europe and stands temporarily halted only by the heroism of those of our race who so love liberty that they will give their children for it and yet keep their faces toward the East with hearts as strong as ever beat in human breast - pleading only with their leaders, "We can take it, give it 'em back."

My countrymen, be not deceived by those who see in this struggle nothing but another European quarrel. This is a dynamic crusade. One of those tumultuous uprisings which a few times in history has convulsed the earth in the throes of its power.

Remember what the Mediterranean satellite said when he unsheathed his dagger? He said that this was a revolution - the "have nots" against the "haves" - totalitarianism against democracy - the virile new states against the decadent old. Hear these words from Hitler:

"Two worlds are in conflict, two philosophies of life * * * * one of these two worlds must break asunder."

It is well known that the Nazi soldiers' marching song is:

"Today we own Europe, tomorrow the whole world".

Listen to these words from Carl Haushofer, one of Hitler's brain-trusters, President of the Geopolitical Institute at Munich:

"A strong determined Army of occupation under dynamic National-Socialist command can be recruited overnight in certain parts of the United States. The job of taking over North America will be comparatively simple."

Goering in 1931:

"Absolutely unsuspecting people, whom we can fool more easily than any other nation. We will defeat Britain in the next war before the Americans realize that their only protection is gone."

Dr. Goebbels himself told us:

"We don't worry about America. No military expedition is needed to subdue the United States and teach her humility."

Hitler gives us at once his purpose and his technique for South America:

"Latin America - we shall create a new Germany there. We have a right to this continent. * * * We require two movements abroad, a loyal and a revolutionary one. Do you think that is so difficult? I think we are capable of it. We should not be here otherwise."

"We shall not land troops like William the Conqueror and gain Brazil by the strength of arms. Our weapons are not visible ones. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the United States so that these gentry will have their hands full with their own affairs. We shall soon have stern troopers in America. * * * We shall have men whom degenerate Yankeeism will not be able to challenge".

We are not going to be drawn into European wars, but we are not going to be foolish enough to sit by and let a would-be conqueror use all of Europe for a springboard from which to destroy us. Neither does America propose to be without moral vitality in world affairs. We do not care where a particular boundary is - what the form of any nation's government - what is the character of their philosophy or culture, but we do care whether or not the world is thrust into anarchy and chaos.

We do care whether international laws and covenants between the nations are mere scraps of paper.

We do care whether some nation or group of nations is trying to make force the only world law.

We do care whether the Christian world is to have paganism thrust down its throat.

We do care whether a nation run amuck can throw us into the center of a mad world which shall lower our standard of living, demoralize our economy, curb our liberties, bend our necks under the burden of terrific debt, for defense, and turn the whole productive power of our people from constructive to destructive purposes.

We do care whether the clock of time is to be turned back to the dark ages and all that civilization has saved from the wreckage of the past consumed in the crucible of lustful desire. In short, as a responsible family in the world community, we do care what kind of a world we live in and our children shall inherit.

Hence today the people of this country and their government are resolved upon two aims.

First, to maintain the national defense, and

Second, to preserve the national integrity.

We have no purpose but peace. We threaten no others - we ask only that they do not threaten us.

We have sent no spies, saboteurs and fifth columnists to any other country - we ask only that they shall not so assault us. We have tried to be a good neighbor to the world, but we would be unworthy of our noble past did we not let men everywhere know that there is something Americans have lived for and there is, if necessary, God forbid it, if all else fails, something Americans will again die for.

We have desperately tried, are trying now with the Lease-lend Bill and otherwise, to keep the screen of the British Navy around the continent of Europe so the monsters there cannot leap at us; to keep the strength of the British people between us and the reach of Europe's dictators. We are trying to buy time that we may more thoroughly prepare our own defense; and we are trying to stand like Americans beside those who stand in the world for what Americans have died for, from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock to this day.

Just as the battle of Trafalgar opened, Lord Nelson ran up the signal "England expects every man to do his duty". Now, my fellow citizens your country expects every man and woman to do his or her duty - not only to do a citizen's duty but to think a citizen's thoughts; to keep up a citizen's courage and to add to the strength of our nation's course, the consciousness that she has, the immeasurable support of a nation's prayers.

October 11, 1940

Twenty-first anniversary banquet of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce
Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois

Honorable Claude Pepper, Democrat, Florida

.I have enjoyed very much this eloquent and very powerful address which has been made by my colleague and friend, Senator Bridges. I think that it is entirely appropriate that all the Republicans of this country, all the people of this country who espouse that faith, and all those who cling to the delusion and the snare that the Republicans at any time in the immediate future are coming back to power (laughter), should be very much indebted to Senator Bridges for the great contributions which he has made to the progress and to the success of the Republican Party. For it is by the untiring energy and the great effort of Senator Bridges that I am able to read from the magazine, "The New Republic," on page 470, which tells this stirring story:

"The Elmer Roper poll for 'Fortune,' so successful in 1936, indicate early in 1940 a Democratic sentiment higher by several points than the normal. His September poll showed 53 per cent in favor of the President and 56 per cent not in favor of Wilkie, and a 53 per cent Democratic popular vote on the basis of recent experience would show only three states, Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire, in the Republican column."

(Laughter and applause)

.the subject that we are suppose to discuss is "What can business expect from government and government from business after November 5th?"

Now, my able friend has referred to the fact that the country and business apparently may expect from the hypothetical administration that he contemplates in power after November 5th a reduction in expenditures. Of course, you know what you are going to get as a matter of fact. There isn't one of you men here who would bet a hundred dollars (I couldn't bet you because I am just a poor politician) with anyone else who had a hundred

dollar as to what is going to be the result of this election, because you all know what that result is going to be. Roosevelt is going to win!

(Applause)

And you know, as a matter of fact, whether Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected or whether Willkie might chance to be elected, that the expenditures of this government are not going to be reduced. They are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased, and your taxes are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased. And while my good friend was making his very fine speech a little while ago about the tax structure, I could not help but say to the gentleman on my left, Mr. Lawrence Stern, whom I have had the privilege of talking to before, that all of you shall probably have occasion to remember that you are paying less taxes now than you will ever pay again in all your lifetimes. I didn't come into the Senate until 1937, and I didn't cause all this, and I am not going to be there indefinitely, but it is in the times and in the trend of events, and you all know that just as well as I do way down in the innermost recesses of your hearts.

Our Republican friends unfortunately are not able to be very particular and very specific when they talk about what expenditures they expect are going to be reduced. Somehow or other they indulge in a lot of generalities but they are never able to discover in what immediate respect these things may be accomplished. So I haven't heard any assurance of what reductions were to be made in the federal expenditure. I can tell you that in 1937 the high mark in federal expenditures under this administration had been reached, until the extraordinary burden of national defense came along, and you wouldn't have had any appreciable increase in federal taxes had not this great effort come along when it did. However, you wouldn't have had any particular reductions in federal taxes had it not come along.

And so all I can tell you is this: that after November 5th, for your generation and mine, you and I and everybody else in all probability is going to have to pay a heavier tax to meet the demands of modern conditions

and (I tremble to say this) to meet the exacting demands of defending this country, this continent and democracy in this mad and chaotic world for the lifetime of the youngest member of this audience.

Relative to the gold and silver policy of this government, I don't know what its policy is going to be in the future, nor do I find anything in the statements of the Republican candidate which would indicate that he is going to see to it that these purchases are stopped. Whether they are stopped or whether they are continued will depend upon conditions as they present themselves to the government. It may be that these stacks of gold that we have in the hills of Kentucky are going to be the medium of a world currency that some day America will be able to set up in a sensible world, after blood and sacrifice and tears have convicted and convinced nations that some such sensible basis is the only safe structure upon which business and, through business, peace may persist in the world.

As to the question of labor relations, it seems strange to me, as I have listened to the speeches of the Republican candidate during the last few weeks--being a member of the Senate Labor Committee and having heard Mr. Lewis and Mr. Green and the President of the National Manufacturers' Association and representatives of the National Labor Relations Board and others comment on these matters in consultation with us--it is rather surprising to me that I haven't heard more direct and specific declarations from Mr. Willkie and the leadership of the Republican Party during the past few weeks upon this subject than those which I have heard mentioned.

If it is such a bad law, if it is so obnoxious and so terribly wrong, then it should be a very simple matter to say, "I favor amendments 1, 4 and 8 of the Smith amendments that were passed by the House of Representatives." But I am a member of that committee and I haven't heard any such proposals on the part of either the Republican membership of that committee or on the part of the Republican candidate or on the part of the leadership of the Republican Party in the Senate.

.if you will check the record of the litigation that has been

engaged in by that Board since it was finally declared constitutional over the resistance of gentlemen of the opposition in point of view, you will find that the number of strikes and the number of litigated cases and the number of frictions have steadily and very positively diminished. You must remember that that was a new field. A high member of the British Government in the Labor Department in London in 1938 said to me: "Senator, you have attempted in about two years to do what it took us half a century to do in Great Britain." And then he made another significant statement apropos of this subject. He said to me: "What we call our ruling classes and our labor unions are the two principal supports of the British Government."

I long to see the time when that can truthfully and fairly be said in this country. I long to see the time when restraint and equilibrium and calmness of approach and both moral and financial responsibility shall exist in the great labor unions of this America. But they have been in their childhood so far as those qualities are concerned, because they haven't been recognized except through the force that they have asserted in times past. And I do believe that with experience they will learn to have a greater responsibility because they will know that it will pay them to have their word taken as their bond when they enter into an agreement with an employer.

It is a physical problem. It hasn't been perfectly handled. It is troublesome for any administration. But the administration in power wrote the law and it has been administered by them for several years now. Its record stands like an open book before the world. It is the subject of controversy in this campaign and in all candor and fairness bids these gentlemen who would so valiantly alter either its personnel, policy or particular, be specific enough to allow the two proposals to be clearly presented to the people of America.

Then there is the matter of the third term. As a matter of fact, the third term issue will have been settled one way or the other after November 5th, so what we say about that now is a matter of pure speculation. You may have an opinion about it. It may be a fixed opinion, it may be a

prejudice, or it may be a conviction in your mind. These gentlemen who are always quoting the father of our country on one subject and another seldom refer to those words of the father of our country to General Lafayette, who said: "I see no appropriate reason for precluding ourselves from the services of any man who in some great emergency is deemed universally most capable of serving the public."

. As to this question of national defense, I am just a little bit surprised to hear that the Republican Party is now going to save the country in the way of national defense. While I belong to a religious faith that allows for death-bed repentance as a good Baptist, I think that such a faith as that politically would be necessary to save our Republican brothers on the record of what they have done for the national defense and for the preparation of this country to defend itself prior to this time.

Way back in 1938 there was a vote on increasing the size of the American Navy. I think that has perhaps something to do with the national defense. The record of those votes is as follows: In the Senate: Republicans 7 "ayes" and 10 "noes"; Democrats, 49 "ayes" and 17 "nays." (These figures are from the records of Congress.) In the House of Representatives: Republicans, 29 "ayes" and 56 "nays"; Democrats, 261 "ayes" and 31 "nays."

Then in 1939 there was a proposal before the Congress to change the Neutrality Act as it then existed in order to prevent this nation from lending armaments to aggressor nations who were trying to make dictatorship the policy and dominating principle of the world, and there was a record made on that. It was then alleged that not only would this stream of armaments which would be released to a country fighting for its life and fighting for the principles which we stand for but that we would be getting our factories in a reparation and production stage so that we could, if necessary, draw upon what they could turn out for our own armament and protection.

Now there was a vote recorded on that too, and on that question the Senate vote on the neutrality revision was as follows: Republicans, 6 "ayes"

and 14 "noes"; (I am not going to embarrass my good friend, Senator Bridges, by asking him how he voted; I presume he voted the way you want him to vote on these issues!) Democrats, 48 "ayes" and 7 "noes." In the House of Representatives the vote on the neutrality revision legislation was as follows: Republicans, 19 "ayes" and 141 "noes"; Democrats 222 "ayes" and 29 "noes." Who held up our factories and prevented them from making it possible for Great Britain and France to get airplanes and guns and equipment and from being ready to turn themselves into the lap of America when the time came for the government to need their help?

Well, we had another vote a little while ago, a vote on the matter of conscription. I think that relates to the national defense. That is about as vital to our national defense as anything else I know of, and there was a record made of the vote taken on that question too. Nor is that ancient history; that is modern history. This occurred since the campaign has been going on; this has taken place since the candidate of the Republican Party has declared himself on this subject; this has occurred since the leader in the House has become the campaign manager of the Republican Party and since the leader in the Senate has become the candidate's running mate.

In the Senate the vote on the matter of conscription was as follows: Republicans, 8 "ayes" and 10 "noes"; Democrats, 50 "ayes" and 17 "noes." In the House the vote was as follows: Republicans, 51 "ayes" and 112 "noes"; Democrats, 211 "ayes" and 33 "noes." Now do you think that the Republican Party is entitled to go before this country and say that it does believe in a trained army and in young men being called into the service of this country? If their votes had been the determining factor, there wouldn't have been a training camp in preparation.

Well, you can go back a little bit. During the period of the last seven and one-half years it has been necessary for this administration to spend (and they have spent) \$600,000,000 for housing and equipping the American Army, and the facts and the record support that statement. In 1928 a speaker at the Republican National Convention boasted of the achievements

of Republicanism by saying that they had reduced the United States Army to the size of a national police force, and that, too, is a matter of record.

Back in the days subsequent to the First World War, when the present President was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and primarily in charge of it, every man in this audience and every fine lady here present this evening knows that we had one of the greatest navies of the world. Talk about being deluded by international promises and beguiled into a display of weakness with respect to other nations, just see what happened several years ago when it cost us \$27,000,000 to sink \$250,000,000's worth of battleships, some of them 35,000 ton battleships, during the period when this sane and sane and normal government was in power under a Republican administration.

Then during the years 1922, '23 and '24 not a keel of a single vessel was laid down by the Republican administration then in power, whereas during the same years Great Britain laid down 11 and the Japanese Empire 61. AND in the year 1929, under another Republican administration, there wasn't a single keel laid down for the American Navy, while at that same period the Japanese government laid down 11 and the British government 31.

And then in 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt found a navy without personnel enough in it to keep afloat the ships which belonged to the navy. It is a matter of record, that they practiced what they called a rotating system. Not having enough sailors to keep all our ships at sea, they would tie up some ships and allow the sailors they had run the rest of them. Then they would bring these ships back, tie them up, switch the sailors over to some of these other ships, and then take these latter vessels out on the water to keep them in condition and in repair. Such was the sad record of our national defense.

Now, I am willing for all of us collectively to take the responsibility for it, but I don't think it is quite fair to charge that to a Democratic administration. Especially since 1933, the American Navy has been built to a point where today it is the proud equal of any afloat, and had it not been for the singular respect that those people on the other side of the ocean have for

the Commander-in-Chief of that Navy, knowing that he could be as tough as that Navy was if occasion demanded him to be, we know not what conflagration might already have been American interests round the world.

Those are a few comments at least which might be made about that particular subject, and now, with full knowledge of an approaching election, let me speak about courage for a few moments on the part of a political party. With an election in prospect a few weeks hence, a Democratic administration has publicly announced that it was going to give every bit of material aid it could possibly give to that heroic and beleaguered people fighting today behind their breastworks of morality and spirit and sentiment as well as arms for the defense of the things we love. Our President said, "I am going to see that they get them." He didn't quibble about it. Nor did the Congress make it any easier for him to say that either, and I have some reason to know about that.

I myself had some reason to feel the scorn of my congressional colleagues when it was proposed that the Congress authorize the President to give aid to Britain. They thought it was a monstrous proposition. Knowing the sentiment of the country demanded such action, the President was thus able to insulate himself from impeachment by the Congress of this nation. Now they have come along because they perceive that public sentiment demands such action, but the initial risks were taken by the man at the top, who didn't get much consolation either spiritually or from the votes cast by the members of Congress.

And then the President recommended and approved a conscription law so that boys will be leaving their homes within a few days, if not within a few hours, before their parents go to the ballot box. Oh, they tell us down there that it is going to wreck us, that little irritations are going to be developed, such as charges of favoritism and one thing and another. One of the senators said on the floor: "I can't imagine a political party so inept as to have a line of boys going to the training camps, pulling from around their necks the clinging arms of devoted parents and loved ones

just before they go to the polls." Well, they are going to do it, and I call that a living courage in the interest of the national defense.

In spite of the fact that they have tried to provoke an incident, in spite of the fact that the dictatorships have formed themselves into a confederacy of loot the like of which has never been seen before in the civilized world, in spite of the fact that they have made a deliberate attempt to divide us in our opinions regarding the tragic international situation now confronting the world, and they have attempted to do this purposely just before a presidential election, in spite of the fact that they will resort to forgery, if not an actual incident of provocation, before this election takes place, American interests have never been humiliated nor neglected in any part of the world. And this President in the face of an election has stood out definitely and positively upon the traditional policy of this nation: to stand up like men in the councils of the world. Had it not been, in my humble opinion, for the stiffness and the toughness which they knew was in his fiber, we would today have been the victim of some act of provocation that would have led immediately to hostilities in vast areas of the world.

Now, my friends, the thing that I apologize for is that all that is trivial. You and I know who have given any thought to what is going on in the world that beginning at the time of the French Revolution there started to sweep across the face of the earth the wings of liberty and freedom. They came from France to America, and from America they spread with renewed vitality to the remotest corners of the earth, until at the end of the First World War one could look upon the geography of the earth and say with historical accuracy, "The world is safe for democracy." And then the winds in the magic way of nature shifted and they started in the other direction--first, in Russia in '17...then Italy in the early '20's...in Germany about the same time...and finally in one European nation after another, until relatively we and the British people stand alone on this earth who dare to champion the principles of democracy.

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It is more than a coincidence that all these hundreds of millions of people have embraced a totalitarian faith—that they gave up their liberty for something, I know not what, that seemed to them more worth having than liberty and freedom. One cannot say as yet whether what happened to the Holy Alliance will likewise happen to Great Britain and America. That is to say, after the Napoleonic wars, the nations who formed the Holy Alliance said: "Now democracy is forever dead. This burst of liberty, fraternity and equality that came from Paris and her Bastille and her zealous people is now buried under the earth." They thought they were right, for they crushed it wherever one timid head presented itself. But all the monarchies in the world, we know now, couldn't have stopped it, no more than King Canute could have stopped the tides which swept over the British Isles in his day or you and I could hold back the winds, because it was in the trend of the times.

Now, I don't know whether we are at present marooned upon a democratic island in the world of morals and of the spirit. I don't know whether we are the back, the wall against which democracy has its back, only to win ultimately and to thrust itself forward in all of its erstwhile splendor. I don't know and I don't suppose any of us knows just what the situation is going to be. But I do know this: that if democracy is ever to live, it is not going to be saved accidentally; it is going to be saved intelligently. And let me say to you businessmen, not in the form of a lecture but in the form of an earnest appeal to you, that all of these little matters which seem to trouble you nowadays, all these little frictions and irritations, are so relatively petty compared to the vast conflagration that is now engulfing most of the world, are so relatively insignificant, that I earnestly hope that you won't be spending as much time on them as you have been doing because whether you like it or not, you aren't going to be able to stop the trend in this country. The people of this nation have found out that they hold the helm of power in their hands. You know, not more than one per cent of the families in the United States make \$10,000 a year or more. So if everybody

who belongs to a chamber of commerce in America voted, it still wouldn't make a great deal of difference in the ratio of American votes. I'm telling you the truth. (Laughter)

What I want you to think about is something you can help. I want you to think about what business may do, first of all, to defend itself. After all, the thing essentially involved in this revolution that is now going on is whether businessmen may be the kind of businessmen you are even under Roosevelt, because these giants of the earth say you cannot. Your very fine president for the coming year told me a little while ago that the head of the Krupp works, the biggest industrial enterprise, I suppose, in Germany, came over here on a visit and he couldn't bring his wife along with him because he couldn't get enough money out of Germany to bring her over here with him, even though he is probably the richest man in that country. He is a business man. He was a great business man and as free at one time as you all are today in this country. But something happened over there. It's business that is going to lay the foundation for world peace.

I wish I could tell you about what your obligations are in South America and in Central America and in other vast areas of the earth. Those people need what you make. They need you to take their raw materials. They need your genius. They need your patents. They need your gold. Above all, they need that spirit of adventure and daring which American businessmen have above every other group of businessmen in the world.

The truth of the matter is (I ventured to tell this to Mr. Stern as I sat near him, and I don't want any of you to be offended by this statement) that some businessmen by their government have to be dealt with just as a fond parent would deal with some children: not let them have what they want because it's not the best thing for them. (Laughter) If we were to let some of the most eminent and honest and sincere businessmen in America write the legislation down there in Washington and fix the tax laws and appoint the men who were to administer them and to take care of all such matters, you would all go broke in less than five years' time--providing you didn't have a revolution

before that period of time ended.

Sometimes I come across some business men who I honestly believe must have royal blood in their veins. I mean by that, that they remind me of one of the early kings of England, King James I of England, King James VI of Scotland, because he believed in the "divine right of kings" and he believed that the people should obey the will of the king and not question him. Now I think there are some businessmen who believe in the "divine right of business" as they interpret it, particularly as they run it or may have an investment in it. They don't believe that anybody should question their actions or motives, not even the 99 per cent of the people of their country who are affected by the way they run their business and the way that business is run.

But to be historically correct perhaps I should say that it was the son of this king, James I of England, James VI of Scotland, who was the first English king to lose his head on a block. And to be a recent historian of accuracy and good faith, perhaps I should also say that there were some of those who were contemporaries of some American businessmen who in 1929 believed in the "divine right of business" who not only lost their own heads but came very near causing a lot of good honest businessmen who didn't believe in the "divine right of business" to lose their heads.

Not only that but we all know now that we perhaps wouldn't have had it any differently even if we could. It has been difficult and a lot of times it has been disturbing and almost always irritating, but after all, you fellows are like the British—you can take it! (Laughter) You know, you men are like soldiers: you wouldn't be enjoying yourselves unless you were "beefing" about something. The best soldiers in the army are the ones who are the most discontented, because they are the fellows whose senses are most easily disturbed and who are rarely satisfied with the position in which they find themselves, with the result that they are ever ready to engage in new activity.

So everything is going to be all right. (Loud laughter) Next year you are going to make more money than you have made in a long, long time. That's a fact. And I'll give you one other reassuring statement: the New Deal is not going to let it be one of these void booms. By which I mean that we are not going to let you make so much money that it will dislocate the business structure and our national economy. In other words, as the President said about his association with World War No. 1: "I learned a lot of things to do and I learned a lot of things not to do." You are not going to have another 1929 boom and another 1932 aftermath, the depression. We are not going to let you do that. You would, if we would let you.

(Laughter) You would be like some of the folks at the time of the Florida boom: you would make yourselves some money and then get out. But some of you are still trying to get out from under the obligations which you assumed then. Unfortunately, you didn't manage to get out at just the right time.

And the same thing would happen to most of you again. So that good old doctor friend of yours up there in Boston, your old friend Franklin (laughter)....You know, as I look out over this crowd of people here, I cannot help but feel that the hygiene is better in Illinois than in any other part of the Union. I never saw so many healthy and bright faces and strong bodies assembled in one place in my life. If I were in some foreign country and were asked to cull out of my imagination some great and typical Americans who had not only a fine physical presence and exactly the right kind of clothes from the best tailors but who possessed that sleek look which comes from a knowledge of all of the Epicurean advantages that this rich state and the vast business of this nation offers, I don't know of anybody whom I would rather mention than this fine group of gentlemen here who are so decoratively and ornamentally a part of this speakers' platform (Laughter and applause)

So, my friends, it is a great thing to be an American, and it is a terribly hard thing to be a politician. After all, you businessmen don't

have to run for the decision that you make. Everything about how or what sort of a decision that you make as president of your company does not have to be submitted to a referendum vote on the part of the community before it is put into effect. And when you hear us sometimes waving our arms and talking about some of these things---well, sometimes we might exaggerate just a little bit. (Loud laughter) You see, I didn't get to go to Dartmouth. I had to go to Harvard. (Laughter) And they used to say up there, "Now---now---now remember, just use plenty of loud enthusiasm, but never let it be loud enough to become vulgar." And sometimes we have to do that in the political arena.

Well, I certainly had no intention of taking up all this time. You have been a generous audience. As a matter of fact, although you can't see it, this is a bullet-proof glass shield that I have in front of me here. (Laughter) I have a half-dozen men around me here, each one of them with a sixshooter in his hand ready to point it at anybody who makes an attempt to take a shot at me through this glass. (Laughter) Really, you have been most kind and I am very happy to be here with you.

Tomorrow and the next week and the next year and during the remainder of our lives this nation is going to be in process of getting a great deal stronger or a great deal weaker. We are going to be the next world empire, the greatest and most powerful nation in the world. You are going to have the ends of the earth open for you so that you may be able to go ahead with the American tradition in a business way. And we are going to make the world into a better world, because American business does lead the way into those remote parts of the earth and establishes there the same principles which have made this rich and happy and (except the businessmen) contented nation.

.....The audience arose and enthusiastically applauded...

Appendix

Dominion of Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Thursday, March 27 (legislative day of
Monday, March 24), 1941*

ADDRESSES BY HON. CLAUDE PEPPER, OF
FLORIDA

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to incorporate in the Appendix of the Record some addresses recently delivered by the junior Senator from Florida in the Dominion of Canada.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[Address before the Empire Parliamentary Association composed of the members of the Senate and House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, Canada, March 18, 1941]

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Senate, Members of the House, it is difficult to say whether a sense of honor or a sense of satisfaction is uppermost in my mind as I have for the first time this great privilege of addressing in this historic chamber you who represent the people of Canada with whom we in the United States have so long enjoyed what one has called the brotherly relation of peace with friction.

When I reflect upon our long and happy associations I am reminded of the country boy in my State of Florida who, when his girl accepted his stammered proposal, was so beside himself that he rushed out of the house into the beautiful moonlight, stretched his hands upward to the kindly moon, and said, "Oh Lord, I ain't got nothin' agin nobody."

While I should have liked my visit to Canada to have been earlier, yet I believe that if I could have chosen a time in my life to visit you, I would prefer this time when I can come fresh from the Congress of the United States and tell you and through you the heroic people of Britain and the stalwart peoples of the British Commonwealth that we will not abandon you in this hour of trial. We free men and women challenge the enslaved to a test of endurance. Let us see who is made of the sterner stuff.

We challenge the dictators in Europe and in the Orient to shake off Winston Churchill, McKenzie King, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the others who speak for free men.

I owe it to you to say that it is the gallant and limitless way in which all of you who are fighting this good fight of faith have thrown yourselves into it which has made our people as determined as they are to help you until it hurts. Before I came here I knew what share of your income you were spending in the cause. I was aware of some of the external evidences of your mighty effort, but I did not know until I came to see it and to feel it just how fixed and determined was the purpose of your people to carry on

until the inevitable day of victory against this devilish attack upon freedom everywhere.

It is like your great past, like the great races to which you belong, to entertain these sentiments. It is like you not to give them up at any cost.

Our people in the United States are not strangers to these same sentiments. You know how common our origins are, how parallel have been our careers, how much alike we are, how these same mountains and plains and lakes and rivers, these great forests, the tides of these oceans, have their counterpart with us. You know how freely and naturally travel and trade and understanding, the niagaras of friendship, have flowed across this almost imaginary line that barely perceptibly divides us from each other.

You know the history of the long years in which we have each worked out by the oceans, by the streams, in the forests, in the fields, the kind of a world which seemed right to us, and how the taproots of our lives reach down deep into the same earthlike traditions which we cherish. Whatever our shortcomings, whatever we may not have done or have done poorly, the effort has been ours. Under God it has been our world here. Under God it shall be our world to the end.

We are not ashamed to say that both you and we prayed that this cup might pass from us. Our lives, our destinies are in the Americas. In nothing that we have done, in nothing that we intend to do, do we propose to lose sight of that first principle of Americanism. Assuredly the most repugnant policy imaginable to the minds of our peoples is to seek involvement in any foreign war. The whole race knows not only how we cherish peace, but what we have done to assure it and to preserve it. Nothing could enough entice us, so allure us by way of gain for selfish purpose, that we would for it spend the life of a single boy in any province or state.

But we are sensible people. We know the delicate equilibrium there is in the world in which we live. We know how the economy, the security, the integrity of the whole world, has become a single pattern. To tear it or break it anywhere weakens the whole and dislocates and disturbs all lives and all nations. We know that we do not and cannot live alone and live as we now live. We must sell to others and buy from others. To buy and sell we must be able to carry our goods and our people along the sea lanes of the world. We know there must be a medium of exchange that will promote rather than clog our commerce. We know we must be able to depend upon men's words and men's bonds to do business—to carry on. We know we must have a satisfying sense of security, to know that we will not be attacked in the night by some powerful enemy. We know that nothing is safe, neither life nor property, if international brigands bent upon loot, stopping at nothing, are allowed to run loose. We know that if force be the criterion of all things among nations, if might be the single arbiter of right, all that we have tediously and painfully built up, all that the sweat and tears and blood of the past have won and kept, is lost. We know that if tyranny gains supremacy over the earth freedom is dead, and our race of men still prefers death to slavery.

In these circumstances, then, what can we do save to say that these cruel men who would destroy all these things upon which we

live cannot and shall not prevail? We are bent upon a single purpose. We shall choke them into impotence. They shall not destroy our world. To that task each of us in his own way and according to his own tradition shall give himself without stint.

How could we if we would restrain the impulse of exultation and joy that rises up within us from the spectacle of what our kind of men and women, boys, and girls are doing in other parts of the world? Let those who scorn what they call the decadence of free men behold what fighting men they are, entrenched behind their homes and altars, their temples, the ramparts of their faith. Let them see how terrible is their wrath when provoked beyond endurance.

No knight was ever braver, more gallant, than those boys who left their classrooms a few months ago and have now saved a world in the clouds. No heroine was ever more noble than those women who have sent their offspring away while they stayed to carry on, to dress the wounds of the injured, to solace the hurt, or those who have saved their bodies that they might throw them as a shield between a devil's bomb and an innocent babe. Such courage no pitiless power can break.

It is a paradox that while one part of this generation has reached the depths of depravity yet another part has soared into the sun.

When we think of the future we turn to the past. I wonder if you remember the letter that a great American, Simon Bolivar, wrote in 1815 to an English gentleman in the English colony of Jamaica, who had given him friendly refuge from the unfavorable fortunes of the revolution which he was leading. In this letter Bolivar said:

"How beautiful it would be for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august congress of representatives of the republics, kingdoms, and empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world."

When he had gained the liberation of his people this great patriot and prophet set out to make real his dream, a Congress of American nations. He issued an invitation to all the free nations of this hemisphere, including the United States. You will recall that an English observer was invited also. This is an excerpt from the note sent to Great Britain:

"The Congress of Panama will bring together representatives from all the governments of America and a diplomatic agent of His Britannic Majesty. This congress seems destined to form the vastest league, the most extraordinary and the strongest which has ever appeared on earth. . . . The human race would give a thousand thanks for this league of salvation, and America and England would receive manifold benefits from it."

This is the significant statement with which the invitation concluded:

"Such ideas are to be found in the minds of some Americans of the highest quality; they wait with impatience for the congress of Panama to initiate this project, which may be the occasion for the consolidation of the union of the new states with the British Empire."

This congress, of course, was ahead of its time, and it failed. What might have been

saved, how many might have been spared had the world embraced the dream of Simon Bolivar only the historian and the Omniscient One can say.

But this concept of Bolivar, thinking of unity in the Americas which Great Britain and the United States had solidly resolved would forever be for Americans, had also sprung out of the fertile mind of Thomas Jefferson. It found fervid echo in the eloquence of Henry Clay. It came forever into reality when James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State of the United States, in 1889 called in Washington the first Pan-American Conference. This first conference laid the foundation and breathed the spirit of the noble edifice which was to grow upon it. Former President Richardo J. Alfaro, of the Republic of Panama, described this first conference in these words:

"No treaties or conventions were signed at this meeting, yet its achievements were great, for it served three transcendent purposes. In the first place it crystallized into action the latent sentiment of pan-Americanism and laid down the foundations of a united America, as dreamed by Bolivar and Clay. In the second place it gave birth to the central organ of continental action, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, which was the forerunner of the present Pan American Union. And last but not least, the conference of 1889 went down in history as the first occasion upon which representatives of the great majority of the continent united in condemning the right of conquest and in proclaiming the principle of compulsory arbitration.

"* * * Pan-Americanism is a structure devoted to peace and prosperity. That structure rests upon the four pillars of independence, equality, justice, and cooperation, and those four pillars were erected in 1889."

Nine further historic conferences since that one in 1889 have built the permanent and effective institution of pan-Americanism. Not only a new spirit but a new relationship has come about among the 21 republics on your southern border. New standards in international affairs not only are spoken of but are observed.

One of those who has taken the mote out of its own eye before complaining about the beam in the eye of its neighbor has been the United States. That country has frankly confessed the error of many of its own ways. It has expressed the principle which perhaps more than any other epitomizes this new spirit—the principle of the good "neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others," uttered by an Elisha worthy of Simon Bolivar's mantle, a friend to man, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the spirit of the new pan-Americanism each nation has reexamined its policy to be sure there was nothing by omission or commission in that policy that would be inconsistent with these new concepts of neighborliness.

At Montevideo in 1933 this policy of the good neighbor found expression in solemn covenants wherein every one of these 21 republics with unshakable determination resolved that no nation in all this continent had a right to interfere with the internal affairs of any other nation, and that the territorial and national integrity of each nation was to be respected by all others as a sacred thing.

At Buenos Aires in 1936 met the first Pan American Conference, dedicated to the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere. There for the first time effective collective action was taken and machinery for collective cooperation set in motion that gave a real as well as a philosophical solidarity to all this vast territory and all these many peoples. It was readily recognized no less enthusiastically by the United States than by any other power that the Monroe Doctrine was not a doctrine

of the United States of America but a doctrine of the Western Hemisphere, which, asserted the right of this hemisphere to be free of European aggression and to develop its own destiny in its own way. The interdependence of all our many nations was recognized in the conclusion of this conference, that a threat to the security of one of our neighbors was a danger to the safety of all our western neighborhood.

In 1938 came the Conference of Lima and its splendid declaration of American principles. Here consultative machinery was more specifically provided for and set in motion. This principle of solidarity among the American republics was becoming one of the vital forces of the world.

Then at Panama in 1939 met the foreign ministers of the pan-American group to meet the challenge of this new menace to our security.

In 1940 at Habana again came together all our 21 republics and further coordinated our common effort, strengthened our common ties and quickened the pace of our cooperation.

These conferences have been but the external appearances of deeper forces which were moving through the minds and hearts of our governments and our quarter of a billion people.

In Washington the great Pan American Building is the seat, not only of the pan-American sentiment, but of an effectively functioning pan-American service. Committees of earnest and able representatives of all these nations are constantly working through the day and the night to improve and to better assure the security, to improve the health, to raise the standard of living, to promote a better exchange of the cultures of all our nations and all our peoples. We stop not at the noncontroversial boundaries, but the common effort enters also into the field of reciprocal helpfulness one to another in the strengthening of one another's economic life.

I may mention what my own country is doing through the Export-Import Bank in furnishing capital and credit to our friends and neighbors which has the double aspect of helping both them and us. This fact alone indicates most significantly a new attitude in the realm of international relations and international finance. Capital is regarded as the instrument of national policy, the vehicle for international progress, and not the exploiting tyrant which in some times past has bent national policy supinely to its will.

The armed forces of no one of the pan-American republics is thought of in relation to the collection of either private or public debts. The good neighbor policy is, of course, bilateral and multilateral. It is mutual and reciprocal in its character. Nevertheless, it is ancient history in the pan-American world that even severe differences in business transactions or policies can be a cause for intervention, much less war.

In the modern pan-American order we no more think of the use of a gun in international business affairs than in private business affairs.

The United States, as you all know, has even removed the former vestiges of the old order, in, for example, our voiding of the Platte Amendment which gave our Nation certain rights in respect to our neighbor Cuba, the revision of our treaty with Panama, which in its original form was thought somewhat to impair the national integrity of our good friends in the Republic of Panama.

In these days when we hear so much of the greed of nations for territory and resources, it is perhaps permissible to add that any suggestions relative to any change in the existing law providing for the independence of the Philippines has come from the Filipinos themselves and not from us.

All these things that I have said simply relate to doings in our neighborhood in which

I knew you were keenly interested. No discussion, of course, of international affairs could leave out of consideration, indeed of emphasis, a system and a sentiment which has given peace over a larger area to more people for a longer time than any other system in history.

What a happy prospect it is to turn our eyes to your great Nation here, to think of the long years of our unbroken friendship, the many ties of interest, understanding, mutual helpfulness, and affection which bind us together with hoops of steel.

You and I know that we could no more get along without each other sentimentally than we could get along without each other economically. What an example to the world we have given in mutual confidence and trust, in working out our differences by honest discussion or fair arbitration, in maintaining the machinery for the adjustment of frictions which inevitably develop among strong peoples, in the removal or the limitation of artificial barriers which impede the natural flow of goods and services across our thin boundary. And last, and most glorious of all, the welding together in insoluble bonds our two Nations for our common defense.

What our President said to you here at Queens College in 1938—that we would not sit idly by and see your fair land made the victim of aggression by any foreign power—was but a natural assurance of what you knew already; and but the same sentiment which your great Prime Minister, whom we so highly esteem, would have expressed in my country had circumstances made it appropriate there. In other words, it is a good idea for nations to do what husbands and wives ought to do—tell each other they love each other, even if each knows it already.

At Ogdensburg, of course, our cooperation began in earnest. Personally, as a legislator, I have the right to hope that our cooperation shall extend far beyond what was said at Ogdensburg; that our effort to build here in this continent an overflowing arsenal of democracy shall be so synchronized that it shall be as much one as are our common wills that democracy shall survive.

Is it too much to hope that the spirit of Simon Bolivar, Henry Clay, and those who have dreamed their dreams, can see this glorious spectacle in which your people and mine join together the two mightiest systems upon the face of the earth, half of all the world's people, more than half of all the world's surface, in a common friendship, common understanding, and a common purpose?

It is no Pax Romana; it is no gigantic slave state; we are not brought together under the yoke of tyranny. Ours is a new kind of empire. It is a new kingdom, a dominion of the spirit which echoes back the hosannas of the angels, "On earth peace, good will toward men."

When we have passed as we shall the crisis in this melody from which the world so bitterly suffers, our next problem shall be to think of a healthy future. Each of us, all of us, must make it his first concern that we shall not make the mistakes we have made in the past. The scales have fallen from many eyes and they no longer see as through a glass darkly. They see clearly the tragedy which has befallen a selfish and a short-sighted policy. We in our country are beginning now to be a little ashamed of ourselves, not of what we did in the World War, but of what we didn't do after that war. We are praying that we shall be big enough and wise enough this time not to try to run away from a world from which there is no escape for any of us. There was a time in your country and mine when it was easy to flee beyond the mountains, beyond the rivers, beyond the plains, from the exacting pressures behind. With both of us that time has largely passed. However we "grunt and sweat," there is no

place now to flee to. We must stay and meet our problems like men.

It is not easy, of course, for your people or mine to come to the consciousness that they are just a family in a busy world community.

We have had so long security here upon our continent that many have come to confuse security with what some called isolation. Even in an earlier day we were not so much isolated that both you and we did not feel the dynamic reverberations of the earth-shaking wars of Europe. The oceans were not so broad that the soldiery of Europe could not reach again and again our own lands and the lands of our neighbors. That was before modern ships, the long-range bomber. Who can say what will be the weapons of tomorrow, when men are talking about the release of the energy of the infinitesimal particles of matter.

But we are come to see in our country that it was not the oceans which gave us our security, but the statesmanship and the courage of our leaders and our people. For over a century because of the happy accord between Great Britain and the United States in laying down and in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, the fleets of those nations have lain like an impenetrable screen across the exits of the Old World and the entrances to the new. We recognize the farsightedness of our Jefferson who saw that the restless Napoleon was not a good neighbor.

Now not only our President but our people have come with rare unanimity and by the democratic process to the solemn resolve that we shall pour our substance out to those heroic men and women who upon any one of the world's fronts is stemming the tide of slavery.

I like to imagine that I see in spite of all its fluctuations some continuity in the sentiment of our people, a persistent adherence to the principles of freedom, independence, and justice. What we gained for ourselves we have many times helped others to gain. We will now help others to keep.

None of us can see over the hill and know just what our path will be beyond the crest, but we know the direction in which we are going. We know the faith which shall move us and guide us, both here and on the other side. We shall not be afraid of sacrifice in peace as we have not feared it in strife. Man's destiny grows fuller. He has hardly begun, even to see it, let alone to reach it. Nothing can stop his onward march.

There are some words with which I should like to close. They are the last words uttered by Woodrow Wilson in the last speech he made in the West before he fell like a brave soldier facing the enemy. As he uttered those words I visualize him in the shining raiment of prophecy. He said:

"Now that the mists have cleared away, I believe that man will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before."

[Address before the Canadian Club of Montreal, Canada, March 21, 1941]

DEMOCRACY IN THE MODERN WORLD

Mr. President, neighbors, and friends of Canada, President Wilson, appearing before the convention which nominated him for the governorship of New Jersey, opened his remarks with these words: "Have you ever experienced the elation of a great emotion?" One could not come, as I am privileged to do today, to address for the first time an audience of neighbors and new friends, friends

which he expects to know and to cherish for a very long time, without experiencing the elation of the great emotion of happiness.

You know, we in North America are friendly people. We like to visit, and it is easy for us to know one another because we have so many things in common. We both have our oceans, our mountain ranges, our plains, our barren lands, our lakes; in the East we have industry and, westerly, agriculture.

We even have the same troubles. We make more, in factory and on farm, than we consume. We live and have our being in a great world from which we buy and to which we sell many things. The streams of world thought and the ebb of world tides wash across both our countries.

We both have politics, good, and in our case, at least on occasion, even bad politics and politicians.

We have the same traditions. We didn't, like Topsy, just grow. We both grew slowly, tediously, even painfully. We together, and many times with mutual helpfulness, turned forests into thriving cities, beautiful villages, and inviting countryside, wildernesses into farms and humming factories. We have laden the backs of our streams with burdens of commerce and harnessed the waters to the dynamos of the modern world.

We have wrought the spirit of our creative peoples into great institutions of inspiration, stability, and permanence. We have developed sentiments which we think of as colored by our own evolution of them—such sentiments as liberty, freedom, responsibility, national and personal dignity, physical, mental, and spiritual integrity.

Now, I guess we are both about grown up.

I remember when I was a little past 11, somehow I got the impression that one did not become morally accountable until he reached the age of 12. I shall never forget what great satisfaction I derived from the escapades I committed in those last months before reaching 12, devilishly immune from accountability for those wrongs of which I was gleefully aware.

After a fashion I had the same experience when I got into politics. Surely, I thought, no one could be held really accountable for what he did when he was still under 40. Last fall I reached that perihelion, and, alas, I am afraid that now I shall have to answer to my constituents in Florida for what I do that they don't like. So you and I and Canada and the United States are now grown up, and we shall have to face this modern world like mature men and nations, and we shall not be able to make excuses either for our failure to understand it or to meet it. Our people and our history will observe only that we either did or did not meet that world as we should.

This modern world presents to the institution of democracy its most supreme challenge. No institution has ever struggled with a world like this because there has never been a world like this. There were never before so many people, and since people make problems, there were never before so many problems. People never lived so intimately before. They were never so interdependent. Their welfare was never so inextricably interwoven. They never were so keenly competitive as they now are. They never had so many things in common. They never had so many reasons to oppose one another for what there is. They never had so many causes to work together to enjoy what there is and to make more.

Obviously, when almost all the world can hear a man speak at the same time, when most of the world knows most of the world's news at almost the same time, when modern transportation has contracted the globe almost to a neighborhood, no part of the world or the race of man does or can live alone. Modern technology has emphasized our interdependence, for from the ends of the earth

come together the elements of our daily lives. Interrupt the streams of raw materials as they move almost like falling waters toward the machines of the world and modern life would stop. Disturb the delicate equilibrium and adjustment of the labor which turns and guides those machines and life slips back at once through the centuries. Affect the delicate mechanism of the exchanges and immediately comes chaos and confusion. Burden the free movement of vital forces with unnatural restrictions and the whole economic machine groans.

Is it possible that fair balance can be kept in this giant constellation by the processes of democracy as you and I know them?

From many parts of the world the answer is an authoritative "No." This is all too vast, too complicated, too delicately balanced, too throbbingly alive to be guided by more than a single mind—steered by more than one hand. In no other way, say they, can there be the timing or the comprehensiveness which will keep it in order. It is a job, they contend, only for especial skill. It requires a particular technique which grows out of nice distinctions and subtle differentiations. It must have, they contend, scientific accuracy and no allowance can be made for human error or frailty. All must be subordinated to the central purpose. The individual must give way to the group. The individual is nothing—the state all, and above the state must be one to say, "I am the state."

Those who believe that and we who believe our way are in mortal struggle which can end only when the stronger and the right shall prevail.

It is the fiercest struggle of history. The whole world is engaged. Some contribute materials, some heroically give both men and materials. Some give their mite, and others, whom inglorious circumstances have made mute, give only their prayers; but all give something which is their stone in the edifice of our effort, bearing their own craftsmen's mark.

If our kind of democracy is to persist we must first make it work in our own nations. Second, make it work in our continent; and third, do our part to make it work in the world. Undoubtedly, to make democracy work in the modern state in this technological age, is the severest test of genius, understanding, and patience. If there is overproduction in the totalitarian state, the adjustment is made by an order. If populations are needed in one place more than another, they are simply moved, body and soul. If there is no money with which to pay them, their labor is forced by a simple decree. If funds are not to be found, currency can be issued, obligations put into circulation by simple steps of inflation, while by mere mandate prices and wages remain stable. Of course, the innocent can be robbed to fill the looters' treasury and the concentration camp or the nameless grave can stifle the remonstrances or the cry of the protestant against any ravage.

With us men and women are still sane. They can speak, assemble, write, and vote. They can stir up a terrible tempest in the political teapot. They have to be explained to as to why you do and why you don't. They have to be told why they don't get something, and if they get something why they didn't get more. They have to vote contributions to the tax gatherer. They have to be compensated for their property or their time. They have something to say as to what kind of work they do, what kind of crops they grow, and where they labor or produce.

And they insist on doing it all in their own way and in their own good time, regardless of whether that is the scientific way or not. Moreover, they must have it not only in circumstances as they want it, but by the particular method they prefer, and in getting

what they want they insist that they will not give up things which may be to some just ideas, but to them are very valuable possessions.

It is clearly apparent that something must enter into the spirit of men, a new kind of willingness to assume a new kind of discipline, before such democracy can really save the modern world as we know it in our homelands.

There are some who think that any discipline is tyrannical. You and I know that the character of the discipline depends upon its source, its authority. If our farmers, because they have an unmarketable excess, see their Congress establish a method to curtail production and to enrich their soil, if two-thirds of them in a fair election in which only farmers participate approve that method and reapprove it each year it is in force, the resulting mandate which carries out that method is not dictatorship, it is democracy.

If we agree that we will pay a minimum wage; that we will not exceed maximum hours of labor; that we will break up monopolies; that we will forbid unfair trade practices; that we will regulate commerce in its flow; that we shall require the observance of private morals in business financing; these are but the evidence of our common will imposed for the common weal. If we plan, think ahead, give and take, we surrender no liberties. We gain independence.

Of course, it is not always easy for one to fit into his or her particular place, however strong the wish to do so. Ability to serve contemplates not only willingness but training and helpful instruction. And there must be an understanding that democracy is a pearl of great price and cannot come cheaply. It must be bought with sacrifice and sometimes with "sweat and tears and blood."

We cannot ask the world to adopt and live by the principles of democracy unless we can show them that we have first made democracy work in our continent. Cooperative democracy in this hemisphere has given peace to more people over a larger area and for a longer time than the world has ever seen before. In this dreary hour, when men have so much to bring despair to their hearts, where is there a picture so inspiring, so reassuring as that which is presented over all these thousands of miles, among all of these 22 nations, among all these different people, speaking their different languages, having their variable origins, their own distinctive characteristics and aspirations?

See them, wedded together in sickness and in health, in peace and in defense, until God doth them part.

Was there ever such neighborhood in the world? It is the very antithesis of the pax romana, the totalitarian state, where unity is achieved by force. With us unity springs from the deeper source, a deep-rooted consciousness of right, justice, interdependence, and awareness that we are not our brother's killer but our brother's keeper.

Here we meet not by summons of the gun; we sign our conventions not under the drawn sword. We come together because we want to work together, and we make our accords because true friendship is in our hearts. Our many differences, our natural frictions, we settle not by command and coercion, but by reasoning together, by give and take, by arbitration.

In all this massive land dividing the oceans we have found no problem—territorial, racial, religious, political, economic, social, or cultural—which would not melt under the radiance of these warm sentiments of mutual respect and affection.

I delight to do honor to a great American, not of our continent, but of our land, Simon Bolivar. You know the story of how this far-seeing patriot wrote a letter in 1815 to an English gentleman in the English colony of Jamaica where he had found a friendly haven

from the vicissitudes of the revolution he was leading. In this letter he said:

"How beautiful it would be for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august congress of representatives of the republics, kingdoms, and empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world."

Having achieved his glorious victory at Ayacucho in 1824 the independence of the Americas was assured. The distinguished prophet of the future set about to realize his dream of a congress of American nations. Invitations were issued to the free nations of the hemisphere, including the United States. An English observer was invited as well. Here are excerpts from the memorandum sent to Great Britain:

"The Congress of Panama will bring together representatives from all the governments of America and a diplomatic agent of His Britannic Majesty. This congress seems destined to form the vastest league, the most extraordinary, and the strongest which has ever appeared on earth. * * * The human race would give a thousand thanks for this league of salvation, and America and England would receive manifold benefits from it."

The invitation concluded with this significant statement:

"Such ideas are to be found in the minds of some Americans of the highest quality; they wait with impatience for the Congress of Panama to initiate this project which may be the occasion for the consolidation of the union of the new states with the British Empire."

This congress was, of course, doomed to failure. It was too far ahead of its time. We will leave it to the historian to reflect upon what the world might have been spared had it then embraced the dream of Simon Bolivar.

But these sentiments, having found happy lodgment in the United States, finally in 1889 resulted in James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State of the United States, calling in Washington the first Pan-American Conference.

The nature of this conference, the foundations it laid for the whole structure of pan-American unity, which has so gloriously grown up since, is well stated by former President Ricardo J. Alfaro, of the Republic of Panama, who said:

"No treaties or conventions were signed at this meeting, yet its achievements were great, for it served three transcendent purposes. In the first place, it crystallized into action the latent sentiment of pan Americanism and laid down the foundations of a united America, as dreamed by Bolivar and Clay. In the second place, it gave birth to the central organ of continental action, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, which was the forerunner of the present Pan American Union. And last, but not least, the conference of 1889 went down in history as the first occasion upon which representatives of the great majority of the continent united in condemning the right of conquest and in proclaiming the principle of compulsory arbitration."

"* * * Pan Americanism is a structure devoted to peace and prosperity. That structure rests upon the four pillars of independence, equality, justice, and cooperation, and those four pillars were erected in 1889."

Since that historic conference there have been nine Pan American conferences, which have molded pan-American relations into an edifice of firmness, effectiveness, and permanence. An entirely new relationship among

the 21 republics on your southern border has, under the impulse of this American spirit, come about. The United States has frankly reversed some of its own policies. It has laid down what it may not be too much to say has become the principle that best expresses this American spirit—the principle of the good "neighbor, who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so respects the rights of others," uttered by a worthy champion of Simon Bolivar's dream, a friend of man, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The United States now is proud of its friendship with the other nations of our world, proud of the fellowship which it enjoys with them, proud of the happy community which we have created with these great Americas, proud of the respect which each accords the others and enjoys for all, proud of the friendship of the smallest as of the largest, and no more designing upon the one than the other. It is a source of immeasurable satisfaction to us that what was once taken as policies of paternalism or maybe aggression are now taken by none except as ties that bind us together for our common defense against a common danger.

But most salutary of all is that out of this new fraternity in the Americas there has come not only sentiments of understanding and friendship but effective, efficient, constantly functioning instrumentalities and agencies for meeting and solving the myriad problems of the workaday world which affect us all. In Washington stands an imposing building which is the seat of pan-American functioning as well as sentiment. Supporting this superstructure of pan-American accord are numerous committees working through the days and the nights to improve the health, the standards of living, the cultural opportunities, the security, may I add the happiness, of a quarter of a billion men, women, and children whom God has blessed with the Americas.

And here, as you and we clasp hands across this almost imaginary border which hardly perceptibly divides us, Simon Bolivar's dream has come to a substantial reality, for which the contact between you and us, the British Commonwealth of Nations, a great and salutary world institution is brought into the comradeship of your neighbors in the Americas. Can the spectacle fail to inspire you?

A major part of the world's surface, the dominant part of the world's people, constituting two gigantic world systems meeting at an unfortified boundary between your country and mine.

How pitiful, how spiritually barren, is the so-called new state by comparison. Here no chains of slavery forged by a tyrant, no throwing of people together into the dungeons of slavery, but more than half the people of the earth saying to one another, "We want to be your friend. We want to work together in peace so that the humblest man, the frailest little child, shall have a fair chance to find a way to his own just destiny."

Is it surprising, then, that we are not afraid, that we are confident, that we defy the monsters who would crush all these fine things in their cruel and lustful grasp, who would scorch our fair lands with their flaming hate?

It gives me no little satisfaction to come fresh from the American Congress, which has laid down in the democratic way the positive policy of our people, which is understood by all—that we shall build an arsenal for democracy the like of which the world has never seen.

It is not enough to have democracy these days in a part of the world. Democracy must and can live only in a healthy environment. The world can no more be half slave and half free than can a nation be. The very nature of each philosophy makes totalitarianism and democracy mutually exclusive. They can no

more live in the same earth than light and darkness can at the same time occupy the same space. The organization, the aims, the very spirit of each is repugnant to the other. Now the struggle is on, the issue joined as to which shall live and which shall die. The first task then is to throw back the beast which leaps at us all, to strangle him into impotence, to destroy his power, to disturb the orderly progress of man upward.

That we shall do, each in his own way, consistently with his own traditions and institutions, but so cooperatively that there shall be no doubt about the unity and the effectiveness of the common effort. And we shall stay at it until the job is done, because it is the history of our people that having taken hold we don't turn loose.

When that job is done in due course, then we shall have to think about what we ought to do to encourage a cooperative peace and progress in the world. Not one of us, I am sure, but what is willing to do his or her part; not one of us has a thought of shirking our fair share of responsibility; not one of us is unwilling to measure fairly and squarely the risk of doing something with the risk of doing nothing.

Whatever form it may take, we know that the pillars of the structure will be the principles of the good neighbor which prevail with us here—"the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others."

In the foundations can be no other supports than willingness to admit the other man's rights while you insist upon your own, earnest recognition of the interdependence of us all, sincere desire to cooperate helpfully with one another, acceptance of the principles of honest discussion or fair arbitration as a method of settling differences, recognition that whatever impairs or obstructs the fullest possible exchange of goods, services, ideas, and inspirations harms all, and, above all, understanding that the most glorious monument that man can build is not a dazzling state but a healthy, busy, happily striving people.

While the sky is dark, while the hearts of men are heavy, and the cries of the anguished echo around the world, those of us who have never lost our faith in man and man's God know that the darkest hour comes just before the dawn and from the fallow ground of suffering have sprung forth the most beautiful specimens of the spirit.

The portals of the future are ajar. They challenge us to open them and through them to enter into the abundance, the security, and the beauty of a better world.

[Address before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Canada, at noon, March 17, 1941; the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Canada, March 19, 1941; and the Canadian Club and the Canadian Women's Club, at Quebec, Canada, March 22, 1941]

SHALL DEMOCRACY MEET THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY?

Mr. Chairman, friends, and neighbors, you can imagine what a thrill and what a joy it is for one who has admired you so much to be able to come to know you—to greet you for the first time. To me this is a significant occasion, because I venture to believe that I am making friends whom I shall long cherish, and I have the stimulating consciousness that I am in the flood of friendship which flows in ever-increasing volume between your country and mine. I know of no happier picture than that of the comradeship and the cordiality of the United States and Canada; not just of the Governments of our two countries, as intimate as they are, but the people themselves, in whatever part of our respective countries they live.

Surely Canada has no better friends than

in my State of Florida, which lies far to our south. Many of your people come to visit with us, and we accept them as one always does when a good neighbor comes to see him. Many of our people, in turn have the privilege of visiting your inviting land and come back again and again for refreshment, recreation, trade, and sometimes residence.

It is easy for us to be friends, of course, for we have learned here in the Americas that the test of virtue is what you are and not where you come from, what race you belong to, what language you speak, or what is your faith. Here in our great countries people readily lose all allegiance save to our own fallow ground. There is something about our mountains, our plains, our rolling rivers, our pulsating lakes, our great forests and wide fields, even the waters from the broad Pacific and the Atlantic which lave our shores, that bind us together with hoops of steel. We are proud to say that we are Americans, first, last, and all the time.

We have out of a common experience developed common traditions and concepts. When men and brave women pull down the forests, clear the fields, open up the wilderness in a new land they become comrades whether they do it north or south of a given line of latitude.

Our forebears came here with a new spirit. They were resolved that there should not only be here something different, but something new. And by newness they meant not only new fields and new homes and new shops; they meant new institutions and particularly a new spirit. They meant to do things in a new way because they had seen how the old way had borne down upon them, its burdens of sadness and sorrow. How it had frustrated the dreams of the multitudes for peace, security, abundance, happiness. They had followed son after father and son after father in the long lines, the unending lines, of those whom jealous conflict had led to an obedient soldier's grave. There was always generation after generation, a tearful mother, a sad wife, who were no less the victims of the old way than those who died.

Hence, here we sought understanding of each other's problems, adjustment in an honorable way of recurring frictions which are the incidents of innumerable contacts between busily striving people. So well have we succeeded that over 5,000 miles of boundary, barely perceptible to us, demark you from us, without a sentinel or a fort, without a thought of fear each of the other. We have through the long years lived the policy which our President promulgated in his first inaugural, the policy of the good neighbor; "the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others."

But we have gone far beyond a neighborly relation which just forbids each to attack the other. We have made the concept of neighborhood an attitude of mutual helpfulness. We not only visit together, we work together in the same spirit in which the pioneers of both our lands built together their homes and churches and schools in the wild wilderness.

Knowing that trade is the lifeblood of our prosperity, we have sought in every way possible to remove or to diminish impediments to its natural flow between us; and our aim, of course, goes far beyond what we have so far been able to achieve. We have set up and propose to maintain a continuous body which shall concern itself not only with the adjustment of questions of boundary and the like but with any other problem the adjustment of which is mutually desirable to promote cordial and profitable contacts and cooperation between us.

And now we are wedded together in the greatest effort of our history, each in his own

way, in accordance with its own tradition and circumstance, to throw back this monster who strikes at us from beyond the seas, who wills to destroy all these fine things we have won and saved from the "sweat, tears, and blood" of the past.

What was said by your great Prime Minister, who holds such high place in our regard, and our President at Ogdenburg, was what our respective peoples, of course, expected them to say. And what has been done to promote the common defense since that time, and what is yet further to be done, is simply a reflection of our determination to stand shoulder to shoulder in this hour of greatest peril. I know that you and I hope and expect that the military aspects of our cooperation will be the least part of it all. We hope as laymen and as citizens that our economies, the productive facilities of our two nations, shall be so molded that they make a common front and an overflowing arsenal against which this sinister enemy cannot stand.

In this coordination which will be another great step in world pioneering, where the money comes from, where the machines are, on which side of a line of latitude they stand, by whom they are operated, is really immaterial. The important thing is that they are soldiers of democracy, who shall together bring victory to our honorable cause.

It is not men with guns, I venture to say, but men and women who man these whirling machines, who shall eventually strangle into impotence these brigands who aim at nothing less than the loot of the world.

It gives me not a little satisfaction to come to you now fresh from the Congress of the United States, which has in the democratic way laid down the forthright policy of the people of the United States. You know that we have resolved to spare no expense, to shirk at no sacrifice to make our country a Niagara of support to those heroic peoples who stand today with indescribable valor in the front lines. You and they can count upon it that we are with you to the end. We have adopted in our hearts those words which were the spirit of Verdun, "They shall not pass."

We hope only that it may be said that our effort is as splendid as yours, for we know that it is no less our cause than your own. This thing is no European war, no boundary dispute, no struggle for trade. It is a world shaking revolution led by the most sinister genius who has appeared to degrade the name of man. It aims to shake from their foundations every institution which we have built in our world, to strangle every dream which has burst from our hearts, to tear asunder the pattern of these lives which we have woven from the sacrifice of our honorable ancestors.

Not law, not justice, not right, is their creed, but—

"The simple plan,

He may take who has the power,

He may keep who can."

They propose not only to take from us what we have gained from our labors but the very liberty which to us is life itself. This devilish Samson, in the agony of his blind hate, is willing to run the risk of his own destruction in order to pull down the temples of our world. All that he preaches, all that he teaches, is the antithesis of what we believe. Where he raises race to hate race, nation to hate nation, creed to hate creed, paganism to hate religion, we have all these years been trying to bring men together in the realm of understanding and in the spirit of tolerance. Instead of setting religion against religion, we have lifted our eyes to the horizon of the world and seen there many honest men and many honest faiths.

One, Harry Romaine, has expressed what he saw in these words:

"At the Muezzin's call for prayer,
The kneeling faithful thronged the square,
And on Pushkara's lofty height
The dark priest chanted Brahma's might.
Amid a monastery's weeds
An old Franciscan told his beads;
While to the synagogue there came
A Jew to praise Jehovah's name.
The one great God looked down and smiled
And counted each His loving child:
For Turk and Brahman, monk and Jew
Had reached Him through the gods they knew."

We have shown the world that men do not have to speak the same language, belong to the same race, look or dress alike, to respect one another and to live together in peace and brotherhood.

What a discouraging spectacle it is when there was so much to indicate the race's progress toward peace and understanding, one part with another, to have these jungle forces to rear their ugly heads across our path.

Here in Canada two great races have found friendship and accord. In my country many races from many lands have become one people. Here in this continent even nations have come to be members of a happy neighborhood.

I like to let memory run back to Simon Bolivar, a great American, who held up first in a letter to an English gentleman in Jamaica who had given his weary body and mind refuge in 1815, the dream of a happy family of American nations living in cordial and free intimacy with another neighborhood, the British nations. What romance there is in seeing this dream echoed and reechoed in the eloquence of patriots and prophets of our lands and finally coming into reality in 1889 in the first Pan American Congress called by one of your closest neighbors, James G. Blaine, of Maine, then Secretary of State of the United States.

You know that since that eventful congress there have been nine additional congresses of the 21 American republics lying beyond your southern border. Now, the world knows that pan Americanism is one of the most vital forces in the affairs of men. Through it there has come about a new relationship, a new spirit throughout these many nations, these many people, stretching over these many thousands of miles, permeating many races, bringing together men of many origins.

This system, be it known, has given peace and tranquillity to more people, over a longer period of time, throughout a larger area, than has ever been seen in the world before. It has not only established the principles of the good neighbor, of equality, justice, honorable dealing, one nation with another, but it has been the means of these 21 republics actually setting up the functioning machinery of cooperation.

This cooperation covers the whole field of our relationships. It is working for our common defense. It is strengthening our several economies. It is promoting better understanding of one another's language, culture, and aspirations. What it means is that what the world has known as Americanism is now not confined to any segment of these great continents of ours, but to the whole area from Arctic to Antarctic.

I include the people of Canada, of course, when I speak of these American sentiments, because what has now grown up, the principles which are now cherished among us and our neighbors to the south, some geographically remote from us, have been from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary the sentiments between my country and yours.

Have you realized what it means for the people of Canada and the United States to be joined together in friendship; have you realized that through us across this thin

boundary line come together the two greatest political systems in all the world, in peace, understanding, good will, and now in common unshakable resolve?

What could be so comforting to him who has flashes of fear from all these horrible things that are now going on in the world, as to realize that the mightiest assault of history has not only left these two systems, the British Commonwealth and pan-America, unshaken, but stronger in their unity than they have ever been, both introsystem and intersystem. It does not seem to us that there are insurmountable barriers to the spread of the sentiments which have made up these systems to other nations and other peoples of like mind and heart.

Our first task, of course, is to chain the international culprits to the stocks, to shut them in the prison walls of impotence, to take the dangerous weapons from their hands; then men of good will may lay down their arms and sense the inexpressible satisfactions of peace.

Then will be the time for men to plan their peace. Not only to cherish it but to nurture it, so that it shall grow from a frail plant to a giant, unshakable tree.

You and I know how we have flung away opportunities to save the peace in the past. You will understand me, I know, when I say that I know how culpable my own country has been; that our regret is not what we did in the last war but what we did not do when the storm of that struggle had passed. We have not committed the only error, either of omission or commission, which has been committed. We are not alone at fault. Some of our leaders have not been the only ones who did not see.

But when the mischief has been undone again the test of the sincerity of our repentance will be what use we make of future opportunities.

What is there to prevent the application of the principles of pan-Americanism to the wide world—to other hemispheres as well as our own? It may or may not be too soon, even when peace is with us again, to set up the superstate or a proven form of world organism, but it will certainly not be too soon for the representatives of all the nations of the earth, great and small, black and white, yellow and brown, to establish the habit of meeting together, of talking about common problems, of setting up the machinery of cooperation, in meeting those things that threaten us all—disease, crime, poor food, poor shelter, poor working conditions—to work out the many noncontroversial ways in which we may help one another, all may help each.

I will not believe that any one of the British Commonwealth or of the pan-American republics would object to such an effort and would withhold its honest cooperation from such an aim.

There has never been such an opportunity as there will be when this outbreak of outlawry shall again be suppressed; there has never been the intimacy among the peoples of the world there now is, physically, intellectually, spiritually. A man now speaks and the world hears him, writes and the world reads him, thinks and the world thinks with him. If there was ever any doubt that any of us was not an integral part of this great world organism, that doubt has passed away. We move in the rapidly flowing stream of life all along together, whether we want it or not, whether we know it or not. If we would guide our own course, we must guide the course of it all, for where they go, we go, and where we go, all go.

Destiny has chosen your people and mine to have an honorable part in our time. At each stage in our history we have seen the expanding frontier. First it crossed the mountains, then the rivers and the plains. It stopped not at the mountains again.

Finally it reached the moving waters of the Pacific. Since we have seen it stretch to the north and to the south. It moves in its irresistible march across yet other rivers, other plains, more mountain ranges, until it passes the torrid lands of the Equator and finally reaches the cold seas of the Antarctic. Now it has changed direction, but it moves on, for we have come to see that frontiers are not geographic but mental and spiritual.

But those who shall break the new ground as the new pioneers must have the intrepid spirit of the old. They must be unafraid, strong, and have in their minds no thought except forward, ever forward.

The fascinating adventure of this future reaches out its hand to us. Under the leadership of Winston Churchill, McKenzie King, and Franklin D. Roosevelt we shall take that hand, and in the words of Woodrow Wilson, who fell leading the hope of an earlier day, "it shall lead us, and through us, the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before."

Presentation of State Flag of Wisconsin at Independence Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 27 (legislative day of
Monday, March 24), 1941

ADDRESS BY HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
OF WISCONSIN

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on March 24, 1941, it was my privilege to present the State flag of Wisconsin for inclusion in the permanent display of State flags in Independence Hall.

The flag was the gift of the Wisconsin Society of the Sons of the American Revolution as an expression of honor and reverence for the Revolutionary War soldiers buried in Wisconsin.

It was a great honor to present the flag of my State to the Mayor of Philadelphia for the collection in Independence Hall, because I believe that in these troubled times particularly the presentation of this flag may, in a sense, symbolize our national unity.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this very brief presentation speech inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, my pleasure in being permitted to be here with you today is tempered only by a distinct regret that the late Mrs. George Horace Lorimer, who gave so unsparingly of her time and thought to the creation of this "trooping of the State colors" in Independence Hall, is not with us. She was one of the truly great patriotic women of our time.

At the outset of this ceremony I should like to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to this outstanding patriot for her fervent interest and for her work in arranging for the display of the State flags. In a real sense this proceeding today is a memorial to her.

PRESERVATION COPY

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA ON THE
COLUMBIA NETWORK FROM WASHINGTON, D.C. AT 10:15 PM
FEBRUARY 20, 1941

SUBJECT: AMERICA'S LAST CLEAR CHANCE

My fellow countrymen, there is in the law a famous doctrine called "The Last Clear Chance". This means that in certain cases the law fixes legal responsibility, say for an automobile accident, upon the party who had the last clear chance to avoid the injury done, and failed to do so. The Lease-Lend Bill now pending before the Senate and nearing passage, happily, could well be described as America's last clear chance to keep war out of the Americas.

Secretary Stimson, in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in response to a question I asked as to whether this were not our alternative to having this war strike us, used the homely but expressive phrase: "It's the last call for lunch, it seems to me".

The American people do not have to be told any more about the kind of a war this is; about what the objectives of the dictators are; about whether we are menaced by their threats, or in the line of their conquest. For the American people already know these things as clearly and have pondered them as deeply as I. The polls of American opinion, the evidences of sentiment which come to Washington in all the myriad modern ways, leave no doubt in our mind as to what the decision of the American people is about this struggle, and the degree to which we are affected by it.

With a patriotic singleness of purpose, our people have made up their minds that the heroic British nation and British Navy are the iron bars which alone keep the dictatorial beasts from leaping at us from the continent of Europe, with the collusion and the collaboration of the lustful and last-hungry empires of the rising sun. We know that even now, this minute, the axis powers in Europe and Asia are set for the spring, their muscles tense, their green eyes intensely watching for the psychological moment to make a universal assault upon our world frontiers.

Imaginative writers many times have contemplated some ultimate day when the hundreds of millions of the yellow men would pour down upon the white. History records that dictators out of the East in days past, rode their ponies as far as Central Europe and that more than once the pagan has almost established his mastery over the Western world. But this is the first time in history when the powerful nations of the non-English speaking world, occident and orient, have thrown their evil lot together to conquer the English speaking people of the earth. Without quite being aware of it, I am afraid, the English speaking world now stands with its back to the wall against a hostile non-English speaking world.

We are no match in a land-war for our enemies. The geographical distribution of the English speaking peoples is such that the only way the enemy can reach us is by obtaining the mastery of the seas. Only, therefore, upon the maintenance of our supremacy on the oceans can we remain secure, can we be safe against their assault. Only by the maintenance of our supremacy upon the seas can we remain world powers, keeping open the sea lanes of world trade and retaining our contact with one another.

Our's is strategically both a defensive and an offensive position. We want no world territory. We aim at the conquest of no other land or people. We do not want more ground than we have. We do not seek a single resource, however strategic or critical it may be, save in the ordinary and honorable commercial way. We would not if we could, therefore, attack any other country or join issue with any other land power for the mastery of their soil, but we do expect also to be let alone in our lands. We expect others to do unto us as they would have us do unto them. In a military sense, then the world knows that our only purpose is to act defensively - to save ourselves from any enemy who would come to take our homes away from us.

But in a peaceful sense the logic of our position requires an affirmative strategy. The whole English speaking world is supported upon the basis of a world-wide relationship. We trade with every country and all trade with us. We draw our materials, strategic and critical from the ends of the earth and we open up our storehouses in fair exchange with the wide world.

In order to maintain this position, therefore, the English speaking world must keep open the trade routes upon the seas. We must keep the highwayman and brigand from closing those highways, or levying tribute upon the travellers, like the highwaymen or the pirates of the past. Moreover, the ports of the world and the markets of the world must not be closed to us. There must be a fair and free opportunity for men to do business with us and for us to do business with the world upon satisfactory terms. There must be, therefore, a medium in which our world business may be carried on and the kind of a world in which honest trade may live. This contemplates, of course, respect for obligation and the pledged word, and the game of business being carried on without either party packing a gun or having a stiletto in his sleeve.

Furthermore, our kind of a world of necessity contemplates for the whole race a free play of ideas, freedom of the mind and an international science and culture so that each individual or nation shall have its part in moving forward the pags of human progress.

That kind of a world is to the English speaking people the very oxygen of life. We cannot be what we are and live in a different world.

In a peculiar and a very real sense, therefore, the life of the English speaking world trembles under the most severe assault in its whole history.

The Lease-Lend Bill is but a part of our national defense. It contemplates the preservation of the most strategic frontiers of the English speaking world by the maintenance of the British nation and the British Navy. The integrity of both are imperatively essential to the continuity of the English speaking world as we now know it. They are the very right arm of our way of life in the world. We cannot alone keep safe our frontiers even our own, keep open the sea lanes of world trade, determine the character of world currency and commerce and the standards of world morality, assure any possibility of a world culture.

As a matter, therefore, of the strictest national security, upon the age old principle of self defense, we are resolved to put every possible weapon in the hands of our heroic brethern of the English speaking world; to give them all possible moral support; to strengthen the sinews of their resistance in every way within the genius and enterprises of our own power. We have chosen this bill as the method by which that shall be accomplished.

The Congress lays down the policy and the President executes that policy. The details - the manner in which British purchases are coordinated with our own acquisitions; the circumstances under which our yards become places of repair for British ships; the instances which require the communication of secret information, which is a necessary part of certain weapons we may sell; the terms and the conditions upon which the British may buy and the character and quantity of the consideration to be paid by them; when conditions may require that we let them have some of our own accumulated materials -- all these are of course put in the only hands in which they could be handled - the hands of the President.

But the policy remains in the hands of the congress where it should be. It is the Congress which confers the powers granted by the bill. It is the Congress which by the clear provisions of the bill may take them back by a simple majority vote at anytime. It is the Congress which limits the quantity of materials on hand of which the President may dispose and appropriates every dollar that may make possible any new materials to be sold and every penny of any contract for materials into which the President may enter.

To appease the critics and the skeptical we have even expressly stated what everyone knew anyhow, that the bill conferred no new power upon the President to convoy our ships and gave no authority for American merchant vessels to enter zones of warfare. And as a further concession the bill expressly recites what everyone knows would have happened anyway, that before the President disposes of any materials we have on hand he must consult with the Chief of Staff of the Army or the Chief of Operations of the Navy or both.

Where then is this dangerous weakening of our own defense that some feign to see? For every student of modern warfare knows that it is not what a nation has on hand that so much determines its strength in materials as what its industrial system is geared to produce. Long ago when we proposed to lift the Arms Embargo some said that that would weaken our own defense, but we know that factories established with allied funds, the industries brought into high productive efficiency with allied purchases have given us a flow of materials available at any time for our own use, partially or completely, which immeasurably magnifies our strength.

Of course, weapons are most needed at the front, which is under the most severe attack. So long as the heroic British air force and the British Navy live in their virile strength, Hitler is too much occupied in Europe to be able to do much about us. But let them fall, or what is possible in this queer world, let them be added to the strength against us and all that we have let them have, all that we possess, and all that we could make would not begin to be enough.

Where is this fancied dictatorship, when the Congress holds the reins of the power it has conferred, while the President carries the load like a willing horse? What executive has ever achieved tyranny when the people's representatives held the purse strings for every dollar spent? Of course, there are some who think that if a free people become strong they have lost their freedom. I venture to say that on the contrary in this day only by becoming strong can a free people retain their freedom.

In the world war, in the Civil War, in every great emergency we have ever had, the Congress conferred upon the executive the power necessary to meet the emergency, and when the emergency passed, the Congress and the people reclaimed the power without the loss of a single civil liberty.

It is a bad time for democracy to lose confidence in itself and to become suspicious of its own prerogatives. Never more than now did conditions demand that democracy clear its decks for action - bold, intelligent, effective action. The dictators have no division in their strength, no disunity in their attack. A free people must not be coerced into unity and dragged into compliance. They must come eagerly together in common council and in common concert, chart their course, charge their leaders, coordinate their efforts and so build a single spirit of unity and resistance that E Pluribus Unum becomes a fact and not a slogan.

In a new spirit let us hasten on together like a well disciplined athlete to our place in the hardpressed ranks of free men.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Time to Get Tough With the Dictators

SPEECH
OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 6, 1941

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, a week ago today I stood at the Hermitage and gazed upon the tomb of Andrew Jackson. I walked over the spacious grounds where that brave man and his good wife had walked. I saw the slippers which had carried his restless feet. I saw the garment which had been wrapped around him in the last days of his life, and I saw the bed upon which he breathed his last. I could not come within the inspiring atmosphere of the life and the tomb of Andrew Jackson in this moment of crisis facing the country which he loved and for which he so often and so valorously offered his life without gaining some impression as to what Andrew Jackson would say to his beloved country in this sad hour.

If there was anything distinctive about the character of Andrew Jackson it was the quality of positiveness and certainty that grew out of an unequivocal conviction. If there was anything he scorned, it was evasion and indirectness. If there was anything that marked Andrew Jackson the man, it was the manliness of all that he did. Therefore when this Nation is the last citadel of democracy standing in the world, and when the chief assault is not now in the Balkans, or even at the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or Suez, but upon the ramparts of American public opinion, it is well that we consider what America shall think and do in this troubled time.

I hope the Senate will not misunderstand me if I advert to the fact that about 10 months ago, on the sad day when the Republic of France fell, I ventured to make some comment in the Senate and to propose what I thought might be regarded as a constructive program containing seven points, which were:

First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America;

Second. Universal defense service, so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense;

Third. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations,

and statutes, including Army, Navy, and departmental seniority regulations, which, in his judgment, interfered with the maximum of the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials;

Fourth. Confer upon the President power to suspend the present debt limitation if in his judgment such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program;

Fifth. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which, in his judgment, at this time constitute America's first line of defense;

Sixth. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and the adoption of a defense budget and a tax program adequate for the national defense; and

Seventh. Confer upon the President the power to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would, in his opinion, jeopardize the defense program.

Concluding those seven points was the reservation: These powers to last for the duration of the emergency only.

Mr. President, in the 10 months which have elapsed since those utterances were made here in this body the world has been made over. Those sinister forces which some thought had come to their culmination in that period 10 months ago have now grown even stronger, and they threaten even a larger area than that which was within the scope and compass of their thought then. Where their strategy at that time was Europe-wide, it has now become the grandest strategy ever conceived in the imagination of mortal man; it is as wide as the circumference of the globe itself; it touches every crucial point upon the face of the earth.

We know, of course, that now the Balkans lie supinely beneath the tyrant's heel; we know also that his army stands poised to strike at the Dardanelles, to take Gibraltar, and perhaps the Suez, almost at will, or within a relatively short time, and maybe possibly after a brief struggle. His power stretches even beyond that, for there is enough to convince any observer that there has been a solemn compact between Japan and Germany, and that, for the first time, the occidental and the oriental conquerors have covenanted to meet in India and bring into cohesion their old world-wide conquest.

A few days ago another significant event occurred.

The Foreign Minister of the Japanese Empire came on a bargaining tour, pledging his troth to the highest and best bidder. Consequently, the Japanese renewed their ties of affection and fidelity not only to the Axis Powers, which they joined largely to coerce and threaten the United States of America, but they have added now into their orbit another force that for a time poised, we thought, upon a course of opposition to the Axis. I refer to the Russia of Stalin.

I have had a feeling since the beginning of this controversy that, since national policy is determined by national interest, there would come a time when Russia would move definitely into the orbit of the powers opposing the Axis. I think there has been great shortsightedness on the part, first, of Britain, and then on the part of the United States of America in dealing with Russia. I think, if we had given greater assurance of strength to those ranks opposing the Axis, Russia would have been, perhaps, in a position to put up a little stronger front on their own part.

I venture to believe that an alternative was put to Russia when this war began: "Will you take a part of the loot of Poland or will you fight?" They very naturally said, "We will take a part of the loot and not fight." And when France was crushed an alternative proposal was again put to them: "Will you take a part of the loot of the Balkans or will you fight?" Again, seeing that England was hard pressed to survive and incapable of giving any aid, seeing that the policy of this country was still uncertain and equivocal, seeing that there was no ally in the Balkans of sufficient power to give them appreciable strength, again they said, not being entirely wedded to democracy, anyhow, "We will take part of the loot and still not fight." I think probably that the alternative is again being put to them: "Will you share the occupancy of the Dardanelles? Will you take part of the Near East? Will you carve up the Old World with us and take a share? Or will you fight?" And again without strength on the horizon apparently great enough to give them assurance of being able to stand out, they took the easy course, the way of least resistance, and said, "We will take the loot and still not fight."

How they salve their conscience, how they appease their judgment against the fateful day when they will have to answer to this Hitler who now breaks off little chunks of the earth and drops them into their supine lap, is a matter of their strategy and destiny, and not of ours.

But now we have seen not just the Axis—Germany, Italy, and Japan—but we have seen beyond any question of a doubt that Russia has so much moved into the sphere of that constellation that she has even repudiated the sentiments of friendliness toward the opposing cause that she previously uttered.

We find the culmination of the whole scheme in the recent utterances of the Japanese foreign office, as given by one of their authoritative newspapers, as to what their aims are for a peace with the world. They say, of course, that our own defenses must be weakened; that we must reduce Hawaii to a naval base of relative impotence. They say that we and Britain must reduce the strength of our naval forces until they do not exceed those of the Axis. They say that the Monroe Doctrine shall be abrogated and that North America shall no longer claim the power to influence the destiny and the conduct of South America. Of course, they contemplate that Britain shall retreat from the east and from the Mediterranean and from the other points of advantage which the British hold upon the face of the globe. In other words, they lay down the ultimatum, "Retreat. Retreat. Retreat to your own shrinking sphere, or we will level at you the dastardly methods with which we have so gloriously succeeded in the months and the years past; and eventually you, too, shall crumble beneath this mighty effort."

And then we see Herr Hitler making a report to his Reichstag, which he calls, with sardonic hypocrisy, an elected body; and so he tells them that "the Reich shall live for a thousand years. There is no coalition possible upon the face of the earth that can stand against us." So does it appear, looking over the horizon that confronts the Fuhrer as he sits today, perhaps, upon his Olympian heights. As he stands where the brave Leonidas's men died and gloats over Thermopylae, which he has been able to conquer more gloriously than any tyrant of the past. It may be he will yet have the effrontery to stand on the Acropolis and try to claim for himself the glory of ancient Greece with the power of modern Germany. So this cruel pagan looks out upon the face of the earth and threatens all that comes within his sphere.

The question presents itself, Mr. President, to us, How much longer shall we wait to take the initiative away from the dictators? How many more miles shall we retreat? What other hiding places shall we seek? What new timidity shall clothe our efforts? What further uncertainty and doubt shall characterize our national policy?

Mr. President, how many sheep does a sheep-killing dog have to kill before he is branded as a sheep-killing dog? How many more nations besides the 15 he has already destroyed does Herr Hitler have to take to become the sheep-killing dog of the earth, to be destroyed like that dog which has castigated himself as unfit to live?

The question naturally presents itself to us, When shall we see enough to rouse us from our lethargy, and to make America for once take an affirmative and a

positive course that will at last take the initiative away from these braggarts of the tyrannical world?

If modern war has proved anything, it has proved that the advantage lies with the party which takes and presses the initiative; yet in no case have we ventured to assume the initiative. We prefer to sit back here and make our materials, to let the whirl of our factories be indicative of our national effort, and then, fearing to venture upon the high seas against an assassin's weapon, let them go to a useless grave and destination. We prefer to see the world points of advantage seized, from which aggressors can leap at our throat, to wait until they are already there before we attempt to dislodge them or even to become concerned about their presence and the threat they make there.

So, Mr. President, I want to make, if I may, today a few more affirmative proposals.

In the first place, I believe the time has come for action on the home front. I first suggest a declaration by the President and the approval by the Congress of a state of national emergency. If we do not face a national emergency today, when have we ever done so in our history? What Senator, what citizen, denies, down in the secret recesses of his heart, that his country faces one of the greatest emergencies of all its history? Who is there in this Congress who is not troubled in his consciousness by what lies ahead? And yet, somehow or other, we have not invoked—we will not invoke—the organized power of our Nation in the most efficient and effective form.

Mr. President, I will say now to those who might accuse me that I speak not of the usurpation of power or prerogative by the President. I speak of a partnership in cooperation between the people's President and the people's Congress. I propose that we share with him both the initiative and the responsibility for the program that is desirable—yea, imperative—for the Nation. Let it be understood, then, that I am not trying, in a time when democracy is so sorely pressed, to destroy or emasculate the power of the people's Congress. I suggest only that the Congress step up boldly and bravely to the front line of responsibility, and, taking her President by the hand, say, "Let us march forward in the democratic way to the preservation of democratic freedom."

In a state of emergency it is obvious, of course, what advantage would result to the Government, what response would come magically from the people to such a course. Then there would be no more of these little dilly-dallings such as occurred in the coal strike a bit ago. I was told by an authentic source that a good part of the argument in connection with efforts to settle that strike was as to whether the meeting should be held in Washington or in New York. What a commentary it is that at a time when the destiny of the race trembles upon the brink of disaster, responsible employees and responsible employers are stopping and slowing down the wheels of a na-

tion's effort because they dare to quibble about whether they will meet in Washington or in New York. It is a disgrace to the democratic concept that men of responsibility dare so to jeopardize, for personal advantage, a people's security. In a state of emergency I venture to say that no group of employees or employers would dare so to trespass upon the indulgent patience of their fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I advocate the full mobilization of the material, mental, and spiritual forces of the Nation. I believe even now we are only partially aroused. It is not possible to sense the tempo of the national effort without the disturbing consciousness that it has not yet come to vibrate in the way it should be expected to by an imperiled people. I do not pause to attach responsibility upon any legislative or executive group, or upon the people at large. I speak of the necessity for the future, and beg all to subscribe to the necessity of this affirmative course.

Every day people come to my office and say, "I am trying to get an invention observed in one of the departments, and I cannot get it looked into or seriously regarded." I do not know what the facts are, but I do know that it has been characteristic of the armed services, from the time with which I am familiar, to be slow to change, slow to take on innovations, slow to adopt a new method. By virtue of that very fact has the devilish genius of Hitler been able to make such a unique contribution to the strength, and, may I say, the magic might of German arms, in all of their cruel significance.

Who here is impregnating our services with a determination to make our machine not only in quantity equal to what the world can turn out, but in quality the superior of all? We have imitated the Germans in this and imitated the Germans in that, and followed their example in yet another course. I want to see someone begin to observe American genius manifested in American arms. Yet I am very much afraid that the casual inventor frequently finds a closed door when he goes to our services in this country. It looks sometimes as if they preferred to do things in the old way, in the way which they understand.

Mr. President, I happen to be a member of the bar, and I know the reluctance of my profession to take on new apparel, to enlarge its concepts to meet modern conditions. I will say to the credit of the laymen of America that they have immeasurably helped our profession by the scrutiny and the prodding they have applied to it. I want to see the same thing done by some competent agency in the Federal Government.

I know, of course, that we have an Inventors' Council. I know Mr. Kettering is a member of it. But I also have a feeling that they also too often regard these fellows who come with inventions or the results of research as just interlopers who want to take a part of their time with their crazy ideas.

I also referred to the mental resources of America. I am not altogether happy at the parade of the dollar-a-year men I have seen flocking to Washington. Many

of them are of great and unquestioned patriotism and ability, but I want to see a draft of brains—the brains of America—chosen wherever they may be found, and called to duty and service. I do not believe that so far the best brains of America have been mobilized to serve the Nation in this, the greatest crisis of our time.

I spoke of the spirit, of course, because without a mobilization of the spirit of our people we can take no hope of success. In his utterances on Sunday Hitler emphasized that in spirit no nation could match the people of his tyrannical Reich. Surely there is enough in the cause of democracy to make it easy to mobilize the spirit of the American people.

Why I do say the spirit? Because, Mr. President, I want to see formed in this Nation one single irresistible resolve—that freedom shall live and last upon the face of the earth. I want to see a sentiment which brooks no doubt about it, will allow no dispute, equivocation, or uncertainty; such majesty of mobilization in the realm of the spirit that nothing can stand against it in its onward march.

I think of a man who has enjoyed the highest esteem of this country, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh. Let me ask my fellow Senators and the people of America, which Lindbergh do they choose to follow, the Lindbergh of 1927, the man who dared do what none could think possible, or the Lindbergh who is the epitome of appeasement and defeatism in the year 1941? I honor Colonel Lindbergh—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will pardon me—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator was asking a question. Does he want it answered or not? If the Senator declines to yield, that is all right. I will answer the question in my own time.

Mr. PEPPER. I say, Mr. President, that I do honor to the illustrious name of that great man; but if the American people are presented two phases of his career with respect to which they are called upon to make a choice, I prefer to follow the "eagle" of 1927, who soared through skies that were trackless, when no one was there to catch his falling plane or body. Into the nakedness of the dark night he went, alone and unaccompanied save by the spirit of an irresistible purpose; and he landed at Le Bourget field. If I have to choose, therefore, which Lindbergh I will follow, give me the Lindbergh who flew the Atlantic, not the Lindbergh who counsels his countrymen that the cause is already lost, even without a struggle.

If I have to choose in the Napoleonic life, give me the young man at Arcola, and at Lodi, who went forward in the face of the enemy's hail of bullets, and not the shrinking man at Waterloo. So, not withholding honor to an illustrious patriot or citizen, I think the American people, in the mobilization of their spirit, are entitled to know which heroes they follow.

I again think of old Andrew Jackson, and I remember the most dramatic

statement I think I ever heard of falling from the tongue of man, which was attributed to him. My colleagues will remember that after his duel with Dickinson, when he stood and let Dickinson shoot at him first, he said, "Even if he had shot me through the brain, I still would have killed him." That is the kind of resolve I say should be America's.

How would these defeatists have assessed the chances of the Colonies at Valley Forge? What enthusiasm would the defeat of our armies have aroused time after time in the long and doubtful conflict? But in George Washington it was not so much skill of hand, glorious as it was, but the deep, irresistible purpose that was reflected from his indomitable character. George Washington was the American Revolution, because no man could bring the curtain of doubt over his determination to win the battle for the freedom of America.

I ask those who say, "the cause is lost already, let us grip in appeasement and friendship the bloody hand of Hitler, because that is the practical thing to do," when have men so stooped that they live by the rule of what is the practical thing to do?

Take out of any man in this body the resolve to mount to standards higher than he has ever reached and he would be worthy of death. So long as life lasts, men hope to go forward and upward in their course—to dream dreams—and eventually to soar beyond the summit of the highest clouds, over an Olympus that even Hitler cannot stain with his dastardly touch.

Mr. President, I defy any man justly to describe the psychology of America, the spirit of this Nation, as one of defeatism and timidity. It may be that, as in the case of a great giant, sentiment or consideration may lead us to hold in bound our terrible strength. As Woodrow Wilson said, it is a terrible thing to lead a great nation into war. It may be that we will place chains upon our own power; but if I thought my Nation dared not try to do right against any odds it would be unworthy of the affection and patriotism which we all give it.

Mr. President, the time has come when the American people need to make up their minds as to their course; and in order to make up their minds they not only do expect, but they have a right to expect, leadership from their Government.

Mr. President, I think it is a matter of general knowledge that for a month now we have been relatively paralyzed here in the Nation's Capital, and as a result of that paralysis here in our Congress and in the leadership of the country the people themselves have fallen apart. They wonder what is our policy, what is to be our course. They listen for some authoritative voice to say, "Come, follow me," and they will follow wherever such responsible leadership commands, if the cause is honorable and just.

I am led here to refer to an article appearing on the first page of Time for May 5, 1941, giving results of a Gallup poll of American public opinion. It says:

Question. Should the United States Navy be used to convoy?

Answer. Yes, 41 percent; no, 50 percent; undecided, 9 percent. Further question: Should the United States Navy be used to convoy if British defeat seems certain without them? Answer. Yes, 71 percent; no, 21 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

And a bit later the question:

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote? Answer. Go in, 19 percent; stay out, 81 percent. Further question: If it appeared certain there was no other way to defeat Germany and Italy except for the United States to go to war against them, would you be in favor of the United States going into the war? Answer. Would favor war, 68 percent; would oppose war, 24 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

That is the way the American people feel, in my opinion. In other words, if the emergency is such that it is necessary for them even to spill their blood they are ready. All they need is a government to lead them. And if we lull them into security by minimizing the nature of the emergency to them, by withholding the full import of our information as to the degree of the peril, we deceive a trusting people which has a right to expect leadership from its government.

It has long since ceased to be a matter of doubt in the opinion of most men in Washington as to what we ought to do, but they are torn between what they really think and what they want to think. We shrink, of course, from a greater effort. We shrink from an increasing danger. But, Mr. President, what is the duty of a government when a peril of this magnitude faces that country?

How is our situation to be distinguished from that of other nations which we consciously or unconsciously criticize? We wait. They waited. We see them encircled one after another. Look today at poor Turkey, still not at the front, and already surrounded. Why, it will be a military operation of insignificance to occupy the Dardanelles because they have already been surrounded.

Not only that, but the Germans have started up a revolution in the rear of the Turks, and all they need to do, when they get ready to strike, is just to pull the noose which lies around the neck of the dilatory Turks.

The same thing happened to Yugoslavia. The Germans waited until they got the Yugoslavs surrounded. They thought even these brave people would yield, because that is the mischief of the Hitlerian strategy.

I was privileged here a few nights ago to sit in the range of the voice of former Chancellor Bruening, of Germany. I ventured to express some opinion about what Hitler himself had contributed to the leadership of the German Army, and from his point of vantage former Chancellor Bruening made the statement that the German Army primarily relied upon the strategy of Hitler himself as to what course it should pursue. In his utterances of last Sunday Hitler does not say the German staff decided what should be

the course of action and the distribution of the German armies. He said, "I ordered through the German staff."

So this is the new technique which has been developed by this man Hitler, this devilish genius of the age, who has brought so many countries to defeat before they ever raised an arm in battle. Yet everyone has succumbed to the same strategy. Hitler first writes a book and tells everyone what he was going to do. Then he conquers 15 nations by his announced plan and still one after the other, his victims wait to be encircled and surrounded.

Have we escaped? "Oh," it is said, "when the time comes we will fight if we have to." Is that what Turkey is saying today? What do you and I think about whether the time has come or not? You have known all along what the result would be. You know that the Kaiser said, "Berlin to Bagdad." You know in the nature of things that he had no need to say a word; that no modern conqueror is going to leave bare of his feet the lands trod by Alexander the Great and Napoleon. You know that Hitler expects to stand in the shadow of the Pyramids and point to them, as Napoleon did, and say, "Soldiers, the riches of this old land lie in front of you."

Does anyone suppose that this historic man is going to stop in the Macedonia from which the conquests of Alexander emanated?

When he knows that Alexander in his day turned into Libya and across Suez, that he finally marched his legions across the Himalayas, down upon the plains of India, does anyone doubt that this fanatic, with eagle wings to carry him, not only will take Olympus but seek to scale every height that the world seems to possess? Is he going to stop short of the glory of those ancient victories? Yet Turkey, immediately in his path, waits already condemned.

And here in America stand we. We saw this thing start as a local conflict, a mere European war, we thought, and we were heedless to anyone who said, "It has a greater significance." At that time there was just Germany, and then her little satellite, Italy, who promised Hitler all aid short of war, they say. So Hitler began to expand his plans, to unfold his strategy. Finally it came to encompass the whole of Europe.

Then he said he was going to push England out of Europe. Then he declared he was going to drive her from the Mediterranean. Finally he was going to destroy the British life lines. So, like a disease that starts at the finger and creeps inevitably to the heart, he has carried on his strategy.

Then he determined to extend his encirclement, so he brings Japan into the orbit of his power. With Japan on the other side, the vast pincer movement begins to crush us between its two jaws. Of course, Japan started off first, as he taught her to start, by taking a bit of territory, pinching it off and assimilating it, and then moving forward a little and taking a little more and assimilating that, and finally a larger bite, moving down into Indochina, and, of course,

waiting until the moment she dares assault the citadel of another defense in the Orient. There they stand—these braggarts, bullies, cowards, threatening to become a part of a vast pincer movement that will encompass us, the proud people of the United States of America.

What do I propose relative to this situation, Mr. President? I say that the time has come for the United States to get tough on the foreign front. I know of two examples that give me some support in that policy. One was that of the Barbary pirates, who levied tribute upon our commerce. They were the Hitlers of their day, the international bandits who stood beside the highway world—behind the trees, as it were—to levy their toll upon the first passerby.

To our shame, for awhile we paid, as did the nations of Europe. Then eventually somebody remembered the American sentiment, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." It was not in the American character to pay tribute to anybody. Our country was led by an administration which dared to speak up and to act. It became tired of tyranny by petty tyrants and highwaymen. The result was that in only a little while we were no longer troubled with the Barbary pirates, and we paid no further tribute.

We may come home for another analogy. A few years ago—be it said as another blot upon the escutcheon of our country—a few score gangsters terrorized the whole Nation. We seemed to stand impotent before their assault. No home in America was safe from their ravages. The wicked hand of the kidnaper might lift any sleeping baby from its cradle and throw it down a mountainside to its destruction or hold it in some unspeakable place for perfidious ransom. For months—even years—the spirit of America was not aroused. Then at long last the American character again reasserted itself. It said, "No tribute to anybody, even in indulgence."

Finally we started to send the gangsters the kind of message they could understand. We said, "Thou shalt not" with bullets. The national indignation was so fierce that they fell before it. Now we are no longer worried by kidnapers. Homes are safe with the windows open. Children play in the yards of America again, like the descendants of a valorous past, because we dared to have enough of petty highwaymen levying tribute upon our people.

Mr. President, I propose that the United States wipe the legal cobwebs and classic prohibitions from its thinking. Let us streamline our attitude toward this danger, the way the tyrants streamline the solution of their problems.

For example, let us here and now, without another day's delay or dallying, tell the wide world that we are going to get the goods to England.

There are a number of ways by which we can get them there. It is a matter of tactics. It is a question of choice. We should choose the means which suit us best. I can think of several ways. We can occupy Greenland and Iceland, and build practically a bridge of ships and airplanes from this continent to Green-

land, thence to Iceland, and thence to Britain. That is one way to get the goods through.

Another way to deliver the goods is to have a line of ships directed toward the British destination, and to put a sufficient air force—both lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air craft—over and along the sides of the lane, with destroyers, cruisers, and, if necessary, battleships, and then to those home ships say, "Go to your destination, and we will keep any prowling marauder from intercepting your course."

Another thing we can do is something we should have done a long time ago. We should forget the shibboleth of neutrality, which has done nothing but endanger our ultimate peace, and go back to the principles of international law, upon which this Nation was founded, upon which it grew great, and upon which it shall forever stand if we are to remain a first-class power among the nations of the earth. When we go back to international law we shall have a right to send, not only British ships, but our ships, if need be, directed and guided by the sturdy hands of American seamen, to their destinations bent upon as holy a mission as that of the knight who sought the Holy Grail—to save the cause of the spirit of the Master himself.

Then when the prowlers of the night, the assassins of the sea, come to sink a ship in violation of the rules of international law, they shall be entitled to and may expect just retribution from a nation which has armed itself for its own protection and security. We can send a convoy along with the ships; we can scatter them out singly, or we can follow any other course we may deem desirable.

There is yet another course which we may pursue. We can hunt down the prowlers as hounds would hunt a hare or fox. We can seek them out, as we did the Barbary pirates, for they are all in the same category.

By the way, it is an interesting commentary upon modern international morality that the submarine commander who performed the very valorous deed of sinking the *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow also boasted of the fact that he had sunk ships in the Mediterranean when the civil strife was going on in Spain. No morality restrained the perfidious hand of the dictator in a neutral conflict with which he had naught to do except to press his own iniquitous cause.

Mr. President, I have suggested these things we can do. In my opinion, either or all would be agreed to by the people of America if an authoritative and determined leadership should say that that is the best way to meet the challenge. So far as I know, the facts are all undisputed. We and England together are building only about 2,300,000 tons of shipping a year. Yet since the first of March the Germans have been sinking ships at the rate of 100,000 tons a week. In other words, together we are building at the rate of, roughly, two and one-half million tons a year, and the Germans are sinking them at the rate of 5,000,000 tons a year. Every time they sink an-

other ship our cause is that much weaker. Every time another vessel falls beneath the waves and the seamen who manned it struggle with their last desperate drowning gasp, it means fewer guns in the hands of British soldiers, less food in the mouths of babies, and fewer weapons in the grasp of valiant, hard-pressed Britons.

Shall we sit supinely by, racing in our shipyards with Hitler's submarines? What a commentary upon the intelligence of a nation's policy. We only in our shipyards will try to vie with a foe like that.

So, Mr. President, it is a matter of intelligent defense. A man is no hero if he arms himself with a cornstalk and goes out to fight a man with a rifle. The American people want somebody in authority to tell them what are the facts and what is demanded. We need not doubt the people's response. I challenge any man to point to a case in which the people of the United States have failed to respond to a courageous leadership from their natural and chosen leaders.

Mr. President, getting the goods to England, and getting them there now, is only a part of the problem. I heard some of our officials say two or three days ago, "Next year our shipbuilding program will step up very perceptibly, and 3 years from now we will have a magnificent building program."

I wonder what historians will say if they look back and find that to be a nation's policy. What ignominy will fall upon our heads if we let that be our Nation's policy. Do we want to let millions be crucified later because there is a jeopardy that a few might die an honorable death now? Every time we stave off the evil day of meeting these tyrants and oppressors, effectively it means that millions of our boys must shed their blood for our delay and dilatory tactics. Our case is like a general who has not the courage to strike when the enemy is weak, having later to put upon his conscience in the other world the price of his erroneous policy and his shriveled courage. There have been many times when a general has had to sacrifice a company in order to save a battalion or a regiment or an army; and I remember that in the country which is yours and mine there were heroes who said, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

American boys shrink from battle, of course; but they would rather see a few seamen or a few sailors, if need be, or a few airmen, if necessary, lose their lives now rather than that we should inevitably ultimately have to send another expeditionary force to South America, if not to Europe. Then what will we say to those boys who throw it in our faces that we could have spared them that?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Excuse me; I decline to yield.

Another method, Mr. President, by which we could get a bit "tough" on the foreign front is to occupy the points of vantage from which these monsters are preparing to strike at us. In that category I include Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, the

Canary Islands, Dakar, and with the British Singapore.

I am willing to go as far as the fifteenth meridian of longitude. The people who own those territories know that our purpose is not that of aggression. They know that we would take those lands as trustees not only for our safety but for theirs. They know that they tremble in their boots against the day when they will be taken by the other side.

Mr. President, I pose the question, What would history have said of General Meade, at Gettysburg, if he had failed to occupy Little Round Top and Big Round Top because he did not have an easement from the owner of the land?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, does the Senator ask for an answer to that question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator asked a question. I should like to answer it.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNKER in the chair). The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. McCARRAN. I understood the Senator to propound a question.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. Does the Senator desire an answer to the question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. PEPPER. So the question presents itself, Mr. President, What general is justified in letting the enemy get a point of vantage from which to strike you down? That is the question we have to answer. What right does Hitler have to occupy Dakar? What right does he have to prevent us from taking steps to avoid a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads? Why should we give him a chance to gain the points from which he expects to launch an attack upon us?

I think naval and military strategists will agree that if we profess to defend America it will take three navies, one in the Pacific, one on the Atlantic, at the shores of this continent, and one to close the exits from Old World Europe and Africa. So I am urging, Mr. President, that we for once take the initiative from Hitler; and by so doing we can assure keeping open the life lines of Britain.

The last thing I think we might do is to address a word to Japan. A short while ago we read in the newspapers that Hitler at last delivered an ultimatum to Vichy, "Where do you stand? With me or against me?"

And he expects an answer.

At this time I think we should turn a searching inquiry to this bandit in the east, and say, "How serious are you with these declarations you have made?"

Let us demand and receive certain safeguards against this assassin lurking behind the door to stick a stiletto in our backs as soon as we become more engaged in the Atlantic. Like another Mussolini with his dagger poised on France when a moment of crisis came from Germany, stands Japan ready to assassinate us at the first possible opportunity.

I venture to suggest that, of course, there are many easier ways of solving the problem. If we will just modify the law which now prohibits the recruiting of American aviators in the United States for service with the Chinese Army, and let Chang Kai-Shek, one of the big men of his time, have the advantage of some gallant American boys at the controls of some first class American bombing planes, fifty of them, in my opinion, can make a shambles out of Tokyo.

For one, I want to see the Japs get back some of these things they have done to poor China and that they threaten to do to their other enemies on the face of the earth. Did Italy and Germany hesitate to let their volunteers go into Spain? I am talking about dealing with the present-day Barbary pirates and the Dillingers. You cannot fight them with a legal writ or a musty lawbook or with a tedious legal routine. You have got to let them understand something that is within their consciousness. So a few good bombs dropped by a few good American air pilots volunteering their services to Chang Kai-Shek—and I hope, if I do not believe, that there are some now on their way there, and I think probably the brave little men in the East will calm down a little. If they do not, I suggest the remedy I remember as a boy reading in a history book. It was a picture, if I do not remember incorrectly, of General Taylor saying, "Captain Bragg, give them a little more grape."

Oh, well, some say that means full-scale war. It means what we want it to mean. Hitler said a little while ago that he was not going to surrender the initiative to his enemy. I am talking about trying to save an expeditionary force somewhere at some time, and I am talking about trying to save my country at the cheapest possible price from full-scale war. But we cannot save our country if we postpone action until we are driven in a corner.

The time has come now for us to make up our minds to adopt one of two courses. Either let us quit this preparation, let us stop these utterances, and go back to our own shrinking shores and build another Chinese wall around America, to last as long as it will, pin our faith in another Maginot line of the sea, or else do something that we regard as effective defense. If we lose a few lives even now the sacrifice is inconsiderable as compared to what will be demanded of us at a later time—and all too tragically soon.

Mr. President, in conclusion let me say that I have heard it said that America has a rendezvous with destiny. If we should be permitted to experience that glorious destiny; if we shall not be cut short before we reach the zenith of our glory and power; if that omnipotent God Who has always sheltered and nurtured us has an inglorious end in view for us; insofar as we are the masters of our own destiny, Mr. President, I prefer to see the last gallant American hand reaching, clutching at the standards of the enemy, his body fallen like Pickett's men across the ramparts of the foe and his last gasping breath shouting his sentiments of determination and purpose, and not to see a glorious people surprised in camp or slain supinely in bed.

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Time to Get Tough With the Dictators

SPEECH
OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 6, 1941

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, a week ago today I stood at the Hermitage and gazed upon the tomb of Andrew Jackson. I walked over the spacious grounds where that brave man and his good wife had walked. I saw the slippers which had carried his restless feet. I saw the garment which had been wrapped around him in the last days of his life, and I saw the bed upon which he breathed his last. I could not come within the inspiring atmosphere of the life and the tomb of Andrew Jackson in this moment of crisis facing the country which he loved and for which he so often and so valorously offered his life without gaining some impression as to what Andrew Jackson would say to his beloved country in this sad hour.

If there was anything distinctive about the character of Andrew Jackson it was the quality of positiveness and certainty that grew out of an unequivocal conviction. If there was anything he scorned, it was evasion and indirectness. If there was anything that marked Andrew Jackson the man, it was the manliness of all that he did. Therefore when this Nation is the last citadel of democracy standing in the world, and when the chief assault is not now in the Balkans, or even at the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or Suez, but upon the ramparts of American public opinion, it is well that we consider what America shall think and do in this troubled time.

I hope the Senate will not misunderstand me if I advert to the fact that about 10 months ago, on the sad day when the Republic of France fell, I ventured to make some comment in the Senate and to propose what I thought might be regarded as a constructive program containing seven points, which were:

First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America;

Second. Universal defense service, so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense;

Third. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations,

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and statutes, including Army, Navy, and departmental seniority regulations, which, in his judgment, interfered with the maximum of the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials;

Fourth. Confer upon the President power to suspend the present debt limitation if in his judgment such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program;

Fifth. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which, in his judgment, at this time constitute America's first line of defense;

Sixth. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and the adoption of a defense budget and a tax program adequate for the national defense; and

Seventh. Confer upon the President the power to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would, in his opinion, jeopardize the defense program.

Concluding those seven points was the reservation: These powers to last for the duration of the emergency only.

Mr. President, in the 10 months which have elapsed since those utterances were made here in this body the world has been made over. Those sinister forces which some thought had come to their culmination in that period 10 months ago have now grown even stronger, and they threaten even a larger area than that which was within the scope and compass of their thought then. Where their strategy at that time was Europe-wide, it has now become the grandest strategy ever conceived in the imagination of mortal man; it is as wide as the circumference of the globe itself; it touches every crucial point upon the face of the earth.

We know, of course, that now the Balkans lie supinely beneath the tyrant's heel; we know also that his army stands poised to strike at the Dardanelles, to take Gibraltar, and perhaps the Suez, almost at will, or within a relatively short time, and maybe possibly after a brief struggle. His power stretches even beyond that, for there is enough to convince any observer that there has been a solemn compact between Japan and Germany, and that, for the first time, the occidental and the oriental conquerors have covenanted to meet in India and bring into cohesion their old world-wide conquest.

A few days ago another significant event occurred.

The Foreign Minister of the Japanese Empire came on a bargaining tour, pledging his troth to the highest and best bidder. Consequently, the Japanese renewed their ties of affection and fidelity not only to the Axis Powers, which they joined largely to coerce and threaten the United States of America, but they have added now into their orbit another force that for a time poised, we thought, upon a course of opposition to the Axis. I refer to the Russia of Stalin.

I have had a feeling since the beginning of this controversy that, since national policy is determined by national interest, there would come a time when Russia would move definitely into the orbit of the powers opposing the Axis. I think there has been great shortsightedness on the part, first, of Britain, and, then on the part of the United States of America in dealing with Russia. I think, if we had given greater assurance of strength to those ranks opposing the Axis, Russia would have been, perhaps, in a position to put up a little stronger front on their own part.

I venture to believe that an alternative was put to Russia when this war began: "Will you take a part of the loot of Poland or will you fight?" They very naturally said, "We will take a part of the loot and not fight." And when France was crushed an alternative proposal was again put to them: "Will you take a part of the loot of the Balkans or will you fight?" Again, seeing that England was hard pressed to survive and incapable of giving any aid, seeing that the policy of this country was still uncertain and equivocal, seeing that there was no ally in the Balkans of sufficient power to give them appreciable strength, again they said, not being entirely wedded to democracy, anyhow, "We will take part of the loot and still not fight." I think probably that the alternative is again being put to them: "Will you share the occupancy of the Dardanelles? Will you take part of the Near East? Will you carve up the Old World with us and take a share? Or will you fight?" And again without strength on the horizon apparently great enough to give them assurance of being able to stand out, they took the easy course, the way of least resistance, and said, "We will take the loot and still not fight."

How they salve their conscience, how they appease their judgment against the fateful day when they will have to answer to this Hitler who now breaks off little chunks of the earth and drops them into their supine lap, is a matter of their strategy and destiny, and not of ours.

But now we have seen not just the Axis—Germany, Italy, and Japan—but we have seen beyond any question of a doubt that Russia has so much moved into the sphere of that constellation that she has even repudiated the sentiments of friendliness toward the opposing cause that she previously uttered.

We find the culmination of the whole scheme in the recent utterances of the Japanese foreign office, as given by one of their authoritative newspapers, as to what their aims are for a peace with the world. They say, of course, that our own defenses must be weakened; that we must reduce Hawaii to a naval base of relative impotence. They say that we and Britain must reduce the strength of our naval forces until they do not exceed those of the Axis. They say that the Monroe Doctrine shall be abrogated and that North America shall no longer claim the power to influence the destiny and the conduct of South America. Of course, they contemplate that Britain shall retreat from the east and from the Mediterranean and from the other points of advantage which the British hold upon the face of the globe. In other words, they lay down the ultimatum, "Retreat. Retreat. Retreat to your own shrinking sphere, or we will level at you the dastardly methods with which we have so gloriously succeeded in the months and the years past; and eventually you, too, shall crumble beneath this mighty effort."

And then we see Herr Hitler making a report to his Reichstag, which he calls, with sardonic hypocrisy, an elected body; and so he tells them that "the Reich shall live for a thousand years. There is no coalition possible upon the face of the earth that can stand against us." So does it appear, looking over the horizon that confronts the Führer as he sits today, perhaps, upon his Olympian heights. As he stands where the brave Leonidas's men died and gloats over Thermopylae, which he has been able to conquer more gloriously than any tyrant of the past. It may be he will yet have the effrontery to stand on the Acropolis and try to claim for himself the glory of ancient Greece with the power of modern Germany. So this cruel pagan looks out upon the face of the earth and threatens all that comes within his sphere.

The question presents itself, Mr. President, to us, How much longer shall we wait to take the initiative away from the dictators? How many more miles shall we retreat? What other hiding places shall we seek? What new timidity shall clothe our efforts? What further uncertainty and doubt shall characterize our national policy?

Mr. President, how many sheep does a sheep-killing dog have to kill before he is branded as a sheep-killing dog? How many more nations besides the 15 he has already destroyed does Herr Hitler have to take to become the sheep-killing dog of the earth, to be destroyed like that dog which has castigated himself as unfit to live?

The question naturally presents itself to us, When shall we see enough to rouse us from our lethargy, and to make America for once take an affirmative and a

positive course that will at last take the initiative away from these braggarts of the tyrannical world?

If modern war has proved anything, it has proved that the advantage lies with the party which takes and presses the initiative; yet in no case have we ventured to assume the initiative. We prefer to sit back here and make our materials, to let the whirl of our factories be indicative of our national effort, and then, fearing to venture upon the high seas against an assassin's weapon, let them go to a useless grave and destination. We prefer to see the world points of advantage seized, from which aggressors can leap at our throat, to wait until they are already there before we attempt to dislodge them or even to become concerned about their presence and the threat they make there.

So, Mr. President, I want to make, if I may, today a few more affirmative proposals.

In the first place, I believe the time has come for action on the home front. I first suggest a declaration by the President and the approval by the Congress of a state of national emergency. If we do not face a national emergency today, when have we ever done so in our history? What Senator, what citizen, denies, down in the secret recesses of his heart, that his country faces one of the greatest emergencies of all its history? Who is there in this Congress who is not troubled in his consciousness by what lies ahead? And yet, somehow or other, we have not invoked—we will not invoke—the organized power of our Nation in the most efficient and effective form.

Mr. President, I will say now to those who might accuse me that I speak not of the usurpation of power or prerogative by the President. I speak of a partnership in cooperation between the people's President and the people's Congress. I propose that we share with him both the initiative and the responsibility for the program that is desirable—yea, imperative—for the Nation. Let it be understood, then, that I am not trying, in a time when democracy is so sorely pressed, to destroy or emasculate the power of the people's Congress. I suggest only that the Congress step up boldly and bravely to the front line of responsibility, and, taking her President by the hand, say, "Let us march forward in the democratic way to the preservation of democratic freedom."

In a state of emergency it is obvious, of course, what advantage would result to the Government, what response would come magically from the people to such a course. Then there would be no more of these little dilly-dallings such as occurred in the coal strike a bit ago. I was told by an authentic source that a good part of the argument in connection with efforts to settle that strike was as to whether the meeting should be held in Washington or in New York. What a commentary it is that at a time when the destiny of the race trembles upon the brink of disaster, responsible employees and responsible employers are stopping and slowing down the wheels of a na-

tion's effort because they dare to quibble about whether they will meet in Washington or in New York. It is a disgrace to the democratic concept that men of responsibility dare so to jeopardize, for personal advantage, a people's security. In a state of emergency I venture to say that no group of employees or employers would dare so to trespass upon the indulgent patience of their fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I advocate the full mobilization of the material, mental, and spiritual forces of the Nation. I believe even now we are only partially aroused. It is not possible to sense the tempo of the national effort without the disturbing consciousness that it has not yet come to vibrate in the way it should be expected to by an imperiled people. I do not pause to attach responsibility upon any legislative or executive group, or upon the people at large. I speak of the necessity for the future, and beg all to subscribe to the necessity of this affirmative course.

Every day people come to my office and say, "I am trying to get an invention observed in one of the departments, and I cannot get it looked into or seriously regarded." I do not know what the facts are, but I do know that it has been characteristic of the armed services, from the time with which I am familiar, to be slow to change, slow to take on innovations, slow to adopt a new method. By virtue of that very fact has the devilish genius of Hitler been able to make such a unique contribution to the strength, and, may I say, the magic might of German arms, in all of their cruel significance.

Who here is impregnating our services with a determination to make our machine not only in quantity equal to what the world can turn out, but in quality the superior of all? We have imitated the Germans in this and imitated the Germans in that, and followed their example in yet another course. I want to see someone begin to observe American genius manifested in American arms. Yet I am very much afraid that the casual inventor frequently finds a closed door when he goes to our services in this country. It looks sometimes as if they preferred to do things in the old way, in the way which they understand.

Mr. President, I happen to be a member of the bar, and I know the reluctance of my profession to take on new apparel, to enlarge its concepts to meet modern conditions. I will say to the credit of the laymen of America that they have immeasurably helped our profession by the scrutiny and the prodding they have applied to it. I want to see the same thing done by some competent agency in the Federal Government.

I know, of course, that we have an Inventors' Council. I know Mr. Kettering is a member of it. But I also have a feeling that they also too often regard these fellows who come with inventions or the results of research as just interlopers who want to take a part of their time with their crazy ideas.

I also referred to the mental resources of America. I am not altogether happy at the parade of the dollar-a-year men I have seen flocking to Washington. Many

of them are of great and unquestioned patriotism and ability, but I want to see a draft of brains—the brains of America—chosen wherever they may be found, and called to duty and service. I do not believe that so far the best brains of America have been mobilized to serve the Nation in this, the greatest crisis of our time.

I spoke of the spirit, of course, because without a mobilization of the spirit of our people we can take no hope of success. In his utterances on Sunday Hitler emphasized that in spirit no nation could match the people of his tyrannical Reich. Surely there is enough in the cause of democracy to make it easy to mobilize the spirit of the American people.

Why I do say the spirit? Because, Mr. President, I want to see formed in this Nation one single irresistible resolve—that freedom shall live and last upon the face of the earth. I want to see a sentiment which brooks no doubt about it, will allow no dispute, equivocation, or uncertainty; such majesty of mobilization in the realm of the spirit that nothing can stand against it in its onward march.

I think of a man who has enjoyed the highest esteem of this country, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh. Let me ask my fellow Senators and the people of America, which Lindbergh do they choose to follow, the Lindbergh of 1927, the man who dared do what none could think possible, or the Lindbergh who is the epitome of appeasement and defeatism in the year 1941? I honor Colonel Lindbergh—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will pardon me—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator was asking a question. Does he want it answered or not? If the Senator declines to yield, that is all right. I will answer the question in my own time.

Mr. PEPPER. I say, Mr. President, that I do honor to the illustrious name of that great man; but if the American people are presented two phases of his career with respect to which they are called upon to make a choice, I prefer to follow the "eagle" of 1927, who soared through skies that were trackless, when no one was there to catch his falling plane or body. Into the nakedness of the dark night he went, alone and unaccompanied save by the spirit of an irresistible purpose; and he landed at Le Bourget field. If I have to choose, therefore, which Lindbergh I will follow, give me the Lindbergh who flew the Atlantic, not the Lindbergh who counsels his countrymen that the cause is already lost, even without a struggle.

If I have to choose in the Napoleonic life, give me the young man at Arcole, and at Lodi, who went forward in the face of the enemy's hail of bullets, and not the shrinking man at Waterloo. So, not withholding honor to an illustrious patriot or citizen, I think the American people, in the mobilization of their spirit, are entitled to know which heroes they follow.

I again think of old Andrew Jackson, and I remember the most dramatic

statement I think I ever heard of falling from the tongue of man, which was attributed to him. My colleagues will remember that after his duel with Dickinson, when he stood and let Dickinson shoot at him first, he said, "Even if he had shot me through the brain, I still would have killed him." That is the kind of resolve I say should be America's.

How would these defeatists have assessed the chances of the Colonies at Valley Forge? What enthusiasm would the defeat of our armies have aroused time after time in the long and doubtful conflict? But in George Washington it was not so much skill of hand, glorious as it was, but the deep, irresistible purpose that was reflected from his indomitable character. George Washington was the American Revolution, because no man could bring the curtain of doubt over his determination to win the battle for the freedom of America.

I ask those who say, "the cause is lost already, let us grip in appeasement and friendship the bloody hand of Hitler, because that is the practical thing to do," when have men so stooped that they live by the rule of what is the practical thing to do?

Take out of any man in this body the resolve to mount to standards higher than he has ever reached and he would be worthy of death. So long as life lasts, men hope to go forward and upward in their course—to dream dreams—and eventually to soar beyond the summit of the highest clouds, over an Olympus that even Hitler cannot stain with his dastardly touch.

Mr. President, I defy any man justly to describe the psychology of America, the spirit of this Nation, as one of defeatism and timidity. It may be that, as in the case of a great giant, sentiment or consideration may lead us to hold in bound our terrible strength. As Woodrow Wilson said, it is a terrible thing to lead a great nation into war. It may be that we will place chains upon our own power; but if I thought my Nation dared not try to do right against any odds it would be unworthy of the affection and patriotism which we all give it.

Mr. President, the time has come when the American people need to make up their minds as to their course; and in order to make up their minds they not only do expect, but they have a right to expect, leadership from their Government.

Mr. President, I think it is a matter of general knowledge that for a month now we have been relatively paralyzed here in the Nation's Capital, and as a result of that paralysis here in our Congress and in the leadership of the country the people themselves have fallen apart. They wonder what is our policy, what is to be our course. They listen for some authoritative voice to say, "Come, follow me," and they will follow wherever such responsible leadership commands, if the cause is honorable and just.

I am led here to refer to an article appearing on the first page of Time for May 5, 1941, giving results of a Gallup poll of American public opinion. It says:

Question. Should the United States Navy be used to convoy?

Answer. Yes, 41 percent; no, 50 percent; undecided, 9 percent. Further question: Should the United States Navy be used to convoy if British defeat seems certain without them? Answer. Yes, 71 percent; no, 21 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

And a bit later the question:

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote? Answer. Go in, 19 percent; stay out, 81 percent. Further question: If it appeared certain there was no other way to defeat Germany and Italy except for the United States to go to war against them, would you be in favor of the United States going into the war? Answer. Would favor war, 68 percent; would oppose war, 24 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

That is the way the American people feel, in my opinion. In other words, if the emergency is such that it is necessary for them even to spill their blood they are ready. All they need is a government to lead them. And if we lull them into security by minimizing the nature of the emergency to them, by withholding the full import of our information as to the degree of the peril, we deceive a trusting people which has a right to expect leadership from its government.

It has long since ceased to be a matter of doubt in the opinion of most men in Washington as to what we ought to do, but they are torn between what they really think and what they want to think. We shrink, of course, from a greater effort. We shrink from an increasing danger. But, Mr. President, what is the duty of a government when a peril of this magnitude faces that country?

How is our situation to be distinguished from that of other nations which we consciously or unconsciously criticize? We wait. They waited. We see them encircled one after another. Look today at poor Turkey, still not at the front, and already surrounded. Why, it will be a military operation of insignificance to occupy the Dardanelles because they have already been surrounded.

Not only that, but the Germans have started up a revolution in the rear of the Turks, and all they need to do, when they get ready to strike, is just to pull the noose which lies around the neck of the dilatory Turks.

The same thing happened to Yugoslavia. The Germans waited until they got the Yugoslavs surrounded. They thought even these brave people would yield, because that is the mischief of the Hitlerian strategy.

I was privileged here a few nights ago to sit in the range of the voice of former Chancellor Bruening, of Germany. I ventured to express some opinion about what Hitler himself had contributed to the leadership of the German Army, and from his point of vantage former Chancellor Bruening made the statement that the German Army primarily relied upon the strategy of Hitler himself as to what course it should pursue. In his utterances of last Sunday Hitler does not say the German staff decided what should be

the course of action and the distribution of the German armies. He said, "I ordered through the German staff."

So this is the new technique which has been developed by this man Hitler, this devilish genius of the age, who has brought so many countries to defeat before they ever raised an arm in battle. Yet everyone has succumbed to the same strategy. Hitler first writes a book and tells everyone what he was going to do. Then he conquers 15 nations by his announced plan and still one after the other, his victims wait to be encircled and surrounded.

Have we escaped? "Oh," it is said, "when the time comes we will fight if we have to." Is that what Turkey is saying today? What do you and I think about whether the time has come or not? You have known all along what the result would be. You know that the Kaiser said, "Berlin to Bagdad." You know in the nature of things that he had no need to say a word; that no modern conqueror is going to leave bare of his feet the lands trod by Alexander the Great and Napoleon. You know that Hitler expects to stand in the shadow of the Pyramids and point to them, as Napoleon did, and say, "Soldiers, the riches of this old land lie in front of you."

Does anyone suppose that this historic man is going to stop in the Macedonia from which the conquests of Alexander emanated?

When he knows that Alexander in his day turned into Libya and across Suez, that he finally marched his legions across the Himalayas, down upon the plains of India, does anyone doubt that this fanatic, with eagle wings to carry him, not only will take Olympus but seek to scale every height that the world seems to possess? Is he going to stop short of the glory of those ancient victories? Yet Turkey, immediately in his path, waits already condemned.

And here in America stand we. We saw this thing start as a local conflict, a mere European war, we thought, and we were heedless to anyone who said, "It has a greater significance." At that time there was just Germany, and then her little satellite, Italy, who promised Hitler all aid short of war, they say. So Hitler began to expand his plans, to unfold his strategy. Finally it came to encompass the whole of Europe.

Then he said he was going to push England out of Europe. Then he declared he was going to drive her from the Mediterranean. Finally he was going to destroy the British life lines. So, like a disease that starts at the finger and creeps inevitably to the heart, he has carried on his strategy.

Then he determined to extend his encirclement, so he brings Japan into the orbit of his power. With Japan on the other side, the vast pincer movement begins to crush us between its two jaws. Of course, Japan started off first, as he taught her to start, by taking a bit of territory, pinching it off and assimilating it, and then moving forward a little and taking a little more and assimilating that, and finally a larger bite, moving down into Indochina, and, of course,

waiting until the moment she dares assault the citadel of another defense in the Orient. There they stand—these braggarts, bullies, cowards, threatening to become a part of a vast pincer movement that will encompass us, the proud people of the United States of America.

What do I propose relative to this situation, Mr. President? I say that the time has come for the United States to get tough on the foreign front. I know of two examples that give me some support in that policy. One was that of the Barbary pirates, who levied tribute upon our commerce. They were the Hitlers of their day, the international bandits who stood beside the highway world—behind the trees, as it were—to levy their toll upon the first passerby.

To our shame, for awhile we paid, as did the nations of Europe. Then eventually somebody remembered the American sentiment, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." It was not in the American character to pay tribute to anybody. Our country was led by an administration which dared to speak up and to act. It became tired of tyranny by petty tyrants and highwaymen. The result was that in only a little while we were no longer troubled with the Barbary pirates, and we paid no further tribute.

We may come home for another analogy. A few years ago—be it said as another blot upon the escutcheon of our country—a few score gangsters terrorized the whole Nation. We seemed to stand impotent before their assault. No home in America was safe from their ravages. The wicked hand of the kidnaper might lift any sleeping baby from its cradle and throw it down a mountainside to its destruction or hold it in some unspeakable place for perfidious ransom. For months—even years—the spirit of America was not aroused. Then at long last the American character again reasserted itself. It said, "No tribute to anybody, even in indulgence."

Finally we started to send the gangsters the kind of message they could understand. We said, "Thou shalt not" with bullets. The national indignation was so fierce that they fell before it. Now we are no longer worried by kidnapers. Homes are safe with the windows open. Children play in the yards of America again, like the descendants of a valorous past, because we dared to have enough of petty highwaymen levying tribute upon our people.

Mr. President, I propose that the United States wipe the legal cobwebs and classic prohibitions from its thinking. Let us streamline our attitude toward this danger, the way the tyrants streamline the solution of their problems.

For example, let us here and now, without another day's delay or dallying, tell the wide world that we are going to get the goods to England.

There are a number of ways by which we can get them there. It is a matter of tactics. It is a question of choice. We should choose the means which suit us best. I can think of several ways. We can occupy Greenland and Iceland, and build practically a bridge of ships and airplanes from this continent to Green-

land, thence to Iceland, and thence to Britain. That is one way to get the goods through.

Another way to deliver the goods is to have a line of ships directed toward the British destination, and to put a sufficient air force—both lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air craft—over and along the sides of the lane, with destroyers, cruisers, and, if necessary, battleships, and then to those home ships say, "Go to your destination, and we will keep any prowling marauder from intercepting your course."

Another thing we can do is something we should have done a long time ago. We should forget the shibboleth of neutrality, which has done nothing but endanger our ultimate peace, and go back to the principles of international law, upon which this Nation was founded, upon which it grew great, and upon which it shall forever stand if we are to remain a first-class power among the nations of the earth. When we go back to international law we shall have a right to send, not only British ships, but our ships, if need be, directed and guided by the sturdy hands of American seamen, to their destinations bent upon as holy a mission as that of the knight who sought the Holy Grail—to save the cause of the spirit of the Master himself.

Then when the prowlers of the night, the assassins of the sea, come to sink a ship in violation of the rules of international law, they shall be entitled to and may expect just retribution from a nation which has armed itself for its own protection and security. We can send a convoy along with the ships; we can scatter them out singly, or we can follow any other course we may deem desirable.

There is yet another course which we may pursue. We can hunt down the prowlers as hounds would hunt a hare or fox. We can seek them out, as we did the Barbary pirates, for they are all in the same category.

By the way, it is an interesting commentary upon modern international morality that the submarine commander who performed the very valorous deed of sinking the *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow also boasted of the fact that he had sunk ships in the Mediterranean when the civil strife was going on in Spain. No morality restrained the perfidious hand of the dictator in a neutral conflict with which he had naught to do except to press his own iniquitous cause.

Mr. President, I have suggested these things we can do. In my opinion, either or all would be agreed to by the people of America if an authoritative and determined leadership should say that that is the best way to meet the challenge. So far as I know, the facts are all undisputed. We and England together are building only about 2,300,000 tons of shipping a year. Yet since the first of March the Germans have been sinking ships at the rate of 100,000 tons a week. In other words, together we are building at the rate of, roughly, two and one-half million tons a year, and the Germans are sinking them at the rate of 5,000,000 tons a year. Every time they sink an-

other ship our cause is that much weaker. Every time another vessel falls beneath the waves and the seamen who manned it struggle with their last desperate drowning gasp, it means fewer guns in the hands of British soldiers, less food in the mouths of babies, and fewer weapons in the grasp of valiant, hard-pressed Britons.

Shall we sit supinely by, racing in our shipyards with Hitler's submarines? What a commentary upon the intelligence of a nation's policy. We only in our shipyards will try to vie with a foe like that.

So, Mr. President, it is a matter of intelligent defense. A man is no hero if he arms himself with a cornstalk and goes out to fight a man with a rifle. The American people want somebody in authority to tell them what are the facts and what is demanded. We need not doubt the people's response. I challenge any man to point to a case in which the people of the United States have failed to respond to a courageous leadership from their natural and chosen leaders.

Mr. President, getting the goods to England, and getting them there now, is only a part of the problem. I heard some of our officials say two or three days ago, "Next year our shipbuilding program will step up very perceptibly, and 3 years from now we will have a magnificent building program."

I wonder what historians will say if they look back and find that to be a nation's policy. What ignominy will fall upon our heads if we let that be our Nation's policy. Do we want to let millions be crucified later because there is a jeopardy that a few might die an honorable death now? Every time we stave off the evil day of meeting these tyrants and oppressors, effectively it means that millions of our boys must shed their blood for our delay and dilatory tactics. Our case is like a general who has not the courage to strike when the enemy is weak, having later to put upon his conscience in the other world the price of his erroneous policy and his shriveled courage. There have been many times when a general has had to sacrifice a company in order to save a battalion or a regiment or an army; and I remember that in the country which is yours and mine there were heroes who said, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

American boys shrink from battle, of course; but they would rather see a few seamen or a few sailors, if need be, or a few airmen, if necessary, lose their lives now rather than that we should inevitably ultimately have to send another expeditionary force to South America, if not to Europe. Then what will we say to those boys who throw it in our faces that we could have spared them that?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Excuse me; I decline to yield.

Another method, Mr. President, by which we could get a bit "tough" on the foreign front is to occupy the points of vantage from which these monsters are preparing to strike at us. In that category I include Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, the

Canary Islands, Dakar, and with the British Singapore.

I am willing to go as far as the fifteenth meridian of longitude. The people who own those territories know that our purpose is not that of aggression. They know that we would take those lands as trustees not only for our safety but for theirs. They know that they tremble in their boots against the day when they will be taken by the other side.

Mr. President, I pose the question, What would history have said of General Meade, at Gettysburg, if he had failed to occupy Little Round Top and Big Round Top because he did not have an easement from the owner of the land?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, does the Senator ask for an answer to that question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator asked a question. I should like to answer it.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNKER in the chair). The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. McCARRAN. I understood the Senator to propound a question.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. Does the Senator desire an answer to the question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. PEPPER. So the question presents itself, Mr. President, What general is justified in letting the enemy get a point of vantage from which to strike you down? That is the question we have to answer. What right does Hitler have to occupy Dakar? What right does he have to prevent us from taking steps to avoid a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads? Why should we give him a chance to gain the points from which he expects to launch an attack upon us?

I think naval and military strategists will agree that if we profess to defend America it will take three navies, one in the Pacific, one on the Atlantic, at the shores of this continent, and one to close the exits from Old World Europe and Africa. So I am urging, Mr. President, that we for once take the initiative from Hitler; and by so doing we can assure keeping open the life lines of Britain.

The last thing I think we might do is to address a word to Japan. A short while ago we read in the newspapers that Hitler at last delivered an ultimatum to Vichy, "Where do you stand? With me or against me?"

And he expects an answer.

At this time I think we should turn a searching inquiry to this bandit in the east, and say, "How serious are you with these declarations you have made?"

Let us demand and receive certain safeguards against this assassin lurking behind the door to stick a stiletto in our backs as soon as we become more engaged in the Atlantic. Like another Mussolini with his dagger poised on France when a moment of crisis came from Germany, stands Japan ready to assassinate us at the first possible opportunity.

I venture to suggest that, of course, there are many easier ways of solving the problem. If we will just modify the law which now prohibits the recruiting of American aviators in the United States for service with the Chinese Army, and let Chang Kai-Shek, one of the big men of his time, have the advantage of some gallant American boys at the controls of some first class American bombing planes, fifty of them, in my opinion, can make a shambles out of Tokyo.

For one, I want to see the Japs get back some of these things they have done to poor China and that they threaten to do to their other enemies on the face of the earth. Did Italy and Germany hesitate to let their volunteers go into Spain? I am talking about dealing with the present-day Barbary pirates and the Dillingers. You cannot fight them with a legal writ or a musty lawbook or with a tedious legal routine. You have got to let them understand something that is within their consciousness. So a few good bombs dropped by a few good American air pilots volunteering their services to Chang Kai-Shek—and I hope, if I do not believe, that there are some now on their way there, and I think probably the brave little men in the East will calm down a little. If they do not, I suggest the remedy I remember as a boy reading in a history book. It was a picture, if I do not remember incorrectly, of General Taylor saying, "Captain Bragg, give them a little more grape."

Oh, well, some say that means full-scale war. It means what we want it to mean. Hitler said a little while ago that he was not going to surrender the initiative to his enemy. I am talking about trying to save an expeditionary force somewhere at some time, and I am talking about trying to save my country at the cheapest possible price from full-scale war. But we cannot save our country if we postpone action until we are driven in a corner.

The time has come now for us to make up our minds to adopt one of two courses. Either let us quit this preparation, let us stop these utterances, and go back to our own shrinking shores and build another Chinese wall around America, to last as long as it will, pin our faith in another Maginot line of the sea, or else do something that we regard as effective defense. If we lose a few lives even now the sacrifice is inconsiderable as compared to what will be demanded of us at a later time—and all too tragically soon.

Mr. President, in conclusion let me say that I have heard it said that America has a rendezvous with destiny. If we should be permitted to experience that glorious destiny; if we shall not be cut short before we reach the zenith of our glory and power; if that omnipotent God Who has always sheltered and nurtured us has an inglorious end in view for us; insofar as we are the masters of our own destiny, Mr. President, I prefer to see the last gallant American hand reaching, clutching at the standards of the enemy, his body fallen like Pickett's men across the ramparts of the foe and his last gasping breath shouting his sentiments of determination and purpose, and not to see a glorious people surprised in camp or slain supinely in bed.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to place at the disposal, by sale or other lawful means, airplanes, and parts, and tanks, and other implements of war, belonging to the United States Government, which may be made available without imperiling the national defense.

Be it further resolved that such planes, parts, tanks, or implements of war which be made available to the Allied powers, including Belgium, Norway, Holland, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, only upon such purchaser, or purchasers, agreeing that the President may, whenever he might see fit to do so, replace such airplanes, parts, tanks, or implements of war from any present or future output of any factory or manufacturing plant in the United States under contract by such purchaser or purchasers.

October 1, 1940

If Pepper gets Lippmann in, want to write Lippman tomorrow and say he is really doing the job, and may want Pepper and Lippmann together with possibly Russell, Minton, Schwellenbach, Josh Lee at a stretch out party at Pepper's home. Maybe asking Lyndon Johnson and Harold Young for outside color, and maybe Wolff.

If at Orlando Orlando says, "War factory defense should be place near training areas, at least in a stand-by emergency basis, this does not mean that the natural areas of defense manufacturing should not be the principal points of defense manufacturing.

There is solid merit to the principle that subsidiary and auxiliary manufacturing should be available at all times in and near the training areas for quick delivery and stand-by manufacturing.

August 30, 1940

Mr. President:

The Senate is not a body of cynics. In the spirit of practical idealism, this body faces today and tomorrow. With fearless eyes, we look ahead. I trust ~~that~~ as one Senator, you will bear with me as I speak to those abroad about this, our Senate.

I promise, as one Senator, that this Senate will work and pray as a unit body for the success of the allies. If I am wrong, let another Senator speak.

I promise those over there with their backs to the wall that this sovereign Senate, which makes peace or war, will work for peace. Yes. But it will work for Freedom too, Freedom here, and Freedom over there. If there is any Senator who thinks otherwise, let him speak.

Here and there, some months ago, there were those in this body who spoke without knowledge. Today there are none without knowledge.

Today we may say to all those over there that all Senators know that America faces the same problems that the world faces. This problem, briefly, is, "Shall there be Freedom in this world? Or shall this world be ruled by usurpers of their Freedom?" If there is any Senator here who does not see eye to eye with this statement, let him speak. I wish, as one Senator, to say with my small voice to the millions over there who are fighting the good fight that we of this Senate body are working with practical idealism in their cause.

Over there you have told us that you do not need men to fight in France and Belgium. We accept this. From over there has come to us the story that you need airplanes. You should, and shall, have them--With all the natural and industrial strength that America may muster. You have said from over there that you may need ships and wheat, and meat and horses. I say you shall have them, ~~if~~ if that is what it takes to fight for Freedom. If there is any Senator who feels otherwise, let him speak. It has been said from over there where assaulting despots drive their horror machines against the liberties of this world--it has been said that this Senate does not support the President of the United States. This statement is not true. I wish to say to those over there, in their present desperation, that the American Senate sees as our President sees. If there is any Senator here who sees otherwise, let him say it.

Mr. President:

At a time when civilization hangs by a thread, it is fitting that in a popular government, a surviving democracy, the direct representatives of people might say something to those hard pressed in France and Belgium today. The American people want the soldiers of the British Commonwealth, and of France, and their allies, to know that in this crucial week when they are letting their blood, the people of this country do not stand by indifferent to the issue of this crucial battle. They want the allies to know that they are conscious that the cause they are fighting for is America's cause, not only the cause of the United States, but of the Western hemisphere. They want them to know that we would be ashamed if we did not hope with every fibre of our hearts that their heroic sacrifice may be victorious. We want you to know that every sentiment of humanity revolts ^{at} ~~in~~ the barbaric attack which has brought on this bloody war. We want you to know that we in America have not lost either ~~in~~ our courage or our idealism, that we have not forsaken the honor of our forebears; or the sentiments which have been American since the first day our forefathers planted their heroic feet upon this soil.

Hold on, Soldiers of Freedom. Hold out, Warriors of Liberty, and we shall send to you succor to carry on the battle.

You have said you do not need our soldiers, and we accept that. Every airplane that our factories can turn out, those we will send you. Every cannon, every munition, every supply of which you have need, these ~~shall~~ you shall have. For ~~amurik~~ it is in the holy writ of Americanism that America should not be a spectator at Armageddon.

Be it resolved by the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives in congress assembled that American farm surpluses of food in the amount of \$25,000,000.00 value be supplied by the people and government of the United States to the governments of Poland and Belgium as now existant in France.

Further, resolved that \$5,000,000.00 in cash be contributed by the American people, through their government, to the American Red Cross for the purchase in America of clothing and medicines and transportation of same to France for the succor and relief of refugees from Hitler of Polish, Norwegian, Czecho-Slovakian, Belgian, and Holland citizens now residing in France as the result of Hitlerism.

Further, resolved that this small expression of American sympathy is now extended so that France in her present peril shall not be forced to feed and succor other than her own citizens as she fights on her soil for Liberty.

(Representative T. V. Smith, of Illinois, probably would be glad to concur in this resolution. Both Senator Lee and Congressman Smith are crying for radio time.)

Memo Plan for Georgia-Florida Survey

To emphasize state defense activity.

To aid the Federal Government's defense plan intelligently.

To get regional constructive activity on the part of people who want to do something about defense.

To alley fear, phantom hunting, and false motion generally.

To build up state governors into active, intelligent centers of state defense groups, around which the itchers for prominence could get their local newspaper pay-off for constructive instead of destructive effort. It is suggested: A Georgia-Florida Regional Defense Survey.

Headed by Governors of Florida and Georgia, with Rivers taking the initiative and Senator Pepper applauding.

This defense survey should be carried on by big business group to be a board consisting of the two Governors, State Adjutant Generals, and two men from each state recognized as organization leaders. I would suggest one heavy contractor and one utilitarian each from Florida and from Georgia. I would not put the four Senators in Washington ex officio on the board.

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[PUBLIC—No. 151—73D CONGRESS]

[S. 682]

AN ACT

To prohibit financial transactions with any foreign government in default on its obligations to the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter it shall be unlawful within the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States for any person to purchase or sell the bonds, securities, or other obligations of, any foreign government or political subdivision thereof or any organization or association acting for or on behalf of a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, issued after the passage of this Act, or to make any loan to such foreign government, political subdivision, organization, or association, except a renewal or adjustment of existing indebtedness while such government, political subdivision, organization, or association, is in default in the payment of its obligations, or any part thereof, to the Government of the United States. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall upon conviction thereof be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 2. As used in this Act the term "person" includes individual, partnership, corporation, or association other than a public corporation created by or pursuant to special authorization of Congress, or a corporation in which the Government of the United States has or exercises a controlling interest through stock ownership or otherwise.

Approved, April 13, 1934.

England may give up. If so, I predict and see ahead our American picture. Some people are going to say Hitler is telling the truth, that he does not need us. He has Russia to whip now. Money saving people will fuss about defense taxes. Men who sabotaged Roosevelt two years ago and last year--those wise isolationists--again will raise their voices. I read: "French Truce Heartens G. O. P. Isolationists. Dewey and Taft Convention Drives Seen Strengthened."

God, how I pray for this country faced with either of them--not because they are Republicans or Democrats, but because any man or any man's supporters can be heartened by in their ambitions by the death of France.

June 19, 1940

Nothing succeeds in stirring a man like fear of loss of his job. Byrnes and Rayburn may be scared now by the picture of being reduced from majority to minority leaders, and missing their own boat as Democrats. They can see what is written. Roosevelt and Hopkins probably can't see through a complacent cloud of idea promoters and "yes men". They are cutting trees and not seeing the forest. So, Byrnes to Rayburn to Hopkins to Roosevelt.

June 19, 1940

Churchill, a half American, knows his America better than Byrnes or Roosevelt. Churchill, tired, with his back to the wall, had sense enough not to ask America for anything. The spirit of America gives with proud willingness the aid and power needed, even to the all. But when asked, or demanded, the American spirit folds its hands and says, "Come and take me."

So, Roosevelt should not be asked to ask American people. The representatives of the American people in the Senate and House should:

1. Vote their confidence in what he has done to date.
2. Tell him what he should do on the line of Pepper's Seven Points, or some other squelchy good line.

Pepper has been talking for over a year about the necessity of leadership in the Senate. He has called over and over for positive action on the part of America. He has insisted that Americans be realists. He has stated his beliefs over and over again in his attempt to call America back to what he believes.....

Then, on May 6, 1941, Senator Pepper called on the Senate again to take the leadership he has called upon it for since the beginning of his struggle to extend aid to the Allies. Particularly because of his advance position in that instance it is interesting to examine his point of view at that stage of world events:

"If there was anything distinctive about the character of Andrew Jackson it was the quality of positiveness and certainty that grew out of an unequivocal conviction. If there was anything he scorned, it was evasion and indirectness. If there was anything that marked Andrew Jackson the man, it was the manliness of all that he did. Therefore when this Nation is the last citadel of democracy standing in the world, and when the chief assault is not now in the Balkans, or even at the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or Suez, but upon the ramparts of American public opinion, it is well that we consider what America shall think and do in this troubled time.

"I hope the Senate will not misunderstand me if I advert to the fact that about 10 months ago, on the sad day when the Republic of France fell, I ventured to make some comment in the Senate and to propose what I thought might be regarded as a constructive program containing seven points.

"Mr. President, in the 10 months which have elapsed since those utterances were made here in this body the world has been made over. Those sinister forces which some thought had come to their culmination in that period 10 months ago have now grown even stronger, and they threaten even a larger area than that which was within the scope and compass of their thought then. Where their strategy at that time was Europe-wide, it has now become the grandest strategy ever conceived in the imagination of mortal man; it is as wide as the circumference of the globe itself; it touches every crucial point upon the face of the earth.

"The question naturally presents itself to us, When shall we see enough to rouse us from our lethargy, and to make America for once take an affirmative and

in the rapidly flowing stream of life all along together, whether we want it or not, whether we know it or not. If we would guide our own course we must guide the course of itall, for where they go, we go, and where we go, all go.

"But those who shall break the new ground as the pioneers must have the intrepid spirit of the old. They must be unafraid, strong, and have in their minds no thought except Forward, ever forward.

"The fascinating adventure of this future reaches out its hand to us. We shall look it in the eye and grasp its hand in the typical way that we have in the Americas."

In speaking at a luncheon before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Canada, on March 19, 1941, Senator Pepper closed his address with these words: "You and I know how we have flung away opportunities to save the peace in the past. You will understand me, I know, when I say that I know how culpable my own country has been; that our regret is not ~~what~~ we did in the last war, but what we did not do when the storm of that struggle had passed. We have not committed the only error, either of omission or commission, which has been committed. We are not alone at fault. Some of our leaders have not been the only ones who did not see.

"But when the mischief has been undone again the test of the sincerity of our repentance will be what use we make of future opportunities.

"What is there to prevent the application of the principles of Pan Americanism to the wide-world--to other hemispheres as well as our own? It may or may not be too soon, even when peace is with us again, to set up the superstate or a proven form of world organism, but it will certainly not be too soon for the representatives of all the nations of the earth, great and small, black and white, yellow and brown, to establish the habit of meeting together, of talking about common problems, of setting up the machinery of cooperation, in meeting those things that threaten us all, disease, crime, ~~and other things that threaten us~~ poor food, poor shelter, poor working conditions, to work out the many non-controversial ways in which we may help one another all may help each.

"I will not believe that any one of the British Commonwealth or of the Pan American republics would object to such an effort and would withhold its honest cooperation from such an aim.

"There has never been such an opportunity as there will be when this outbreak of outlawry shall again be suppressed, there has never been the intimacy among the peoples of the world there now is, physically, intellectually, spiritually. A man now speaks and the world hears him, writes and the world reads him, thinks and the world thinks with him. If there was ever any doubt that any of us was not an integral part of this great world organism, that doubt has passed away. We move

"We cannot ask the world to adopt and live by the principles of Democracy unless we can show them that we have first made Democracy work in our continent. Cooperative democracy in this hemisphere has given peace to more people over a larger area and for a longer time than the world has ever seen before. In this dreary hour when men have so much to bring despair to their hearts, where is there a picture so inspiring, so reassuring as that which is presented over all these thousands of miles, among all of these twenty-two nations, among all these different people, speaking their different languages, having their variable origins, their own distinctive characteristics and aspirations.

"In the foundations can be no other supports than willingness to admit the other man's rights while you insist upon your own, earnest recognition of the interdependence of us all, sincere desire to cooperate helpfully with one another, acceptance of the principles of honest discussion or fair arbitration as a method of settling differences, recognition that whatever impairs or obstructs the fullest possible exchange of goods, services, ideas and inspirations harms all, and above all, understanding that the most glorious monument that man can build is not a dazzling state, but a healthy, busy, happily striving people.

"While the sky is dark, while the hearts of men are heavy and the cries of the anguished echo around the world, those of us who have never lost our faith in man and man's God know that the darkest hour comes just before the dawn and from the fallow ground of suffering have sprung forth the most beautiful specimens of the spirit.

"The portals of the future are ajar. They challenge us to open them and through them to enter into the abundance and the beauty of a better world."

In March of 1941 Senator Pepper was invited to speak before the Empire Parliamentary Association composed of the members of the Senate and House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa, Canada. While in Canada, he made several addresses. Some of the things he said in Canada were: "So you and I and Canada and the United States are now grown up, and we shall have to face this modern world like mature men and nations, and we shall not be able to make excuses either for our failure to understand it or to meet it. Our people and our history will observe only that we either did or did not meet that world as we should.

"This modern world presents to the institution of Democracy its most supreme challenge. No institution has ever struggled with a world like this because there has never been a world like this. There were never before so many people, and since people make problems, there were never before so many problems. People never lived so intimately before. They were never so inter-dependent. Their welfare was never so inextricably interwoven. They never were so keenly competitive as they now are. They never had so many things in common. They never had so many reasons to oppose one another for what there is. They never had so many causes to work together to enjoy what there is and to make more.

"If our kind of Democracy is to persist, we must first make it work in our own nations. Second, make it work in our continent, and third, do our part to make it work in the world. Undoubtedly, to make Democracy work in the modern state in this technological age, is the severest test of genius, understanding and patience.

"It is clearly apparent that something must enter into the spirit of man, a new kind of willingness to assume a new kind of discipline, before such Democracy can really save the modern world as we know it in our homelands.

"There are some who think that any discipline is tyrannical. You and I know that the character of the discipline depends upon its source, its authority.

and turn the whole productive power of our people from constructive to destructive purposes.

"We do care whether the clock of time is to be turned back to the dark ages and all that civilization has saved from the wreckage of the past consumed in the crucible of lustful desire. In short, as a responsible family in the world community, we do care what kind of a world we live in and our children shall inherit.

"Hence today the people of this country and their government are resolved upon two aims.

"First, to maintain the national defense, and

"Second, to preserve the national integrity.

"We have no purpose but peace. We threaten no others--we ask only that they do not threaten us.

"We have sent no spies, saboteurs and fifth columnists to any other country--we ask only that they shall not so assault us. We have tried to be a good neighbor to the world, but we would be unworthy of our noble past did we not let men everywhere know that there is something Americans have lived for and there is, if necessary, God forbid it, if all else fails, something Americans will again die for."

A few days later, speaking on Washington's birthday, at Topeka, Kansas, Senator Pepper said: "And when that Government had come into being, he (Washington) it was who made it real, who impressed upon us the indelible imprint of his own integrity, his own vision, his own strength and his own courage. He had to orient this nation into the world of his day, adapt its policy to the course of events as they then ran. How well he did it is attested by the imperishable character of the foundations of our nation, not alone in our institutions in the fabric of our government, but in the sentiment of our people.

"Not, my fellow countrymen, we face difficulties no less challenging than those which confronted Washington in the establishment of this nation. For we are engaged too in orienting our country again into the modern world of adapting it and its policy to the course of the terrible events which now are shaking the very foundation of civilization itself.

"We are not going to be drawn into European wars, but we are not going to be foolish enough to sit by and let a would-be conqueror use all of Europe for a springboard from which to destroy us. Neither does America propose to be without moral vitality in world affairs. We do not care where a particular boundary is--^{the} what/form of any nation's government--what is the character of their philosophy or culture, but we do care whether or not the world is thrust into anarchy and chaos.

"We do care whether international laws and covenants between the nations are mere scraps of paper.

"We do care whether some nation or group of nations is trying to make force the only world law.

"We do care whether the Christian world is to have paganism thrust down its throat.

"We do care whether a nation run amuck can throw us into the center of a mad world which shall lower our standard of living, demoralize our economy, curb our liberties, bend our necks under the burden of terrific debt, for defense,

A free people must not be coerced into unity and dragged into compliance. They must come eagerly together in common council and in common concert, chart their course, charge their leaders, coordinate their efforts and so build a single spirit of unity and resistance that E. Pluribus Unum becomes a fact and not a slogan.

"In a new spirit let us hasten on together like a well disciplined athlete to our place in the hardpressed ranks of free men."

When the Lease-Lend Bill was under consideration, Senator Pepper made a radio address urging its passage. On February 20, 1941, he said: "The Lease-Lend Bill now pending before the Senate and nearing passage, happily, could well be described as America's last clear chance to keep war out of the Americas.

"Our's is strategically both a defensive and an offensive position. We want no world territory. We aim at the conquest of no other land or people. We do not want more ground than we have. We do not seek a single resource, however strategic or critical it may be, save in the ordinary and honorable commercial way. We would not if we could, therefore, attack any other country or join issue with any other land power for the mastery of their soil, but we do expect also to be let alone in our lands. We expect others to do unto us as they would have us do unto them. In a military sense, then the world knows that our only purpose is to act defensively--to save ourselves from any enemey who would come to take our homes away from us.

"As a matter, therefore, of the strictest national security, upon the age old principle of self defense, we are resolved to put every possible weapon in the hands of our heroic brethern of the English speaking world; to give them all possible moral support; to strengthen the sinews of their resistance in every way within the genius and enterprises of our own power. We have chosen this bill as the method by which that shall be accomplished.

"The Congress lays down the policy and the President executes that policy.

"But the policy remains in the hands of the Congress where it should be. It is the Congress which confers the powers granted by the bill. It is the Congress which by the clear provisions of the bill may take them back by a simple majority vote at anytime.

"It is a bad time for democracy to lose confidence in itself and to become suspicious of its own prerogatives. Never more than now did conditions demand that democracy clear its decks for action--bold, intelligent, effective action. The dictators have no division in their strength, no disunity in their attack.

do know this: that if democracy is ever to live, it is not going to be saved accidentally; it is going to be saved intelligently.

"You and I know who have given any thought to what is going on in the world that beginning at the time of the French Revolution there started to sweep across the face of the earth the wings of liberty and freedom. They came from France to America, and from America they spread with renewed vitality to the remotest corners of the earth, until at the end of the First World War one could look upon the geography of the earth and say with historical accuracy, 'The world is safe for democracy.' And then the winds in the magic way of nature shifted and they started in the other direction--first, in Russia in '17--then in Italy in the early '20's--in Germany about the same time--and finally in one European nation after another, until relatively we and the British people stand alone on this earth who dare to champion the principles of democracy.

"It is more than a coincidence that all these hundreds of millions of people have embraced a totalitarian faith--that they gave up their liberty for something, I know not what, that seemed to them more worth having than liberty and freedom. One cannot say as yet whether what happened to the Holy Alliance will likewise happen to Great Britain and America. That is to say, after the Napoleonic wars, the nations who formed the Holy Alliance said: 'Now democracy is forever dead. This burst of liberty, fraternity, and equality that came from Paris and her Bastille and her zealous people is now buried under the earth.' They thought they were right, for they crushed it wherever one timid head presented itself. But all the monarchies in the world, we know now, couldn't have stopped it, no more than King Canute could have stopped the tides which swept over the British Isles in his day or you and I could hold back the winds, because it was in the trend of the times.

"Now, I don't know whether we are at present marooned upon a democratic island in the world of morals and of the spirit. I don't know whether we are the back, the wall against which democracy has its back, only to win ultimately and to thrust itself forward in all of its erstwhile splendor. I don't know and I don't suppose any of us knows just what the situation is going to be. But I

In a speech at Chicago during the campaign of the fall of 1940, speaking in behalf of the Democratic Party, Senator Pepper made some remarks which are of interest to one seeking to understand him. It is interesting to remember that he was addressing the banquet of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce during a political campaign:

"And you know, as a matter of fact, whether Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected or whether Willkie might chance to be elected, that the expenditures of this government are not going to be reduced. They are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased, and your taxes are going to be increased, and you know they are going to be increased. All of you shall probably have occasion to remember that you are paying less taxes now than you will ever pay again in all your lifetime.

"Let me speak about courage for a few moments on the part of a political party. With an election in prospect a few weeks hence, a Democratic administration has publicly announced that it was going to give every bit of material aid it could possibly give to that heroic and beleaguered people fighting today behind their breastworks of morality and spirit and sentiment as well as arms for the defense of the things we love. Our President said, 'I am going to see that they get them'. He did not quibble about it. Nor did the Congress make it any easier for him to say that either, and I have some reason to know about that.

"I myself had some reason to feel the scorn of my congressional colleagues when it was proposed that the Congress authorize the President to give aid to Britain. They thought it was a monstrous proposition. Knowing the sentiment of the country demanded such action, the President was thus able to insulate himself from impeachment by the Congress of this nation. Now they have come along because they perceive that public sentiment demands such action, but the initial risks were taken by the man at the top, who didn't get much consolation either spiritually or from the votes cast by the members of Congress.

and for action, and for positive character. Thus our forefathers won this continent and all that we love today. It will be because we turn our backs to the principles which actuated them that we shall lose the inheritance our forefathers so desperately fought for."

"I suppose the French people would be willing to appropriate a little more for defense, would they not, if they could go back a few sessions of their chamber. If they had known a few years ago, when the Chamber of Deputies met and quibbled over little things while a mighty Germany grew around but a single invincible will, what they know now, would it have taken them all the afternoon to pass a tax bill? They would have been on their knees praying that every possible resource and power be concentrated at the place where it would do the greatest good.

"The last point is, seven, confer on the President the power to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.

"I say that the American people demand of the American Congress a policy of action. Another day has passed, and we have done nothing substantial. France has fallen. Great Britain is almost to her knees. By now perhaps the French Navy is a part of the forces of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini. When in the name of God are we going to start? When are we to mobilize the will of our people, every factor of our economy, every dollar of our money, every unit of our manpower, and make this mighty Nation move as one man toward our frontiers, upon lines of defense, behind the lines, wherever they will prove to be most effective?

"Mr. President, I do not suppose this is going to get a very favorable recommendation. I suppose Senators will say, 'Oh some more hysteria,' or some other Senators are going to say, 'I wish they would quit making these speeches. They stir up the people.'

"We are not stirring up the people. The people are trying to stir us up. Just listen to them and hear what they say. Hear their words.

"We, as the spokesmen of a democracy, it seems to me, should wake up and lay out a program. I offer one which has come out of the heart of one who wants to be honest about this matter, though he may be deceived.

"This is no time for sentiment. This is no time for ritualism. This is the time for action, because the genius of America has always called for courage,

And, speaking in the Senate on May 23, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"At a time when civilization hangs in the balance, when all that we have salvaged from the sacrifices of the past is in jeopardy, the Government of the United States, and the Congress of the United States are not taking an affirmative stand that is vindicating the spirit and traditions of our country and of democracy. I say that another day toward what I fear is an irreparable "too late" is about to end.

"Gentlemen have said, sincerely, of course, that we cannot afford to do what I have suggested, because it would be a breach of international law. I reply, breach of international law against whom? I am talking about sending airplanes to the Allies to fight Hitler. Is there any such principle as estoppel in international law? Can Hitler, who has raped every sentiment of civilization, claim the benefit of international law?

"When men are so archaic, so outmoded in their thinking as to think that international law has anything to do with this controversy, I am troubled, Mr. President, because it is the same folly and fallacy that Belgium and Holland and the Scandinavian countries were guilty of. They said:

If we will just be scrupulously neutral, if we not let a plane of our would-be friends come to protect us against our known enemy, if we will not let a soldier of our friends come on our territory to defend against the inevitable day, we may hope that the sentiments of decency will find lodgment even in Hitler's heart, and that he will respect the institutions of the civilized states of the world.

"Such persons are still thinking in the time of a civilization that is dead, of a society that has collapsed, and a law that has been trampled under ruthless feet. They might as well betalking about international law in the Dark Ages as to talk about international law and justice to Hitler.

"Mr. President, we have the Johnson Act, forbidding us to lend money to the Allies who have not repaid the war debts. When the judgements of men are written, Mr. President, all of us will be held accountable for what we have done on this earth. The zeal of those who uphold that act, and so-called isolationists' policies, I admit has been honest, and their determination laudable and characteristically American, but I wonder at whom the finger of absolute justice is going to point when it writes in blood the responsibility for the death and suffering

that is going on today in the world.

"We retain the Johnson Act, which says we cannot even lend to the Allies any money to carry on this war, and yet we have just appropriated over a billion dollars for our defense over here. Where could that billion dollars, or even \$2,000,000,000 best be spent? By the Allies over there, or by us over here now? And we have spent several more billion dollars for defense in the last two years. Why? Because of Hitler. If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would not spend even the billion dollars we have voted today.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow we would have more than an adequate national defense. Yet this agitation and hysteria, justified as it is, stems from one source--Hitler, Hitler, Hitler. 'Hitler, Hitler, Hitler' is pounded into the consciousness of every man, woman, and child on earth.

"If Hitler were crushed tomorrow where do Senators think braggadocio and purchasable Mussolini would be the next day? Do Senators think he would be apt to declare war against somebody? Where would the swashbuckling Japanese be the next day? Do Senators think they would be talking about taking the Dutch East Indies and depriving us of the manganese and tin and rubber which we must have? No; they would run back to their stolen Manchuria, and be glad to be let alone by the retributive justice of the world.

"But let Hitler live and grow into a giant, more and more colossal, and every one of them sneaks out from under his doghouse and begins to bark at an intimidated world.

"Behold the spectacle, Mr. President. The battle of Armageddon wages and America is virtually a timid spectator, almost afraid to utter a manly sentiment because it might make Hitler angry.

"Do Senators think, do citizens think, that if we shall only be good, if we shall not violate any neutrality laws, if we shall not violate the Johnson Act, if we shall not violate international law, Hitler will say, 'Uncle Sam, I am pleased to observe your conduct, which I hereby pronounce above reproach. Having seen how scrupulously you have lived up to the code of decency, I spare you my wrath'?

"First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America.

"Second. Universal defense service, so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense--every one of them to take his place where his Government may judge that he may best serve--in the Army, in a factory, upon a highway, in building forts or ships, or whatever the defense of this God-blessed country may require.

"Third. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgement interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials.

"If more hours of work are required of labor, I favor conferring upon the President power to require whatever number of hours the national emergency may necessitate.

"I say to the workingman, 'The only chance you have to keep from being a salve, ordered like a scourged slave from one place to another, is for the majesty of the Stars and Stripes not to be questioned in all of this broad land or continent.' So I make no apology to any group whose interests I may seem unjustly to affect, because I am talking about the integrity of America, and in a matter like this there is but one right, and that is the right of society to preserve itself against all enemies.

"Fourth. Confer upon the President power to suspend the present debt limitation if in his judgement such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.

"Fifth. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgement at this time constitute America's first line of defense.

"Sixth. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and the adoption of a defense budget and a tax program adequate for the national defense.

Then on the day the news reached America that France had fallen to the Germans, on June 17, 1940, Senator Pepperspoke again in the Senate: "Mr. President, what has concerned me principally today is a sort of theoretical query which has been in my mind: What kind of an apology have those who would defend this generation's democracy to offer to posterity for this criminal neglect in its defense?

"So here we are. The world which we used to know is dead--as much so as the ruins of Pompeii, which bring back to our mind a civilization long gone. The world in which we lived seven years ago is a collapsed and crushed world, as dead as the ancient ruins of imperial Rome. So we need not speak about the majesty of the past. We had better concern ourselves with the challenge of the present and the future.

"I tell you, Mr. President, that our country today faces the greatest challenge to our security that we have ever had in any day since the dark days when George Washington alone, by almost a Divine intervention on his side and the incomparable courage of the American people, was able to wrest the independence of this country from another.

"That is the reason, Mr. President--because I was disturbed--that I wanted to offer a constructive program, for which today I know I shall be criticized. It will be said that I am a warmonger; that I am engaged in a policy for the dissemination of hysteria; that I am an irresponsible second or third-rate Member of this body; but, Mr. President, I challenge you to wait a few weeks and see if the American people do not demand the program that I am going to offer right now, for they sense, in the way that the intuitive faculties of the people sometimes understand more than they can describe, the traditions of our country that are about to be destroyed, and they sense a jeopardy which we never before experienced.

"Mr. President, it is a seven point program that I submit for the defense of America.

"A few days ago Senators were saying, 'We cannot send anything abroad now; we do not have it.' All right. Let us talk primarily about America and its defense.

"Honest, sincere, misguided men. Unless I misjudge the significance of what is going on, a few days from now they will wish every one of these precious moments could be recalled. Now, we might be able to strike more courage and give greater strength to the courageous arms over there. At least tonight when he speaks, when the American people hear his voice, I wish the President could have in it the vibrance and the confidence that would come from the consciousness that the United States Senate, regardless of party, regardless of philosophy upon domestic matters, upon this one cause--the decant philoslphy of a decent world and the sacred integrity of their own country--stood united, one indivisible people; and the sooner we come to be that, Mr. President, the more shall we assure the liberties of our country for posterity yet unborn."

"Anglo-Saxon liberties, institutions, their great cathedrals, the temples of their law, the tombs of their famous dead--when they are desecrated, perhaps we can have a brief memorial service here in the Senate.

"So, Mr. President, we come to a time in history that we have never before experienced, standing alone, without a single first-class power in all the world as our friend. Cast the eye to the Orient and we behold naught but defenseless China there. They begrudgingly, from the limited, hesitant character of our support, may still definitely and delicately call us blessed; but not the Japanese, not Italy, not Russia, not a dominant Germany; and where the ashes of England and France are, the clicking heels of German soldiers will drown out any plaintive appeal that may come to us from those expiring there.

"How long will it be before the Congress catches up with the country in appreciation of the seriousness of this hour?

"Tonight the President speaks at Charlottesville, Virginia, where his eye may turn a little bit and behold Monticello on its noble hill. Under the shade of the elms where Jefferson walked, it may be that in his heart tonight he will be sad as he walks through those hallowed lanes.

'I know his heart will be heavy tonight because he has not heard anything from the United States Senate in the past two or three weeks to hearten him very much. He has not had statesmen with national reputation rise up here and say, "Mr. President, in the name of God and a free people, raise your right arm to its maximum strength and smite down, in all legitimate ways short of war, those who threaten our faith, our philosophy, and our integrity.'

"They have been, on the contrary, a little vexed with some of us because we have dared to give some opportunity for the American people to express themselves. They have thought we were a little bit upstarts, that we were stirring them out of a comfortable complacency. They did not want to feel the spur of the American people upon them saying, 'In the name of God, go on now, and actively.'

"Mr. President, our great leader in the Senate today stated that he hoped our time would not be occupied by remarks that diverted us from making progress upon the bills we are now considering. Mr. President, I say that if we did what we ought to do we could pass these bills in a few minutes, and the rest of our time would be taken with every Senator in his seat, his eyes glued to the Vice President's dais, his heart throbbing with the excitement of the occasion, saying, in unequivocal words, to the President of this country, 'We loose the shackles that restrain you. We tear down the restrictions that limit the reach of your strong and brave hands. Democracy lives again. Pulsing, vibrating democracy, fighting for its life, is a potent force in the world at a moment when it is having its heart struck at by one assassin as the confederate of another.

"Yet another day has passed. The tanks have rolled ominously 1 mile, 5 miles, 10 miles closer to the citadels of liberty. On the southern flank the assassin's knife is already drawn, poised to strike into the back of a nation crushed between converging forces. Yet when they tell this democracy that they seek the riches of the rich nations; when they say that a new philosophy proposes to overturn and dethrone the old, which we epitomize as the oldest single form of government in all the world today, the Senate sits here, and even our leader says that we twaddle when we try to arouse the American people against the terrible hour in the shadow of which they live.

"I suppose it will be tomorrow; it may be even the next day, before Paris is conquered; before the valiant French Army is destroyed; before that great nation goes down to dissolution and defeat, and perhaps disappears forever from the pages of a glorious history. I think perhaps at least the Senate will pause when France dies; when Lafayette's name becomes ignominious, in view of the fact that the great liberties we enjoy were gained by the intervention of the French people."

"Mr. President, another translation of that speech said that he warred against those powers that contained the major part of the world's gold. I myself heard it this morning over the radio. Who has the world's gold? Is it Great Britain or France? No Senator doubts that reference was made to only one nation, the nation which has at least three-fifths of the gold of the whole world within its frontiers.

"Mr. President, Mussolini is a courageous realist. The German Fuehrer, in the time he has been in command of a rejuvenated Germany, has never minced words about German ambitions and about his determination that the German race, superior to other races, must dominate the world.

"Today, Mr. President, another voice in the confederacy has risen to state in unequivocal terms, as another newspaper says--and I am reading from this afternoon's Evening Star: 'This gigantic struggle is only a phase in the development of our revolution. This asserts itself against the stranglers, the rich nations. It is a struggle between young and progressive people as against the decadent people, the struggle of one century as against another century. The dies are now cast.'

"When he spoke of a young people against an old, he was not speaking of the Italian nation as a young people. No one more than he has gloated upon the conquests of ancient Rome, the majesty of which is depicted in marble upon the ruins of the Coliseum which he has restored. He knew, when he spoke of an ancient people historically, that he meant a new philosophy was at war with an old philosophy; the century of democracy, the last century, was at battle with the century which has given rise to totalitarian dictatorship. That is what he meant.

"Mr. President, if there is a citizen in America who does not catch the whole terrible import of those words, I hope tonight on his knees in prayer for guidance he may learn the danger that threatens us upon 43,000 miles of frontier.

In an address to the Senate on June 10, 1940, Senator Pepper said:

"Mr. President, today will be remembered as a sad day in the history of mankind. I venture to say it will be remembered as a sad day in the history of a great nation, for eventually the great Italian people will trace their downfall and dissolution to the evil step which their leader has this day made them take. But, Mr. President, in spite of the fact that the latest news from the front indicates that the Germans are within 25 miles of Paris, a distance which has been ruthlessly and relentlessly shortened with the passage of each sorrowing day, there is still something which may offer hope for America, at least about which I am primarily concerned.

"In the remarks of Mussolini today, delivered not secretly but boastfully to the wide world, there seems to me to be a sentiment which should leave no doubt in anybody's mind that Nazi Germany of today has declared war upon the United States of America, and that that war has been joined by Mussolini and the Italian people. For, in plain American language, in the Times-Herald of this afternoon, appears the following from Mussolini's remarks:

'The hour of destiny has arrived for our fatherland,' Mussolini said. 'We are going to war against the decrepit democracies.'

"Then there is a break, and some words are deleted, and the quotation continues: 'to break the chains that tie us in the Mediterranean.'

"Then, in speaking of the watchword of the Fascists, he says: 'It is to win. We salute the Fuehrer of Germany--

"He added--'Fascist Italy is on her feet and prepared to strike..... This revolution---

"He continued--'asserts itself against those who control the riches of the earth.

'It is a struggle of one century against another.

'We take up arms to solve the problems of our continental frontiers and our maritime frontiers. We shall win, and we shall give a long period of peace and prosperity to Italy and the world.'

The work of a man as young, as vital, and as active as Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, is certainly not finished. That is, perhaps, a good reason for looking at a portion of his work that has been rounded out into almost full accomplishment.

More so than with other men, the words of legislators must be taken into account in judging the man. Words are the tools by which these men bring their leadership into effective acceptance by their colleagues and by the country.

In of 1940

~~Last~~ May, as France and England were locked in tragic struggle with Germany on the battlefields of Europe, Senator Claude Pepper introduced into the discussion of the Senate of the United States the proposition that America should defend herself through aid to the Allies in the form of planes and the machines of war. When that first bill was introduced and sent to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, the vote in that Committee was 12 to 1 against the proposition of aiding the Allies in any material way. From that day forward, beginning with one vote, his own, Pepper has fought an uncompromising fight for the things he believed important to the American people in the light of the developing world events and the threat they carried to Democracy.

He is a young man, just a little over forty, and a man who has not hesitated to lead the way along the paths he believed we should go, as America groped to work out its salvation in a world awry.

Senator Pepper spoke in the Senate last May, when Germany was moving across the face of Europe in a way no man had been prepared to imagine she could move, inflicting horrors that stunned even the casual reader of newspapers upon the peoples in her path:

"Does anybody really believe that? If Hitler wanted anything we have, he would take it regardless of what we did. Does anyone think that Hitler makes any distinction between our sending airplanes which belong to the United States Army to fight him, to drive his Messerschmidts down, to kill his soldiers, and sending planes from our factories over in Maryland, or from the west coast? Does anyone think he cares any less because they come out of a private factory rather than out of our Army stores? What difference does it make on the front where they come from? They are American, and America is helping to defeat him to that degree. His anger would be just as great whether we did anything else or not.

"So Mr. President, another day has passed, drawing now to a sad close. We know not what the next hour, what tomorrow may bring, except that we know that more rivers shall run with more blood, and that the soil shall soak up the life of humanity which is the sole defense of democracy in the Old World. Yet we, a giant, the fabled Atlantic which God has spared through every vicissitude and danger, to be the refuge of Christian sentiments the world over while Armageddon is being fought, talk about international law and about unpaid war debts. And Hitler marches over the graves of 30,000 boys from American homes--boys who gave their lives that this thing might not happen again.

"They did not succeed. Neither did Christ, and neither did the martyrs; but I thank God that the example of Christ and the martyrs has found willing apostles in every succeeding generation. I yet believe--I hope not too late--that the righteous indignation of our country, God's democracy, the defender of God's faith, will throw itself out into the front and say, 'I do stand for something in the earth, and I will do something now to crush the enemies of all that I hold dear.'"