

Supper

TIME - November 24, 1930

How It's Done

....The qualifications which an aspirant must have are so well known as to require scant perusal. The constitution says one must have been born in the United States at least 35 years ago and lived there at least 14 years. Unwritten laws at present add that one must be a white male with no known criminal, immoral, or undignified tendencies, preferably Protestant, preferably a holder of public office.

Alter Ego. Rule No. 1 of the practical handbook of How to Become a President says: Acquire a wise, devoted friend who will work and speak for you as you would for yourself. Obviously, the aspirant cannot go about telling people he wants to be President. He must have an alter ego without egotism. This friend and spokesman should have political wisdom, like Mr. Smith's Judge Olvany and Mr. Wilson's Col. House. He should not be chosen carelessly, as Charles Curtis chose loud Matthew Quay Glazer (1928), nor should he have an excess of zeal, as did Charles Dawes's Col. Ed Clifford. He should be a man of some distinction in his own right; often he will come to the aspirant of his own accord after the season is well advanced.....

Money. Rule No. 2 says: Close in the background must be an eminent banker or financier. This gentleman's dollars are as important as his endorsement. Until one is one's party's choice, one must not only be privately financed but prepared to show that one could summon large sums for the party coffers. And no great banker's endorsement, certifying to Business one's soundness as a leader, is worth much if it is unaccompanied by a substantial cash investment. This cash must not be too obvious too early, however, as in the 1920 case of Leonard Wood's Col. Proctor, the soap tycoon.

The Leaders. Find strong communities of interest with the leaders of the party, says rule No. 3. This means the permanent, entrenched leaders, rather than the party executives of the moment.

Issue. To become nationally known rule No. 4 says: Identify yourself early and firmly with a national issue. Herbert Hoover's unique feat of getting elected on "American individualism" without ever letting his stand on any national issue be known, is not likely to be duplicated soon.....

The Press. By the same token that "You're dead when they stop writing about you," you are unborn until they begin writing about you. So rule No. 5 declares: Get a press! This is accomplished in several ways. The alter ego must see that editors get courteous, efficient service when they exhibit curiosity. Friends of editors may be asked to bring the editors to call, dine, have a drink. Writer friends should be encouraged to undertake character sketches.... Anecdotes (safe, amusing ones) should be frequently dropped among newspaper men. Any specially quotable or laugh-getting phrases in the candidates speeches should be noted for re-iteration. Newspapers snatch at good little bits for front-page "boxes". Any cartoonable physical characteristic or appurtenances should be emphasized --as were the Roosevelt grin and spectacles, Taft's girth, Dawes's pipe, Smith's hat.

Travel. The candidate must move about the country. Not aimlessly, of course, or just hoping he will be seen. He must be supplied with places to go, people to visit, ceremonies in which to participate. Dedications of bridges, schools, memorials--especially statues of great dead leaders of the party--are especially good. If the candidate is a Southerner, he should get a summer home in the North; Northerners should winter in the South.

Health. Rule No. 7 is: Seem always full of health. This touches upon WHAT is actually the prime requisite for political success--physical energy. Whether or not energy will continue after the candidate gets in office, there must be no doubt of its existence while he is trying to get there. Bursting, blooming, up-at-seven physical condition is readily suggested by appearing on horseback, walking to office, going swimming, playing golf. Fishing from a boat is good (but never be seen at the wheel of a yacht.) Younger men have an advantage over sedentary types like Mr. Morrow, though his legend of mental activity (including detective stories) is well developed and Gov. Roosevelt has demonstrated what can be done even after infantile paralysis.

Ladder. Rule No. 8 is the last one: Don't go around without a ladder. That is, always have handy a means of climbing down from the eminence you achieve, that you may live to try again four years later.

Following the rules will get a man to the convention doors as a live candidate--live in the sense that there is no good reason why he should not become the nominee.





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Pepper

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WESTERN UNION

1207-B

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Sen & Mrs Claude Pepper April 17 1940

Street and No. 1661 Crescent Place N.W.

Place Washington, D.C.

Thanks for the flowers and your thoughtfulnes. Glad Claude is doing the Pennsylvania job. Which reminds me of Georgia have provided a special Georgia ham and had I known Mildred were here would have had her take the ham home. Ham is to be held by Claude pending instructions re special breakfast which will have to be discussed in executive session

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

C & M

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1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the un-repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.
2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.
3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.
4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.
5. No responsibility attaches to this company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.
6. The company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing to the company within sixty days after the message is filed with the company for transmission; provided, however, that this condition shall not apply to claims for damages or overcharges within the purview of Section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934.
7. It is agreed that in any action by the company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.
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9. No employee of the company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

1-33

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Bon Voyage telegrams "Pep" telegrams
Kiddiegrams (No 35¢ rate) "Thank You" telegrams

ASK ANY WESTERN UNION OFFICE OR AGENCY FOR FULL INFORMATION

~~Adams 1226~~

Mrs. and Claude

Mr. and Mrs. Claude Pepper

*We haven't been to see you
but we have been thinking
about you*

1661 Crescent Place N.W.

Adams-9610

~~Wardman Park~~

Washington, D. C.
April 20, 1940

Mrs. Claude Pepper
1661 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Pepper:

Because I am leaving town and have not reached you by telephone, I should like to give you the information I have about the cups for your party.

R. Harris and Company, 1101 F Street, N. W. has a large assortment of trophies. Mr. Speaker, in charge of this department, will be glad to arrange to get something suitable for you, should he not have what you desire. Please send the bill, as per your conversation with Mr. Marsh the other afternoon, to:

Miss Minetta Stockel
1075 First Avenue
New York, New York

In the event you decide on vanities, bags, or something else, the same offer is good.

In addition to this information of mine, I should like to add Mr. Marsh's suggestion that you consult once more the Hawaiian Delegate to Congress to cut the red tape at the Shoreham regarding unions, by having selected Hawaiian guests provided by the Delegate as his contribution to the success of your venture as guest artists for the performance without pay. What the Delegate himself might do in the way of an honorarium you would leave to him. Mr. Marsh is sure not only that the Delegate would do this if definitely asked, but that he would select carefully a truly representative, genuine Hawaiian small band, instead of the Harlem West Indian substitutes which New York provides. He suggests that a good many of the people will know the difference between the phoney and the real, because so many have traveled to Hawaii. Therefore, your best selector and best judge of this type of music is the Hawaiian Delegate.

Yours very truly,

Memorandum To: Senator Claude Pepper

May 22, 1940

This is not usable except as a last resort, if the combined bureaucrats of the War Department who want to sit on their planes, and the combined bureaucrats of the State Department keep blocking. Suggest Jones, R. F. C., loves to be a fixer-upper. If the President asks him to set up among the war plane makers a quick holding company with a capitalization of, say, \$200,000,000 to buy from the United States and guarantee replacement. Jones in action knows the ropes. Morantreau knows nothing. The Treasury bureaucrats would be swamped. Use Jones. First, because Jones' R. F. C. is not a direct arm of government. Second, because Jones knows this language. His legal department knows the language, and the set up could be done by midnight for submission to the President tomorrow. I could do it in a framework of words, myself, in thirty minutes.

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Memorandum To: Senator Claude Pepper

May 22, 1940

I shall be in within two hours if you call Culpeper 7151. You may reach me there any time today or tomorrow.

Hitler precedents have taken over The Hague. Our precedents from The Hague seem to be taking over us. Your Mr. Hatchet in the State Department apparently is reading international law and forgetting that the law of necessity functions. Do we work with precedent and international law to block a world necessity, or do we meet the law of necessity with our brain and our airships? Today it is brains to bring our precedent people in line.

Here is the working plan for the next twenty-four hours, as I see it. First, you yourself drop everything except this. If you were sick, I think Johnson could take on your telephone except for this. As a Private in your ranks, I am ready, and I am doing the same thing.

Factors: probable men seeing as you are are the President, Hopkins, Hull, C + C Berle, Pittman, and a majority of your committee.

Jones will practically carry out the President's plan through the R. F. C., or otherwise. If there is a smart man in the War Department, he also is a carry-outer. Men opposed are all the bureaucrats in the State Department and the War Department who are looking for precedents ~~where there are~~

zealots of authority, lazy or hoping to hold planes here
The plan: United States has orders for combat planes with many private yards. The foreign governments have ~~some~~ orders with many private yards. *cowardly*

The precedent people say a government violates neutrality when it sells a government-owned airship to England direct.

Do not sell them direct. Sell them indirect, at once.

It is not a violation of neutrality for a private concern to sell airships to England.

The simple business is for the United States to turn back to all or any of the airship makers the United States' own ships in return for future deliveries; they then would immediately supply this newly acquired group of ships to England.

This is done every day in private business by people who do not have precedents when they want things done.

If the Orlando Star has a car of paper purchased from a paper company and the Tampa Tribune is out of paper, the paper manufacturer merely phones Martin Andersen that he wants to divert the car to the fellow in Tampa who needs the paper, and that he will make another car of paper and send it to Martin before he is out. Martin agrees, and no neutrality is violated, and no precedent is bothered about.

United States does not need airplanes today. It needs new airplanes, 1940 model, tomorrow. England, another customer of private industry, needs planes today, not tomorrow. The manufacturer of planes takes the initiative. He asks the War Department whether the Department will take new planes for old, delivery later. The War Department says, "Yes. Fine deal. Deal closed." New owner, private industry, cables offer to London. Ships start at once for London. Then refer to Hull and precedent lookers-up.

Believe that I, as a paper buyer, may use with you common sense before, let us say, Hopkins, or Corcoran, or Cohen. As a private party without epaulets or authority, I should not go further than a Hopkins. I would be resented by the fellows in authority in a conference of theirs. You have authority. They cannot resent you as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Sell Pittman first, and any members of your committee, on this plan. Try to take Pittman with enthusiasm in with you. *Give him*

Some boys
If the Senate of the United States were acting as it did in the great days before the Civil War; if you men of the Senate had not become slaves to precedent yourselves, taking orders from bureaucrat No. 5, you would be indignant and in action, all of you.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

ATLANTA, GA.

June 3, 1940

Clark Howell
Editor and Publisher

Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida,
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Pepper:

"For God's sake, sand them planes."

And God's strength to you in your fight to
awaka a soundly sleeping congress to the greatest need
America has ever had.

Send army and navy and marine corps planes and
the service pilots to fly them into battle along side the
French and British--even as Hitler and Mussolini did in
Spain. Will we never learn? Let them go as volunteers
if need by--though I would not hide behind a definition.

The urgent need is to get them over there NOW.
Fly the Atlantic. They won't do us any good six months
from now anyway.

We let Mussolini and Hitler build the grandest
bonfire on which to burn the carcass of Democracy--only
we not dead unless we admit it.

I have today written The President, Representa-
tive Ramspeck and Senator George and Russell that I believe
America demands that planes be sent regardless of whether
private or service ships.

And More power to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) N. S. Noble

N. S. Noble,
Managing Editor.

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CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

R. S. WHITE
PRESIDENT

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

QB11 69 NT=ATLANTA GA 7

1940 JUN 8 AM 2 40

CHARLES E MARSH=

MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHDC=

WILL AIR MAIL TOMORROW SOMETHING RE JOHNSON ACT AND FEELING
 DOWN THIS WAY ABOUT AMERICAN PARTICIPATION. THREE CHEERS FOR
 FIGHT PEPPER PUTTING UP AND MORE POWER TO HIM NOW THINGS
 BEGINNING TO SWING SHARPLY INTO LINE BACK OF HIM. AIR MAILED
 HIM TONIGHT STORY GOVERNOR RIVERS WIRED PRESIDENT URGING WE
 SEND GUNS, PLANES, SUPPLIES TO ALLIES. AP PICKING UP FOR
 TRUNKS. THANKS YOUR WIRE AND CHANCE TO AID. REGARDS=
 N S NOBLE CONSTITUTION.

A Program:

There has been enough of hating Hitler and Mussolini talk for the moment. Action and concrete proposals in the Senate is the only thing which will bring newspapers and radio to the Senate.

Roosevelt has said all at Charlottesville. Therefore:

1. Call your "Support Roosevelt" motion to the floor, with organized short speeches from every Senator, keeping the line of the speeches on "Follow the Leader." This takes blood from the Foreign Relations "No" group. Force the vote as soon as you are sure, which I predict will be within forty-eight hours.

You go to Chicago tonight, but pull it out now, leaving it in charge of a good technician.

Have Lee rush his aid refugees resolution in at noon.

Before you leave today, get House groups ready for action two days from now when their appropriation bills are out. There will be room for two days of talk there. I would have Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee as my House leader; T. V. Smith, Illinois, as orator, and Lyndon Johnson, Texas, to steer the real House strength behind May, for this strength is among young congressmen. For prestige, give Smith the introduction in the House of the Lee refugee resolution, and Johnson or May concurrent House for your "Support the President" resolution.

If you can do this, I will go to Chicago with you tonight to help with your speech on the train.

1701 - 16th Street, N. W.
Apartment 120
Washington, D. C.
June 17, 1940

Senator Claude Pepper
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

America is fighting today for the realities which lie behind all those lovely words that American children are brought up to say--Liberty, Freedom, Equality. It is only in their danger that American people begin to realize how great they are in the lives of each one of us, and how much we would willingly do in their defense.

It is in the great surge of patriotism, and the re-renewal of America's belief in the validity of these things upon which she is founded, that America is today looking to Washington for the defense of these things. America would do much to continue as America, a free country, of free people. You, alone in the Senate, seem to realize how very great is the wish of the people that these things be defended.

Not many weeks ago the Justice of the Supreme Court made a statement that the best defense of Democracy lay in the effective functioning of the institutions of Democracy. It is the hope, I think, of every American that the institutions of Democracy may prove to be effective. Americans want a body of representatives, I believe you realize, who truly represent the will of the American people to defend by the very best of all defenses---"the effective functioning of the institutions of Democracy." History is eloquent of those representative bodies which ceased to function altogether through failure to represent.

You stand alone. It is certainly the wish of every American that the Senate of the United States may soon awake to its responsibility to function as it was intended that it should.

Yours very truly,

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

A SEVEN-POINT PROGRAM FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 17, 1940

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I would 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. What I propose to do is to offer a seven-point program for the defense of America.

I realize that on this solemn day there are many besides myself whose hearts are heavy. With the surrender of the French Army, no one knows how soon the day will come when all resistance to the invincible military machine of Hitler will be utterly destroyed. Already the news service tells us that Mussolini and Ciano are on their way to a secret meeting with Hitler to determine the terms of surrender for the French people.

I know that there is not one in this Chamber who would not, if he could, repair the damage of that great loss to the cause of democracy, to the cause of culture, to the cause of international decency, to the cause of Christianity. But in the last 3 weeks, as I have spoken upon this floor and before a committee in behalf of a program which I thought would add strength to the preservation of our first line of defense, there have been many who have come to me and said, "We wish it were possible to accomplish those purposes, but it is already too late. The damage is beyond possible repair. All we would do, therefore, would be to make a gesture if we followed your counsel. The cause is already irrevocably lost." They have already come to the consciousness that we live in a new and a more tragic world.

Mr. President, I shall not, therefore, dwell at any appreciable length upon the significance of the present situation, because my purpose is to offer a constructive program, under seven headings, which I believe will meet the demands of the American people that every energy of this great Nation, every power we possess—physical, mental, and spiritual—shall be dedicated to the cause of the preparation of the United States against a foe they know is already marching in this direction.

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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? What are they going to say paralyzed the will of the democracies of the world? What mysterious germ, what magic power will they say so took in its grasp the will of the democracies of the world that it was paralyzed and stagnant in the face of danger which not only threatened but accomplished its inevitable and permanent dissolution?

What are they to say about our complacency toward Hitler? In 1933 a man comes to power in the German Nation, after he has written and published to the world a book in which he declared that the German people were destined to rule the world, and declared as a single objective the accomplishment of that end, against all odds, with an unswerving and undefeatable will, by every form of perfidy and destruction that was available to his marvelous ingenuity or his extraordinary genius. Yet the world paid no attention. With those weapons he destroyed the liberties of 80,000,000 great, brave, strong people; and still we waited. Then he went outside of his own borders, using the same methods and tactics, following the same declared course; and one nation after another—strong, virile, dynamic—came to heel, many with only the threat of his terrible sword.

Others put up such resistance as their archaic methods would allow.

He went with a new procedure behind the lines of battle. He paralyzed the minds and the will of a people to fight. So he had defeated them behind the lines before he ever had attacked them at the front.

Mr. President, this generation in the last 7 years has seen the most terrible epic that the human race has ever had the horrible experience to witness. One after another countries have fallen—nations with supposedly great statesmen, men of far-sighted wisdom, well-informed foreign offices, competent and experienced intelligence units—nations that were empires of the first magnitude, whose word rang round the earth, and upon whose flag the sun in its heaven never set.

One of those empires, Mr. President, so little understanding this new peril that had arisen upon the horizon, is now, today, a bonded slave to Adolf Hitler and his satellites in the wicked confederacy which he has created. That country, whose flower is the fleur-de-lis; that country, whose banner is the tricolor; whose motto is "Liberté, égalité, Fraternité"—France—is no more. France is a vassal. France is dead.

And England, no longer the lion of old—king of beasts—Great Britain now is a great wounded lion tottering under this great, invincible sword which threatens to take its life-blood when it falls.

Mr. President, that is the world in which today we are debating whether one kind of whisky or another kind of whisky shall pay a tax of \$3 a gallon.

Already Mussolini, Ciano, Ribbentrop, and Hitler are parceling out the African colonies of France. They have probably already taken over the French Fleet, or made arrangements to take it over, for no one is senile enough to imagine that they are going to let the Army of France and the people of France be spared unless they make the unconditional sacrifice at least of their fleet intact.

Mr. President, mark my word, if they do not do it, there will not be a man alive on fair France's soil after the time in which the sword of Germany could put them to death.

The naval authorities say that if you will add the French Fleet to the Italian Fleet and the German Fleet you will have a superiority in capital ships on the side of the British as against that combination, but probably a superiority of light ships on the part of the combination of Hitler, Mussolini, and the French Fleet. But, in addition to that, what is that smoke on the horizon by the East Indies? That is the fleet of the yellow men—almost the equal of the fleet of the United States itself. When Hitler and his combination marshal their forces for an attack upon Great Britain, do you think the yellow men of the east are to stay quiet in their territory, or do you not know that they will raise their sword upon the East Indies for its rubber, its manganese, and the other minerals that are not found in such plenitude anywhere else in the world, which are there almost at their doorstep. Add that fleet to the combination of Mussolini and Hitler and the French Fleet and you have a united superiority over the whole British Fleet, even if it were all in one place.

But, Mr. President, I can go further. If you add that combination together, and even had the fleet of the United States and the fleet of Great Britain, that combination as against the combination of Great Britain and the United States of America would be as 9 to 10. Even if every unit of our power were flung into that combination, even then there would be hardly an advantage to the British side.

But, Mr. President, where do you think the British fleet is? Is it all in home waters? Is it even all in the Mediterranean? I should say roughly that 50 percent of that fleet is scattered around the world—Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the Singapore base, and the waters of the Indian Ocean, and upon the seven seas—wherever the proud flag of Great Britain up until a little while ago was the ensign of an empire which was master of all it surveyed. Britannia did rule the waves, Mr. President, until this horrible thing took place.

So I say these units—that is, the combination of Mussolini and Hitler and the Navy of France, if they shall possess it—do not have to go to Singapore, they do not have to go to Australia, they do not have to go to New Zealand, they do not have to go to Canada. All they have to do is to tighten their stranglehold around the little isle of the United Kingdom. They do not even have to encompass all the islands off the coast of the United Kingdom.

Mr. President, with but 50 percent of the British Fleet in the home waters to defend the islands of the United Kingdom, it is a very easy matter for this combination of powers to make a combination which will be overwhelming as against that portion of the British Navy.

But, Mr. President, I go a bit further. I am told that the British have three principal naval bases from Le Havre to Norway. Who now controls the territory from Le Havre to Norway? All that thousand or more miles of coast is subject definitely to just one will, the will of Adolf Hitler, and his diving Stukas which may rain death on it from the air.

In other words Hitler controls the bases all the way from Le Havre on the south and all points on the French coast, the channel ports, the ports along the coast of Norway, the Danish coast and, of course, the German coast.

A navy cannot operate without bases. It is absolutely important without a base for more than a short period of time. It cannot operate without those bases to which it can come

for coal, oil, or for repair. So without those three bases upon the coast, on which now Germany has unquestioned sway, there may be one base in Great Britain proper.

But I ask you what would happen if in using that one base the ships were all to congregate, a great number of their great fleet, at that particularly vulnerable point. For I am assuming in making these remarks that Germany still retains an air superiority over Great Britain and France. In the beginning of the war, when England had an air force and France had an air force, and when Italy was not in the war, even then German air superiority was unquestioned. But now with France no longer in the war, with France a vassal state, and Italy in the war, there can be no possible question but what the combined air power of Mussolini and Hitler exceeds anything which the British can possibly command.

So you give an approximate equality of naval strength to Hitler and Mussolini, and then you give them an unquestioned air superiority, and limit their field of attack to just the island of the United Kingdom. I ask, Mr. President, how long can brave Britain hold out against that vicious combination?

Therefore I give considerable credence to the estimate that has been made by certain military experts, whose names I shall not call here, who said at first that perhaps Great Britain would hold out until July. A little time ago before France fell they said perhaps the war would last until the 1st of September. But I venture to say that Great Britain will be starved out, instead of bombed out, for the very reason that they do not have a food supply sufficient to last more than a few weeks. And ships may circle the world in their effort to get food from the four corners of the earth, but when they bring it back to Great Britain, where are they going to stop? They must stop the ship, and the ship then becomes an immobile target, and the dock at which it unloads is, of course, an immobile target; so what about the airplanes up above? What did they do in the attacks on the docks at Dunkerque? They literally tore them into shambles.

So if the attacks on the docks at Dunkerque 22 miles away from the English coast could be successfully made, what is there to keep them from making shambles out of the ports of the United Kingdom when its ships come from across the seas and attempt to dock and unload the food with which to feed the people of England?

Mr. President, there were some persons a little while ago who said, "No, no, the British Ambassador is simply disseminating vicious propaganda. He is just trying to get the American people into the war, when talking about the British giving up their fleet." And then some said, "Well, what about the French giving up their fleet?" The reply was, "Oh, that is some more of that vicious propaganda emanating no doubt from the French Embassy this time and there is nothing to it."

Yet here is the newspaper of this afternoon. If I am not a man who is out of his mind, I see headlines in a Washington newspaper:

France asks for armistice—Germany demands surrender.

Then here in the next headline I see:

Britain fears Nazis will use captured fleet for invasion.

Apparently even the British are thinking there might be something to it.

Does anyone think that Hitler is a sentimentalist?

Does any Senator think that this is another Grant, who, according to the code of chivalry, takes the sword of another gallant Lee? Are we dealing with a Grant versed and steeped in the traditions of Americanism, dealing with a gallant foe who fought a gallant fight, handing back the sword to the brave owner who carried it so illustriously upon scores of battlefields. This is a beast, in whose heart there is no sentiment except the sentiment to crush all opposition to his iniquitous plan.

In the summer of 1938 my wife and I had an experience which I suppose will be historical. We sat 20 feet away from Adolf Hitler, on the porch of the House of German Art in Munich, with only one table intervening between ours and his. I looked him in the eye. I looked at the cut of his face. If I ever saw the stare of a man inconsiderate of all sentiment which stood in the way of the realization of his purpose, it was in the eye of Adolf Hitler. I looked at that face, and it seemed to be cut out of stone, Mr. President. If I were delineating it in bronze or stone I should make a straight line from one cheek bone to the corner of the chin; another from the other cheek bone to the corner of the chin, a straight line across the bottom, and a straight line across the top. That would represent the fixity of purpose in the cold, hard face of Adolf Hitler.

Mr. President, that is the kind of man we are considering—worse even than Napoleon ever dared to be, more cruel than any conqueror whose hand ever held sway over the earth, and more dangerous, because he is a greater genius than any military commander the world has seen to date. The Kaiser's legions, then the flower of soldiery on the face of the earth, took 4 years and never reached Paris. This time, 5 days after Hitler really began his attack upon Paris, the French capital capitulated. Today, less than 2 weeks from the time Hitler began his march across France, there is not a straight line in the French Army, French soldiers are fighting as guerillas here and there, some of them not able to realize that the order to cease firing really means that fair France had died into slavery.

Mr. President, a moment ago I stated that the question which troubles me is, What has happened to us? What happened to Chamberlain, Baldwin, and their compatriots? What happened to the French statesmen? What happened to Gamelin? I remember that in the summer of 1938 the French placed so much confidence in the wisdom of General Gamelin that I was advised officially and authentically that he had told the British Cabinet that he could crack the Siegfried line if he were ordered to do so.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I prefer not to yield, if the Senator will excuse me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair). The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. PEPPER. The British had so much confidence in him that they believed him.

What will posterity say about the statement which Chamberlain made a little while before Adolf Hitler unleashed his tigerlike Army against the Allies? What did poor, old, deluded Chamberlain say? "Hitler has missed the bus." That was the statement of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, with two or three little mechanized divisions in Flanders, with the French depending upon the Maginot line for protection, and really no adequate preparation for modern war. Yet when Hitler was poised to strike his deadly blow, the Prime Minister of Great Britain said, "Hitler has missed the bus." I think that statement will go down in history as perhaps the most descriptive statement any statesman has uttered showing a total lack of understanding of the kind of war we face and the kind of world ours had become.

If we search Europe, we cannot find a single power which dares to raise its head against the power of Hitler and Hitler's Germany. So Europe is his vassal. France is no more than a slave. A few days ago I said that I hoped we would have a memorial service when France died. I thought of the beauty of French literature and the luster of French learning. I thought of the grandeur of the French character in the past, and how France had written in gilded letters across the illuminated sky of man's history the great accomplishments of the French people. I wish we could have paused, Mr. President, in at least a word of sympathetic sadness when the fair name of France was blotted from the map of the world. At

other times she came back; but no Hitler conquered her in days past.

Such is Europe. There is nothing but vassals and slaves. Reaching to the southwest, we find a vassal state. Italy is already in collusion with Hitler. The Balkans are already trembling in their boots at every word and command he utters. Over there is a giant of Europe and Asia, Stalin, whose own bloody hand is a part of the bloody conspiracy. How far does the conspiracy reach? Take the continent of Africa, Mr. President. Does anyone think that the airplanes of Hitler and Mussolini could not pulverize any and every city upon the whole continent of Africa? So Hitler, I say, is the master of that continent also. In league with Russia and Japan, does anybody deny that he dominates the policy of Asia and of the Far East? The East Indies are just as much the property of Hitler today as my hat is my property, which I have the power to pick up when I reach my office.

So, Mr. President, there is Europe. There is Africa. There is Asia. Let us look into the far Pacific. There we see the little continent of Australia, in the shadow of the Japanese Navy, buttressed by the navy of Italy and Germany. How long could that little country stand up? So that continent, too, today shivers under the Nazi threat. New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific are all in the same category. Today the will of Adolf Hitler is the supreme human force on the face of the earth.

"But," it is said, "look at the majesty of Great Britain, whose far-flung empire reaches around the world."

Mr. President, I make a sad announcement, in which I believe every Senator concurs. I will not say where Britain ranks in the category of nations, but Senators will understand me when I say that Great Britain is no longer a first-class power. Senators will understand me when I say that the same thing applies to the United States of America.

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 7 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.

Someone says, "Yes, but we still have the majesty of the Western Hemisphere untouched." For a simple illustration, obtain a copy of the United States News Week for the last issue and see the number of Germans, Italians, and others of like faith and attitude who are distributed among the nations of South America. A few days ago on this floor I adverted to a fact which all Senators noticed: When the President of Brazil made a speech, he paid a compliment to the democracies, but he took pains to extol the glories of the new age which is exemplified by the virility of the totalitarian states.

But, Mr. President, someone says that the Western Hemisphere is still immune. I shall not go into the technical description of the various countries to the south of us. Many persons already think that they do not come fairly in the category of democracies. Senators know what I mean when I say that. Dictatorship is a sentiment not unknown to some. Some regale themselves with the prospect of how much mightier they could become if they followed in the illustrious footsteps of some of the dictators abroad.

The Brazilian President sent a telegram of explanation of his speech. Why did it call for an explanation? It must have had ominous language in it which made the President want to disabuse the mind of our President and our people as to any hostile intent we might have suspected in his remarks. At least the speech was capable of a double interpretation.

I thank God that the illustrious President of Brazil renewed his assurances of loyalty to the President of the

United States; but even without Great Britain falling, if the mailed finger of Hitler points at one of those countries and says, "Trade with me," how many of them dare refuse? What protection can we give them if they do refuse? Will we buy their wheat, corn, cotton, cattle, meat, lard, and raw materials which we produce in abundance in this country? If so, what will Senators' constituents back home say when we come to vote money to buy their products when we cannot sell even what we grow in our own soil?

The Germans say that with their trade policies they can undermine our economy and stir up dissensions among us, weaken confidence in our Government, and bring our people nearer to doubt or hostility toward their own Government and traditions.

In this morning's newspaper there was a statement credited to the propaganda minister of Germany, who said it would be an easy matter to stir up revolution even in North America. Mark my words, Mr. President. We have already lost South America. Do Senators hear that? I am a responsible man when I make that statement. The United States today has less influence in a pinch in South America than has Hitler; and I challenge future historians to deny that statement.

So, Mr. President, the isolationists have succeeded, perhaps beyond their fondest dreams. America has become isolated at last. We did not isolate it. Hitler isolated it by a policy of encirclement which today has made us shrink back toward the confines of our own continent—even, I dare to say, north almost to the Panama Canal.

Americans, are you willing to give up your standard of living and do without exports? A Senator on this floor, speaking honestly to me one day in this Chamber when I spoke on this vital subject, said, "We do not want war." I said, "Senator, do you not see the implications of the present situation?" He said, "Why, of course, I do. It means that we shall go back to a standard of living equal to that of 1835. Take the men off the W. P. A., take away the subsidy from the farmer, take away our R. F. C. aid to business, take away the Government's program to aid all of our people, because the Government will not have the money to do it, let cotton drop to 4 or 3 cents a pound, and then not find a market for more than two-thirds of what we grow at that price, let corn drop to a few cents a bushel, let wheat become an unprofitable crop, let hogs go so low in price as to be incapable of sustaining the farmer upon his farm, let our economy crumble under our very eyes, and what will the American people be saying? Will they not be speaking sentiments upon which "fifth columnists" and Trojan horses may grow?

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 7-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.

239589—18927

First. Confer upon the President full wartime power to prepare and defend America. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH in the chair). Just a moment; the Senator will suspend. Under the rules of the Senate, no demonstrations whatever are permitted in the galleries. Those rules must be obeyed.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Would it not be wise for the Chair to instruct the doorkeepers that when the guests of the Senate violate this rule they will be ejected?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The doorkeepers understand their duties, and the Chair is sure they will remove from the galleries any person who violates the rules of the Senate.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I want it distinctly understood that when I refer to the President I am not talking about a particular President; I am talking about the President of the United States of America whoever he may be. I speak in the shadow of another election which will give the people of America in the democratic way—which, thank God, still a little while longer will live here—the right to determine who their President shall be. If a Republican or some other President, by the will of the American people, is elected to the White House of our country, I still offer this program for the President of the United States of America.

So, Mr. President, I suggest:

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.

I mean by that just what I say: Universal service, enacted as soon as the present Congress can enact it, calling to the colors of their country the men of this Nation—young men, middle-aged men, and older men—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 judgment interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense materials.

I mean by that, confer upon the President—the people's President, whoever he is, acting, of course, as he will always act, upon the advice of the proper agencies of the Government—confer upon some official who can act the power to say, if a young officer is better to lead a company than an older officer, that he shall be at the head of it. If a young naval officer is more competent on the sea than an older one, put the young officer in charge of the ship. If our country is in danger, we cannot quibble about individual rights of seniority in a crisis like that.

In addition to that, Mr. President, I have purposely included the power to suspend the wage-hour law, the power to suspend the Walsh-Healey Act, the power to suspend the National Labor Relations Act, the power to suspend any rule, any regulation, any statute which the President thinks, in his wise discretion, will interfere with the vital necessity of this country's arming itself at the earliest possible time that conditions permit.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida has declined to yield.

Mr. WALSH. The President already has power, in the interest of the national defense, to suspend every labor law.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator. I am delighted to have the able Senator confirm that.

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;

for though I have tried to defend labor as loyally as I knew how, I say to the labor unions, whose interests I have always supported on this floor, "The only chance you have to have collective bargaining and liberty of economic action is for your country to live and democracy to exist upon the face of the earth." 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 judgment such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.

It is not any longer a question of debt limitation or of money. It is a question of building ships, of building airplanes, of building arms, of acquiring materials, of manufacturing powder, of constructing tanks, or making armored cars; and money means no more than a buried treasure if it is not the instrument by which the independence of our country may be preserved.

While we made a gallant gesture toward increasing the debt limit \$3,000,000,000, we have already spent five billion since we started this program about 3 weeks ago, and we know that five billion is just a drop in the bucket. Let us tell the people so, and forget about the debt limit, and think in terms of 50,000 airplanes, two navies in two oceans, the master of both, and tanks necessary to be the accompaniment of a motorized army of 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 men. Let us think in the terms in which Hitler thinks, of materials of war and instruments of destruction upon the field of battle.

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.

Remember, I said materials and credit. If England can hold out until the 1st of January, we will be prepared that much more. A little while ago I asked: Why did we not start 2 years ago? Why did we wait until it may be too late?

Two years ago all the democracies of Europe alone, if they had put their fingers upon the throat of Hitler, could have strangled him to death. Today all of them stand helpless before his might. Yet each one waited, thinking perhaps some other country would be eaten up but that it would not; being too timid to enter into a confederacy, thinking someone would charge it with violating international law or being unneutral; putting up some of the defenses which were as ancient as the Dark Ages. Their safety was already eaten out in its vitals by the traitorous "fifth columns" which had already unlocked the doors of their fortresses, and spiked their guns, and had almost made ready to sabotage their ships, and certainly had paralyzed their will to defend themselves.

How many times shall we ask ourselves "Why did we not do something a little while ago?" But we can still help with material and credit.

We hear of the Johnson Act. That has been the buttress and fortress behind which gentlemen have claimed the right to national and international distinction, and all it has been has been a cloud over the eyes of the American people, which has jeopardized the country our forefathers bought with their blood.

I am telling my colleagues, posterity will want to know why we let a few blind men lead us over the precipice which destroyed our right to live our kind of life, our standard of living, and, God forbid, perhaps the integrity of our country.

Mr. President, if a few dollars will enable the democracies to hold out until September 1 or October 1, let us get them over there as soon as we can.

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.

We all know this tax bill is just a gesture. There is not one of us who does not know it is no more than a gesture. During the debate I felt like saying to those who were talking about whether the tax should be on straight whisky or blended whisky or rectified whisky, that they need not quibble about it, because before the tax really goes into effect it will be doubled and trebled so many times they will have forgotten about this day back in June when they distinguished between one kind and another.

We have not even begun to tighten our belts, I am telling my colleagues. I think the patriotism of the American people, as this crisis has become more acute, has been one of the finest things I have ever seen. It was not the Congress or the President; to be frank, it was the American people, who demanded that we impose these taxes. They want to pay. They will pay until it hurts, because, in the way men understand when their security is in jeopardy, they know that to pay now is the only way they have of avoiding—if I may use a common expression—paying through the nose later.

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.

We might just as well not pass the tax bill unless we want to amend the title and call it tax bill No. 1. Do not call it "A," because there are not enough letters in the alphabet to describe the number we are going to have. Call it No. 1, because perhaps we can count up high enough to identify the various tax bills which will have to be passed to defend America against a dominant Hitler.

The very able and foresighted chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs intimated very clearly on this floor a few days ago that if we built two navies the cost would be a colossal sum of money. Yet is there anyone who denies that we need two navies? I understand that already a bill has been introduced to increase our Navy 20 percent. Thank God for that. It does not make any difference whether we say 20 percent or 30 percent, we are building it as fast as we can. But let us build some more shipyards, let us double and treble our facilities, let us take the unemployed from the streets and highways, or from the humble homes in which they hold their sad faces in their tear-wet hands because they have not a chance to work under a democracy. Let us bring them to the shipyards and pat them on the back and say, "Thank God we have your muscles and your great strength and your strong will to work. You are Americans. Build ships. You are not building a ship, you are saving America. Build, build, build, as if your lives depended on it."

We will find "the old W. P. A. people," whom some have scorned, like Americans of all ages coming to their country's defense, and rendering meritorious service.

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.

There is no doubt in the people's minds about that subject. They do not want aliens who come to enjoy our hospitality sticking a knife in our backs. They do not want them spying upon our defenses. They do not want them disseminating vicious and destructive propaganda. Give the President the right to exercise the power of organized government, the

right to put them into concentration camps, where they can do no harm through strands of barbed wire builded half to high heaven above their iniquitous heads.

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. I could take State after State. Let us take the good old State of Georgia, down my way. The Macon Telegraph, the Atlanta Journal, the Atlanta Constitution, are three papers whose editorials in behalf of what I have been urging have in the last few days come to my attention. They present at least a fair cross-section of the sentiments of the fair State of Georgia.

Then we come to Alabama. We find the editor of the Montgomery Advertiser, one of the greatest papers in this country, crying out that we do something in this crucial hour. I could name a paper or papers in almost every State of the Union.

239589—18927

A few nights ago I spoke in Chicago, and, although it rained up until the time the speech was about to be made, there were 30,000 people present. The Chicago Tribune had said, "We warn PEPPER," in so many words, "We warn PEPPER against coming out here with his warmongering." One would have thought that they were going to set upon me like a mob. The authorities sent a couple of police officers out there. What happened? I stood before that audience and said every word I have ever said on this floor. I spoke of every iniquity and perfidy by Hitler my tongue was able to speak of, and what happened? Two in the audience booed, and, bless their holy name, some American Legion boys threw them nearly over the monument.

I say, Mr. President, that that is typical of the sentiment of America. 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.

I hope to God every fear here entertained is a misconceived fear. I hope not one danger that I have foreseen shall ever come to pass. I hope that not one iota of the jeopardy that I have felt of the nightmare over my consciousness will ever come about.

Mr. President, but if I am not wrong, and if you in your hearts are not wrong, tonight is not too early to speak. I am thinking of the clock and not the calendar.

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 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.

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 equally good line.

June 19, 1940

My mind in three days has done this:

1. They can't beat Roosevelt.
2. If England liquidates before September 1, they might beat Roosevelt.
3. Events in Russia, and Churchill's speech say the war will last in some form beyond November.
4. The President is off the line, not in intent, but in the order of his doing.
5. The people are becoming nervous, without information, wondering where Knudsen and Stettinius are; and frightened over evidences of Roosevelt indirection and lack of immediacy.

Pepper to Hopkins by telephone:

Harry, I want to ask your advice. The Scripps support of Wilkie is more than it seems, and I've got Guffey with me in the Foreign Relations Committee, and he is up for re-election. I happen to know (from friend Marsh, who spent some time yesterday with Parker) that the situation with this group goes beyond the Philadelphia support to a very positive desire to defeat Roosevelt with any Republican candidate. Often they support candidates in both parties, and then go Democratic, but in this case Roy Howard, the king maker, is having his last fling, just like Hearst did behind Garner. He had Dewey, and the switch was merely because they knew it was hopeless to beat Roosevelt with Dewey.

This means that the New York World Telegram will be Republican until November 15.

That Pegler and Hugh Johnson will add heat and venom against Roosevelt.

That in Ohio a very stiff newspaper anti-Roosevelt fight has been ordered.

That the Pittsburgh Press, which Guffey is really afraid of, will be hitting the western half of Pennsylvania daily against all that Guffey stands for.

I don't know what to do about Guffey, whether to tell him how serious this Scripps thing is, or keep him going with me without any special information except as he picks it up from the newspaper. He was very hesitant to come along in the Foreign Relations Committee before, and I would not want him to run backward now.

June 20, 1940

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June 20, 1940

Just say this one some time today on anything that comes up.

"I see that Henry Ford says that his son Edsel's deal with the United States Government for six thousand airplane engines to go to the British is out the window.

"I wish to say to Henry Ford that very, very soon he will make airplane engines on the order of the United States Government, to go wherever the United States Government says, or he will go out the window."

June 20, 1940

Just say this one some time today on anything that comes up.

"I see that Henry Ford says that his son Edsel's deal with the United States Government for six thousand airplane engines to go to the British is out the window.

"I wish to say to Henry Ford that very, very soon he will make airplane engines on the order of the United States Government, to go wherever the United States Government says, or he will go out the window."

June 20, 1940

June 20, 1940

Memorandum from Marsh:

Dear Claude:

Knowing this man well, I thought I would act as a secretary, saving your mind and thought. Change it up a little, because he knows my style. This is directly, however, the line of his mind. He is one of those men that some day we shall be inviting down here, not to work, but to educate.

This next week I probably am bringing down an editor from Texas, and more or less plan to run short courses, living with these editors a day or two each.

But I want you and Fentress on the same direct line of thought.

June 20, 1940

Memorandum to Mr. Johnson:

Very anxious to have Mr. Pepper answer the Fentress letter first when he starts dictating his mail, and see that I get a copy of letter to Fentress at once, so that I may be able to handle the follow-ups to Mr. Fentress on Pepper. This is educational work on ten newspapers.

Possible suggestion for Pepper, if he hasn't sent the Fentress reply:

Dear Mr. Fentress:

Marsh has given me two letters from you, which he says probably belong to me as an aid.

The breadth of your understanding of the spirit of human beings who want to work in dignity and health, but who are, as you say, "scrapped" by circumstances into idleness and ill health, is a rare gift. I have had more than ten thousand letters on the defense question recently, but no one has had the understanding to recovery value in the practical way in which you see it. I plan to get this thought into action in a quiet way in the executive branch rather than use it in a Senate speech. After all, we want the men to work, and my talk might make some bureaucrat mad.

Your analysis of the seven points heartens me. That is all I can say about that. The job is heavy, and often I feel alone, but I certainly know that, if I am as right as I believe I am, the time is not far off when the points will be production.

I hope we of Congress grant these powers without having the President demand them from an unwilling Congress with the people urging the President, and not the people with Congress and urging the President.

After all, the President works for all of us, and we have a right to tell him, and give him the tools. I am personally a little tired of having to be asked.

Please write me directly any time you have something, and use the wire if you please, but please don't get mad at me if the rush here puts me behind in correspondence.

Hoping to see you in Washington soon,

Claude Pepper

C. E. M.

June 22, 1940

On the basis of peacetime operations and on a general average without regard to specific sizes and types, Admiral S. M. Robinson, Coordinator of Ship Building, says that to build a first line battleship requires four years, six months. A cruiser can be built in three years, six months, while a destroyer takes only two years, six months. A submarine can be launched in slightly less than two years, and construction of an aircraft carrier requires four years.

Major Warner, Ordnance Division of the War Department, gives the following figures with regard to various types of equipment:

1. Tank. Assuming that the drawings have been completed, a tank of average size will take six months to complete. Under a commercial contract, after the first tank has been constructed they may increase their production from ten a month to 150 or 200 tanks a month. Of course, a little more time will be required in the construction of the heaviest tanks used by the Army.
2. Armored car. Ordinarily requires three months for construction. The most difficult thing and the greatest problem in the construction of these cars is the armor plate, which ordinarily holds up production.
3. Modern motorized artillery. With regard to 75mm gun, the average time required for complete construction will run between a year and a year and a half. The gun itself can be built in slightly less than a year. However, the recuperator often takes a year and a half. The carriage can be built in considerably less time than the gun itself. In a smaller gun, the 37mm, they now have a contract let providing for the construction of 350 in one year. Under ordinary circumstances, that is the length of time required to complete a gun of this size.
4. A Plane. Major Gross of the Ordnance Division of the Air Corps advises that from the time the general plan for construction is laid before the engineers and before any plans whatsoever are drawn, to the time when the ship is finished, ready for test, will require approximately three years. This figure is based on the assumption that the plans desired require some material change, such as the increasing of speed fifty miles per hour. Assuming that the plans have been drawn and it is desired only to produce more planes of a type that are in existence and being flown, it will require from nine months to a year. Mr. Ford says he can produce planes under these conditions in from four to six months. However, that figure is considered a little too low by the Air Corps. Admiral Robinson of the Navy advises that in construction of a plane, the time required under peacetime operations is in the neighborhood of one year.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

June 24th, 1940.

Honorable Charles Marsh,
c/o Miss M. L. Glass,
1701 16th Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I have just written
to Mr. Fentress, which I hope you will find all right.

With all good wishes to you and warm regards, I remain

Very sincerely yours,



CP/vs
Encl.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

A. HAND JAMES, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

June 24th, 1940.

Honorable E. S. Fentress,
Newspapers, Incorporated,
Waco, Texas.

Dear Mr. Fentress:

Our friend Marsh has been kind enough to show me your two letters of the 18th.

The breadth of your understanding of the spirit of human beings who want to work in dignity and health, but who are, as you say, "scrapped" by circumstances into idleness and ill health, is a rare gift. I have had more than ten thousand letters on the defense question recently, but no one has had the understanding to recovery value in the practical way in which you see it. I plan to get this thought into action in a quiet way in the executive branch rather than use it in a Senate speech. After all, we want men to work, and my talk might make some bureaucrat mad.

It is stimulating to me to have your analysis of the seven point program, and helpful. What we are all striving for is a most effective way to get the job done in a crisis. There have been times when the apathy and indifference here have made one heavy hearted. I hope that the moving sentiment which has been formidgian the country can be converted into effective results for you and I know that the emergency is even more acute than many think. I have tried to exhibit that I was thinking of the President as the servant of the people in conferring these powers upon him; to indicate that I was speaking about any President the people might elect and not about a particular President, and I have tried to make it clear that a Congress which should continually remain in session would have the power to revoke any authority excessively granted or abused.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

A. HAND JAMES, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

~~Mr. Marsh~~

Page #2

It is heartening to me to be brought into contact with your mind and spirit. I hope you will, therefore, write me directly at any time you have a suggestion to convey. The same applies to any criticism which you may have to offer. I know your charity will always understand the pressure of things which sometimes does violence to my punctuality in caring for my correspondence.

I did not want to end a letter to a good Texan without saying that having Mr. Marsh here in the last few weeks has been of inestimable mental and spiritual value to me and to many others here.

With kindest regards and the hope that you will visit Washington soon, I remain

Sincerely yours,

CP/va

July 8, 1940

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

Item one may be the basis for you to draft your own foreign policy plank.

Item two may be a memorandum you want in your hand if you make your Knudsen-Stettinius contact. If you make this contact for Wednesday, get them to permit you to suggest a Southern personnel to do the job. I have such a personnel for discussion. It includes Bickel and Wolff, of Tennessee, whom you have met.

Were I you, I would put the economic necessity of defense into the South and West before Roosevelt before you go to Chicago. I think it a perfect political plank if properly worded. It is touched on in the Platform Notes.

G. E. M.

July 23, 1940

Dear Claude:

Sitting here before coffee, I am feeling that the battle of words opening in early August will find too many preachers and too many nasty minded people on the platforms.

You have the elements of a very diffusive campaign.

To me it is merely a campaign to determine whether the Roosevelt machine is better in than out in the defense of America. Anything else is tripe.

The President's speech was on the line. Apparently you stayed on it.

But now you go forward for three months.

There isn't any sense in hating Hitler any more. You have too much competition.

There is little reason for loving England, because England can't get material help from us in the present American psychosis.

If you were merely a person speaking your thoughts in the Senate, it would be proper for you to help England now with words because certainly before this thing is over most Americans will regret the now. But today the business is to elect Roosevelt and Wallace. For the moment the more Hitler presses England, the more frightened in nationalism will America become. There is no sense in sacrificing yourself into the extreme left of a position when you already are that person. On the other hand you should not retreat from your known convictions. What I am saying is merely a matter of where you should emphasize.

You will hit the nail on the head when you campaign for Roosevelt again in a simplicity which people will understand as the essence of sincerity.

Please don't love Roosevelt. Please don't laud the Democratic Party. Please don't tie up New Deal issues as guaranteed while we prepare. You are too young to be a liar. Inconsistency pays big dividends in that the public memory in most matters lasts less than two years, and it is simple to be a leader of this or that passing emphasis and get away with it. But in a time like this I believe the clearer and simpler a man works before the public, the better off he is as against the diffusive and abusive competitors which you have within the Democratic speakers.

I unfortunately did not hear all of the Democratic speeches, but I know that Barkley was as bad as usual in spite of noisy applause. I have heard more than once that you should have nominated Roosevelt instead of being the closing man. One person said, "If Pepper had nominated him and then we had taken a vote, we should have been spared much." Of course you and I know you did not get to nominate him because you were labeled too war-like. But that is the price of an aggressive man. The pendulum doesn't always time right. Had Hitler hâ

England thirty days ago, I believe you would be the Vice Presidential nominee now. But I have seen you two or three times on a high where you have sold me, so I know that you are not chewing leaves of regret.

This letter is rambling, but I am getting into action again within the next 48 hours, and I do not even know where you are. This letter will go to Johnson for direct dispatch.

I want to write along the line of your work. I think perhaps I should try to design something to your personality—probably three speeches, one for 15 minutes, one for 30 minutes, and one for 45 minutes. You and I know that you write your own speeches and only you can say what you should say. But I feel that I have been of some small value in the assembling of ideas, in phrase making, in the order of emphasis.

Perhaps now is the time for us to work rather than later. I shall be in town very shortly, and, through Johnson or Miss Glass, I shall contact you in person or by telephone.

Sincerely,

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

To EDITORS OF TIME MAGAZINE JULY 25, 1940

Street and No. TIME AND LIFE BUILDING ROCKEFELLER CENTER

Place. NEW YORK CITY

IN YOUR BRIEF REFERENCE TO ME AS A QUOTE SCARLET-FACED SWAMPLANDS SLICKER

UNQUOTE AT CHICAGO I WISH ~~TEXT~~ IN THE INTEREST OF ACCURACY TO SAY:

MY BIRTH AND HABITAT ARE ON THE PINEY-WOODS DRY SAND LANDS OF
THE SOUTH. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE EVER HEARD A MAN AS HOMELY
AS I AM CALLED A SLICKER. YOUR LAST REFERENCE TO ME WAS AS A QUOTE
BACKWOODS NOEL COWARD UNQUOTE. THE BACKWOODS IS ACCURATE.

CLAUDE PEPPER.

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number

Washington, D. C.
August 10, 1940

Dear Claude:

Attached find Times Herald of Saturday morning and Time Magazine on Westrick. You will note the Time Magazine story convicts the Chairman of the Board of the Texas Company of buying automobiles for Hitler's agent out of Texas Company funds with the statement that he is in the oil export business and not in politics. For your information this particular fellow used to be a Danish sea captain. He probably knew Westrick when he was a young man, and he thought he was cute saying how-do-you-do to Hitler's American fixer.

I think the Chairman of the Board of the Texas Company should be in Washington soon, as well as Westrick, the Chairman of the Board of Eastman Kodak Company, and all others doing export business or having plants in Germany who have talked with this Westrick, to make up their minds whether they are Americans developing America or whether they are Americans fixing up their particular positions in the event Hitler becomes a world boss. There are no other two ways about it. I think we have about ten or twelve of these babies in America controlling big companies. I can think of no better place to start than with the Chairman of the Board of the Texas Company, which is a subsidiary of the oil trust of America, controlled by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

I am enclosing a note I wrote today to Pittman for your information. I think if you have a breakfast with him Tuesday morning you may induce him to call Churchill as to what he would do if we sent him sixty ships, or at least get an informal statement as to what would happen to their ships and to the British Navy if the worst comes to the worst.

You remember that Pittman said that the whole British Navy would go to Singapore, leaving us the Atlantic. Suppose Churchill says so. That will mean that our sixty ships won't be surrendered, and I believe Pittman has enough stuff left in him to control his committee and to get these ships over there now.

I shall be calling you in a few days. Try to see that Lyndon Johnson plays a game of golf with you. The boy may be inspired a little so that when you and I and he get together he will be ready to go to town.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Washington, D. C.
August 21, 1940

Dear Claude:

We have Lindbergh and Ford in the Hitler decoration business. Both of them have acted badly recently. Is it possible to find out how many have been given in this country and to whom? Maybe they all act badly. One should watch out for those who gave them back to Hitler, because, of course, that is important.

I am sure that any correspondent you may know of the New York Times, Herald Tribune, Baltimore Sun, or even Walter Lippman or Jay Franklin could get the list for you.

It is suggested that the State Department is the quickest and best source. You might be in need of an extemporaneous speech some time on Ford or Lindbergh or some one else.

By the way, just as comddy, this is a rich one. For many more years than you have been grown up I have watched women in the vicinity of male prominence. They go screwy in droves whether on negro prize fighters or grand opera singers. But this one on Hitler is funny.

A Mrs. Blauffer, who is the wife of the head of the Humble Oil Company, which is related by bonds and other matrimonial marriage to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey along with the Texas Company which has just lost its Board Chairman to Hitler through Westrick--this Mrs. Blauffer was entertained by Hitler, who seems to have a most excellent selector of the people of American possibilities that he should see. Mrs. Blauffer did not get an iron cross, but she certainly got a good look at Hitler and shook his hand. So dear Mrs. Blauffer sent full and complete letters, inclosing beautiful pictures of Hitler, from Germany to her Houston friends, saying: "I have met him. He is the most gamorous man in the world. Germany is wonderful, Next to my beloved Houston, I know of nothing more wonderful."

I am sure that Mrs. Blauffer does not represent the very definitely sane mind of the President of the Humble Oil Company. She merely sleeps with him.

August 24, 1940

Memorandum to Senator Claude Pepper

From C. E. M.

Here are some paragraphs from a personal letter I have written recently which I think may be of some interest to you:

The next move in sight in the Senate to prepare American defense will be a movement to give the President power to commandeer and direct factory production for American defense.

This will be in all fairness, because we have not a right to conscript men and refuse to conscript materials if materials are not being moved adequately and properly in manufacture.

In other words, if American business will defend America without fixing its own interpretation of how much profit it should make and how long and how fast it should work in competition with its peace time orders, all is well. But the actions of the last three months have shown an uneven will to defend America. Some factories, fine. Others saying, "We will take care of our peace time business first because the war business won't bring profits permanently." And other factories saying, "We will let the other factories take the war business while we steal all the peace time business."

In other words, there must be a direct head of the intent to defend America in American factories. That intent must not be profit only for safety in the continuation of profit. If this matter of intent is left to ten thousand boards of directors, and these boards of directors can tell the government to go to hell--keeping the direction of factories entirely in their own hands, we will get nowhere fast.

On the other hand, we want to maintain the American way. About all that will be necessary, I think, will be to give the President and the Army and Navy chiefs the power to commandeer any factory which in their judgement is not willing to operate on call and primarily for American defense when requested to do so. The matter of payment at the time of the taking over of the railroad control in the last war was left to the justice of the courts if the government proved unreasonable. There certainly is no time now for the exhausting haggling of Knudsen and Stettinius with small-visioned, greedy, and frightened factory owners. It all gets down to an unfairness similar to the volunteer business. The brave and the patriotic do the work, while the greedy and the frightened sit back and grab the grapes of safety and entrench themselves in peace time orders at the expense of the fellow who wants to put his factory down the line for defense.

No one wants a draft of American youth; no business man wants a draft of the American factories. But I am thinking that no American, business man or otherwise, wants a delay of the American defense effort to the advantage of the four dictators. We can take our money losses, but we can't take our time losses.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 24th, 1940

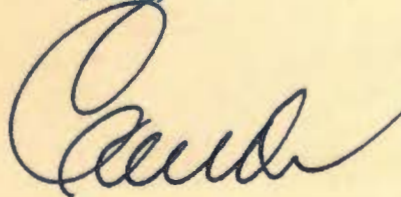
Hon. Charles Marsh
The Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Dear Charles:

Don't miss the Washington Daily News of August 23rd,
the subject "Abusing FreeSpeech" by Raymond Clapper.
I just want you to know what he said about that Lin-
colnian language which is so familiar to you.

You are now and have been, an invaluable friend.

Yours,



CP:e

Pepper Now:

Seniority? (Dangerous both in Senate work because of seniority basis and in making cabinet people sore, and maybe the President. Dangerous in making Army and Navy tops mad. Making Hull mad. Good, because it is true, necessary, must be done soon. Question of time probably not important enough to stress until election over. Therefore, probably delay.)

Sept, 1940

SENIORITY

~~For news release Monday morning, September 16, 1940~~

~~Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, speaking at Danville, Illinois to~~

Dear C.:

~~said~~ "As the battle over Britian breaks, it would be criminal for us, who are hastening to defend America to become optimistic.

"We must not say, 'This is England's affair.'" We must not lean back on a British fleet. We must not depend upon a Churchill facing Hitler. The clock ticks. There is no calendar of the seasons. Haste, alertness, bravery within ourselves is the price of freedom here.

~~The faces of free Americans, meeting here freely to speak and to listen, is the underlying guarantee that our voluntary American way is the way to a victory for free ideals.~~

"You will not misunderstand my forecast: I predict that almost two centuries of an American way of government will result in the overwhelming re-election of Roosevelt--for Roosevelt represents one of the two great voices in this world today representing the thing for which we are fighting.

"I predict that Churchill will hold Hitler until winter claws at the vitals of Hitler's force-driven slave machine.

"I predict the passage by Congress of a fair program for American defense--a program which assembles not only Youth, but machines, into the service of the national safety.

"You may want a word as to why I predict. This is why: I believe no slave economy in the long run ever wins over a free people.

"When I hear Churchill calmly telling his people the truth--the bitter truth--giving full praise to the efficiency of the German military machine facing Britian, a surge of confidence in the truth and the knowledge of truth which he gives to his people comes over me.

"When I hear the hysterical voice of a Hitler, I have another surge of confidence--the confidence ^{of ultimate victory} that comes to any free man when he hears a tyrant lashing the backs of millions.

'Any one in America who believes any other American does not hate Hitler and what Hitler stands for is not a true American. But, 'By their works shall ye know them.'

'Mussolini, the former newspaper man, controls every newspaper in Italy. His personally controlled press heralded the Maine Republican victory as forecasting the election of Willkie and the defeat of Roosevelt.

'I predict that Mussolini will be mistaken. ^{This is} ~~I now read from~~ Mussolini's jubilant forecast, as copyrighted by the New York Times from its Rome correspondent:

'G. O. P. Victory pleases Fascists.

'The Republican victory in the Maine electoral campaign has been greeted with pleasure in the Italian press and on the radio. Any defeat for President Roosevelt is considered here to be a good thing for the Axis, on the theory that Mr. Roosevelt is a known evil and Wendell L. Willkie at least a doubtful one.

'Indeed, the Republican candidate is being built up for the Italian public as an isolationist. Everything he says tending toward that idea is prominently reproduced, but his statements in favor of England are ignored. ✓

Sincerely,

J. N. J.

Dear C.:

Sept. 18, 1940

(This is the line of a Senator who sees December 1 now.) Roosevelt has been re-elected. Churchill has held the line. Everybody breathes happier. The little people strut again. Lobbyists of special privilege in Labor are there. There is a jollification party in the Senate wash-room. Big parties are given down town. Two weeks are taken out by Senators to get drunk, or otherwise relax. It is a lousy two weeks before December 1, with bonfires of Democratic victory and jollification over England's doing what she ought to do anyway.

And the Winter comes. And the quarreling starts. Little leaders of big cliques get big salaries for doing things for little cliques. And little politicians yell for more rights for all the little cliques, adding votes to votes in fractions. And more sincere Senators say, "You can't go ahead of the people." And, "Come back here."

I say: A man with a four-year contract to serve a section of all the people for all the people has something to say to all this. In four years I predict that the little people and their little ways will not be here. I believe that the American people constitute the strongest single mass intelligence in this world. This is not because each one may be superior to an average English or German or an Italian. It is because a spirit of an expanding new world as over 160 years put the "can" ahead of the "can't", and the "will" ahead of the "won't." And in that there is courage and dignity which does not need to find this country at bay before a wolf in order to see clearly.

The first Senator who stays on the line of the truth as the effective way to defend America will live a long, long time--long after the leaders of the Labor cliques and the money cliques and the flattery groups have ceased to function.

All these will come back--these minorities banded in selfish raids on the health of America--but they will not come back until the big job of defending America is reported and believed by the American people to be safe and complete. There may be time again to become a politician, heading factions. But the stature of any politician in growth calls for him to use his eyes and ears and voice only for all in defense, fighting every termite, every fraction, every assault upon the big thing. The leader, Roosevelt, will drag along behind him as his mail tells him, but there is a way to be ahead of the mail. It is the way I have written of.

And particularly remember that the way of waste ~~xxx~~ spent in silly seniority or selfish sabotage or greedy grasping is the way of the death of democracy.

Democracy in defense cannot pay the price. Defense alone will cost too much. And so, if we do not defend America by defending the effort itself against the crooks and the cowards from within, we shall fold up.

The way of unbalance in money, instability in the forecast of activity in the production of things, a temporary optimism whips all. Over-spending, considerable short-cuts in the ethics in business--all these temporarily become supreme, because there seems to be no future with stability ahead. In the living from day to day the grabber grabs, the spender spends, the libertine learns, all dignity is doomed. All ~~fall~~ flee from time ahead. And so in Democracy there must be optimism for the future, based on known realities. There is no future if waste shows us that a tyrant lashing serfs can produce more for less. Such would prove that in production at least the serf economy is superior. So those who will lead "Business As Usual" as the sing-song, as did the British in the first six months of 1914, are those with falsetto voices. There can be no business as usual. And certainly there can be no business in dislocation

not in dislocation out of usual, as we hasten in defense.

We have to get the youngest and most vital doers, regardless of position or title of anyone. We have to take them. Defense of America requires possibly work to the point of exhaustion without necessarily a raiding by millions through over-time and double-time upon a breaking treasury. It is not possible that business passed upon peacetime greed be blatant. It goes much deeper than the leasing of a few war time plants.

One of the first defense measures of minor fractions seeking self against the whole is to combine. I foresee not the usual combination of lobbyists log-rolling and blocking. I foresee large capital and large labor groups banding together against the government itself.

Sincerely,
F. N. J.

P. S. To C.:

September 18, 1940

A discussion has occurred, as man talking and woman writing look out the window. Woman says: "December first is far off. Isn't all this true now?"

Man says, "Very true. But it is time to think of December first, and we have taken time off for a political holiday to elect somebody."

Woman says: "That is right. Roosevelt has come out for over-time, and Wallace continues to protect the farmer with bigger and better bonuses."

Man says: "People already know that the baloney is greasy, and are only electing Roosevelt because they believe he is a better bet, as against Willkie, in defending America. So why should one have to eat greasy baloney in saying that Roosevelt is better than Willkie? Personally I believe a sustained speech doesn't need any baloney in saying that. And I would not say it ever. I don't believe any one will grow in stature who lies in this campaign, and then does an honest job reversing his lies. I see this as a vote-getting successful business. I do not see it for a man who is not a candidate seeking votes for others. If the candidates can't see, they are sincere. If they can see, they are liars. But, if one seeing, lies, he forms a habit shrinking himself forever. And the people see and remember Churchill.

F. N. J.

September 18, 1940

Dear C.

Capital may be hiding behind the bushes. And Labor may be carrying the ball, but the point is that very large Capital and very large Labor leaders will get together in pain if the Government really becomes vigorous. And the business of Government will be to maintain itself by the sincerity and effectiveness of the job it does--not by appeasement in any form. Internal appeasement will be even worse than a policy of foreign appeasement. For internal appeasement may be hidden, covered up, until a people are found helpless. All of the shouting about defense progress through the American way is a lie--a terrific tragedy--if it burdens this country to the point of bankruptcy and from bankruptcy into repudiation of the Capitalistic--Democratic--processes.

Any person facing facts feels that we in social justice must move or perish. We are not afraid of the word "Socialism", but we are afraid of the word "insincerity." And we are afraid of selfishness hiding under noble words.

I so hope that one Senator may see and speak. He will be rewarded within himself. He may find that many more everywhere in this country see and will come to his aid in many ways.

Throughout this country are persons superior to self who are experts--these men not always are thinkers and writers and politicians. They are the plain people who can and are aroused to magnificent and courageous statement of truth and they come bringing their little service of information and suggestion. And so the leader grows, becoming merely the trademark (sign) of a movement and the headquarters of the effort. Some give money to the cause, and some give time, and some give votes. But remember that the merchandise itself--the truth itself --has to be timely and good goods. I believe December 1 is the time, if England is still there, and Roosevelt is named. Someone asked recently: "What will Pepper have to talk about now?"

Perhaps I have said it in a small way, as one who would suggest a job to do and to speak about.

Sincerely
J. N. J.

September 19, 1940

Memo for Pepper:

Taxation

Maximum defense at a fair cost from Capital and Labor. All able-bodied Americans must work now and be prepared to work--an extension of the draft principle into defense preparation by:

1. Taking up the supply of additional youth by:

A. Training (Government)

B. By preventing Union Labor strangle hold on defense projects, soaring labor costs through scarcity of skilled men, and delaying defense through lack of trained man power.

Spring is coming. Labor costs are already soaring, as charts show practically all available skilled labor union-ized already absorbed.

Where is the new reservoir? How are we going to train it? When are we going to train it? Are we going to tie up draft reservoirs, or the C. C. C. Camps, or the National Youth group?

September 19, 1940

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

Attached is a note I just dropped Harold Young, who is sitting in at Wallace's Washington office. This for your information.

C. E. M.

C. 1
September 19, 1940

Memo to ~~Senator Pepper~~:

Hitler, with medals to give to Fords and Lindberghs, with consulates and embassies to fill with promises and propaganda; with men to send promising appeasement and safety to international financiers and the corporate heads who do business in many lands--this man Hitler has, and has had, much to say here.

And perhaps a final word to those prominent Americans, who have been noticed by the honor propaganda of Hitler--two very great Americans, one a hero of enlightened industry, and one the hero of adventure and courage, have been mentioned at various times as men capable of being President of these United States. It was freely predicted as long as fifteen years ago that Charles A. Lindbergh would be President of these United States in 1940. It is a matter of record that Henry Ford in 1920 might have had a nomination for a presidency. Not in the spirit of doubt as to the patriotism of such men, and I only use them as examples of many thousands more, but in the spirit of puzzlement, in the spirit of inquiry, I ask where are the medals pinned by Goering and Hitler's representatives on Lindberghs and Fords.

These medals were pinned in pride by Germany on men--Americans--whom Hitler deserved worthy as representing good will toward Germany. The medals were not given in 1933 when the rising Hitler had not produced his works of violence. These medals were accepted by American heroes after a five year record--a record so well-known to ~~all~~ you that it would be wasteful of your time to talk about it. And in the spirit of the moment I do not wish to discuss what has happened and what was happening when these medals were pinned on these American heroes--these men who were mentioned as possible Presidents of this country. ~~I would not stir up race hatred. I would not seek votes because~~ An American industrialist is on the record in the Wilhelmstrasse as

America's outstanding opponent of the Jew, and I would not forecast the position of such a man in the American scene, should Hitler come over here.

But I believe it is fair that the Government of Americans make a census of German medals worn, and unworn, by American citizens which have not been returned.

In my personal admiration of Lindbergh, the flyer, I yeild to no one. But when Lindbergh ceased to fly in the conquering of wind and wave, he flew elsewhere. I have not been able to follow him.

* * *

Fifteen years--a Lindbergh then and now. What a fall is there, my fellow citizens!

Fifteen years. A forward, enlightened man, working with the human touch--before the blight of prejudice--what a fall is there, my fellow citizens!

September 20, 1940

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

In answering the Townsend-Willkie line up, Pepper will, of course, have all the statistics of what the New Deal has done in social legislation for people who have passed the working stage, and for people who will pass: Old Age Pensions, Social Security, Child Labor, Widows with Dependents, etc.

But an enlargement, and a forward view, and not merely defense statistics, are called for. He should promise nothing outside of the practical. He should point out:

1. In preparing America for defense, it is right that we should examine the America we are defending.
2. We shall not defend America by destroying America.

September 20, 1940

Memorandum for Peppers:

Kansas City Star editorial accuses Roosevelt of "making another effort to get rid of Congress."

Cleveland Plain Dealer editorial on "What Thinks the Majority?" handles the union labor appeal of Roosevelt, saying there are 45,000,000 non-union labor employees against 7,000,000 union-ized, saying: "The Roosevelt Administration has done much to exalt the organized minority of labor. It has increased the national debt which the employed must pay."

September 20, 1940

Memo to Senator Pepper:

You should try for a good spot at a good hour of the day with proper press notice to be followed by a radio speech within 36 hours, preferably on a national hookup, debating something with another good sized name.

The defense of America is a full time job--for youth called into arms, for factories and factory workers selected to make defense material, for Department of Justice operatives on the fifth column front, for the President of the United States and the hundreds of thousands in the executive machine--and for the Congress.

* * * * *

I revere Lincoln who brought the theory of political democracy to this country. The only sustained effort since then is the social equality and economic equality which has been brought to this country by Franklin Roosevelt, after the theory had been expounded by Theodore Roosevelt. And now for seven years we have had Franklin Roosevelt and Wallace, ⁱⁿ the economy of the farm, fighting for democracy in production, and democracy in factories. The theory is to extend equal rights to all, not only in government but in agriculture, in manufacturing, in distribution. That man, when we come to talk about old age and the rights of a man after twenty-five or thirty-five or forty-five years of labor and the protection of those rights. . . .

* * * * *

Theodore Roosevelt was never a Democrat. He was a Republican and a Bull Moose, but from the South, I say. . . .

Is it time for Labor peace and Labor racketeers? If there are to be factory racketeers and fifth columnists? Are we to put an election eye on Labor? It is alright for a candidate, but not for a statesman who is going into the winter seeing things correctly.

September 20, 1940

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* * * * *

~~CONGRESSIONAL JOURNAL~~ & TOWNSEND NOTES

Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

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MEMO ON EDITORIALS:

KANSAS CITY STAR - PRESIDENT & CONGRESS

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER - PRESIDENT'S LABOR APPEAL

September 20, 1940

Memorandum:

Pepper wants LaGuardia into Florida. This may be something for Johnson, by way of Corcoran, to handle. I checked ten Florida Democrats here today who say he is big with Florida Democrats, inspite of Republican, Italian, Northern background, and that his sea base Canadian activity would give him a whale of a reception.

September 20, 1930

LAGUARDIA FOR FLORIDA

MEMORANDUM

The following is a summary of the results of the survey conducted in Florida during the month of August, 1930. The survey was conducted by the Florida Department of Agriculture and the Florida Department of Conservation. The results of the survey are as follows:

1. The total number of deer killed during the month of August was 1,234.

2. The total number of deer killed during the month of August was 1,234.

3. The total number of deer killed during the month of August was 1,234.

Washington, D. C.
September 24, 1940

My dear Johnson:

I am attaching nine tear sheets. I am writing today to Acme for twelve glossy prints, and upon their arrival will discuss with you the matter of one column mats. These mats are necessary when the Senator speaks in towns which have not engraving plants in connection with their newspapers. You should keep these prints in your office.

Paderewski got one good picture. So did Toscanini. You don't see any others.

The tear sheet should be sent to Martin Andersen, at Orlando, and to any other editors or editorial writers whom you believe constitute a receptive group.

C. E. M.

Office of Senator Pepper

My dear blanks:

I am attaching herewith a tear sheet from the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, September 22. This is merely for your information, and not with the thought that you may wish to comment. It is an excellent summary of what the Senator started last May, and what has happened to date.

Knowing the Senator, I need not tell you that he is a Senator from Florida doing what he can to speak for Florida. He is neither modest nor immodest in saying that the President has not and is not directing him.

Signed by Johnson

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 24, 1940

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

Hon. Sam Rayburn, M.C.
Speaker, House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sam:

Whenever I can help in any way, I would appreciate your letting me know.

Your friend,



CP:yn
CC: Hon. Charles Marsh

September 30, 1940

Dear Claude:

With a month to go I see a Republican House with all that that means.

Roosevelt's personal strength and Willkie's weakness has upset the balance of effort. A headache is ahead.

New York, Chicago, San Francisco, yes. But the small towns and the country north of Ohio, east of the Rockies, and west of the Alleghanies is in an awful shape as far as the lower House is concerned.

In Chicago with Lucas last week, in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island this week, I find smart, active Republican brains have been centering for two weeks on blocking Roosevelt, the conceded winner, with a Republican lower House.

They are blatant. They say: "We will have a veto on Roosevelt with Martin, an able blocker, on the job."

Those in charge of property believe Roosevelt's victory in November will be empty as they reach into the control of the Appropriations and Ways and Means. They count sixty-seven anti-Roosevelt Democratic Congressmen once they have taken control of committees.

Luce of Time, Roy Howard, Joe Martin, Mrs. Ogden Reid, the run of mine New York bank presidents, agree on centering Republican efforts on the lower House. They speak of two million for the job.

In the next thirty days, I would spend all on this; for I can see no safety for America and no happiness for Roosevelt with Martin in--Rayburn and McCormack out and Virginia's Woodrum the new Garner.

I have been searching for signs of Democratic activity in the Congressional tight-spots. It seems criminal to me, as well as stupid, for a seven year, powerful administration, to lose probably sixty seats and House control after the lesson of 1938 when the Democrats lost about eighty seats. Do you know what these Congressmen, facing defeat, are thinking of the help they are receiving from the administration they have served for seven years?

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Marsh

October 1, 1940

Dear Senator Pepper:

Mr. Marsh thought you might like to know what his daughter, who lives in Florida, has said of you in a recent letter to him:

"You will be glad to know that Senator Pepper has picked up a great deal of respect and prestige in Florida, whether people agree with him or not. Some don't, of course, but I think most of them do. It is a shame that most people were like me and couldn't see cataclysm under our very noses."

Yours very truly,

October 1, 1940

Memorandum on what Pepper should say after he hands Roosevelt the letter that a publisher friend has written him concerning the danger of loosing the lower House:

Here is what I think Pepper should say:

Mr. President: You should see to it now that Ed Flynn names Congressman Lyndon Johnson as acting Secretary in order that this Congressional job can be done during the next four weeks. It is not important who is Secretary now, or after the election, in so far as you and Wallace are concerned. If Flynn designates Johnson as acting Secretary, it will produce the following results:

1. Johnson can, and will, raise funds sufficient to finance the campaigns of fifty House members who have close races. These funds will come from sources who will not otherwise contribute to the Democratic Committee.
2. The designation of a member of Congress who has served in the House three terms will make for a much better feeling between the lower House and the Administrative branch of the Government. Flynn's designation of Johnson as acting Secretary for the next four weeks will have the approval of the Speaker, Rayburn, and the Majority Leader, McCormack.

I do not believe the designation of a small town, young Congressman who hails from the Southwest will stain the present National Committee personnel but on the other hand will be an off-set to the Youth movement as carried on by the Root group for Willkie.

(It will insure the election of Congressmen, and it will insure the financing of campaigns, and will insure receiving attention that they have not received for seven years.)

Washington, D. C.
October 4, 1940

Dear Senator:

George Brown, whom you know, is a resident of Houston and currently is building the Naval Base at Corpus Christi.

I regard him the finest member of the youth anti-Hitler group in that section. I did not know that your name was known in Houston, but it seems so. I am giving you the verbatim of what he said to me this morning. There is a laugh and a kick to it when you add it to what the Herald Tribune, of New York, said about you Sunday a week ago. I think you should attach this memorandum to the Herald Tribune, file it for a re-reading one year from now, calling same to my attention if we still are friends.

"This big Willkie supporter said that he was about to go back to Roosevelt for one reason, that he had sense enough to listen to and have a man of Senator Pepper's intelligence and foresight on the British situation as one of the men he had confidence in. Two years ago he did not think Senator Pepper had anything on the ball, but today he thinks he has more foresight and guts than any Senator in Congress."

Sincerely,

C. E. M.

C O P Y

LOUIS G. COWAN COMPANY
8 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

October 14, 1940

From the Office of John Lewellen

Honorable Claude Pepper
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

Enclosed is the transcript of the address you delivered Friday night, October 11, at the 21st anniversary banquet of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce at the Palmer House, Chicago. Will you please make any changes you wish and return it ~~immediately~~ to me as soon as possible. We wish to use it in full in the next issue of the organization's magazine, "Illinois Journal of Commerce."

The Chamber seems extremely pleased with the way the program turned out. I'm happy to report too that you did very well in next day's papers, except of course for the Tribune, in which you were little more than an "also spoke." One of my damn-Roosevelt friends asserts that he has talked to nine business men whose votes you changed, that he saw several men sneaking off Willkie buttons and that he's beginning to wonder about his own thinking.

Personally, I heard so many speeches during my eight years on a newspaper and a year on Time magazine that I didn't know I still could go overboard about the spoken word. But I have never heard anything to compare with the address you gave. I'm anxious to read the transcript myself to find out how much was what you said and how much delivery and personal charm. Part of it, of course, was my complete belief that you were sincere. That you changed a completely hostile audience into a bunch of admirers is almost miraculous. I didn't believe it could be done on political questions.

There were three from our office there and all have had the same reaction. We've bored all our friends stiff telling them about it. You've even made me feel a lot better about our country.

As long as it continues to elect a few men like you democracy still has plenty of substance even for these days. Please run for an office on which we can vote without leaving our jobs and migrating to Florida.

Yours,

(Signed) John Lewellen

JL/ES
Encl.

Jiggs 2
NIGHT LETTER

WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 26, 1940

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER
CARE OF MRS. EDWARD G. ROBINSON
HOLLYWOOD CALIFORNIA

TO YOUR VERY GOOD WIFE AND YOURSELF ALL GREETINGS. MY UNDERSTANDING SURPASSETH MANY THINGS. THIS NORMALLY WOULD HAVE GONE TO OSCAR THE TWO HEADED MAN WHO OPERATES AS THE MANAGER ~~SECRET~~ UNDER THE NAME OF CHAPMAN IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAN FRANCISCO HEADQUARTERS, BUT MY FEELING FOR YOU IS SUCH THAT I PASSED A SLEEPLESS NIGHT AND AFTER A HARD DAY TODAY I AM LEAVING FOR THE PLAZA HOTEL NEW YORK WHERE OVER SUNDAY I SHALL WORK EVEN HARDER ON OVERDRAFTS. THIS WIRE IS SENT WITH THE APPROVAL OF JIGGS, WHO GAVE ME THE INFORMATION AS TO WHERE YOU WERE ABIDING. OSCARS ARE GIVEN IN HOLLYWOOD FOR NOTHING TO MOVIE STARS WHO HAVE ATTAINED A SMALL BIT OF IMPORTANCE IN THE MARCH OF TIME BEFORE THE YEARS FLAG OSCAR HERE AND OSCAR THERE. HOW YOU FROM THE SERIOUS AFFAIRS OF STATE CAN HAVE MOVED INTO A WEEKEND OF HILARITY WILL BE WRITTEN IN HISTORY. BECOMING FRIVOLOUS FOR A MOMENT THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WAS WORTH A MILLION VOTES THIN SPREAD NATIONALLY. THE LEWIS SPEECH SHOULD BE IN THE BAG FOR A MILLION MORE. ALL EASTERN C.I.O. LEADERS AND TREMENDOUS LARGE UNIONS IN NEW YORK ~~AND~~ ARE DENOUNCING THE MAN ONE CALLED A MOLASSES MURDERER. BEST PERSONAL GUESS IS THAT THE SLIDE TO WILLKIE STOPPED LAST TUESDAY WHEN THE GALLUP POLL WAS CLOSED, WITH ROOSEVELT SPEECH AND THE LEWIS SPEECH A TOSS UP ON VOTE BUSINESS. PROBABLY TEN MINER CONGRESSMEN MAY GO OUT BUT TEN MORE WILL COME IN ~~IN~~ THE GENERAL SWING BACK AND INDIGNATION AGAINST THE MAN WHO PAID A MILLION DOLLARS TO BUY THE PRESIDENT AND OPEHLY CONFESSES HE COULD NOT COLLECT FOR HIMSELF AS SECRETARY OF LABOR. I THINK A MAN MIGHT SAY LEWIS FOR SEVEN YEARS SOUGHT ROOSEVELT. HE SOUGHT HIM TOO HARD AND TOO OFTEN. WHEN HE CEASED TO SEEK FOR LABOR ITSELF AND BEGAN TO SEEK FOR HIMSELF HE SAW ROOSEVELT LESS OFTEN. SO LEWIS LEAVES ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE AND THE HOPE THAT SELF-SEEKING MAY BE IN THE BAG. THEN FOLLOW WITH THE QUESTION LEWIS AS A MARTYR TO PROVE HIS SINCERITY WOULD HAVE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BELIEVE THAT A THREAT TO RESIGN FROM LEADERSHIP IN THE C.I.O. WAS PROOF OF SINCERITY. WOULD HE RESIGN HIS TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND DOLLAR JOB AS HEAD OF THE MINERS OF AMERICA? WOULD HIS C.I.O. RESIGNATION COST HIM A NICKEL? I THINK THIS IS MORE THAN LONG. I HOPE THE PHOTOGRAPHS AT HOLLYWOOD DO NOT OFFEND THE METHODIST OYSTER SUPPER AT SALINA KANSAS, AS THESE GIRLS DON'T GET KISSED OFTEN AND GET A LITTLE MAD WHEN THEY GET LEFT OUT.

C. E. M.

CHARLES E. MARSH
ROOM 371 - MAYFLOWER HOTEL

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D105 114 NT 4 EXTRA=TUSCALOOSA ALA NOV 30

VIA DALLAS DEC 1

1940 DEC 1 PM 5 57

HON CHARLES MARSH=
AUSTIN TEX=

MISSISSIPPI STATE HAS BEEN CHOSEN AS ONE TEAM TO PLAY IN THE ORANGE BOWL AT MIAMI NEW YEARS DAY. I AM EXTREMELY ANXIOUS TO SEE TEXAS AGGIES AS THE OPPOSING TEAM BECAUSE IT WOULD BE A GREAT GAME AND MEAN MUCH TO FLORIDA AND TEXAS. I SHALL CERTAINLY APPRECIATE YOUR DOING ANYTHING YOU CAN TO GET THEM TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ORANGE BOWL COMMITTEE. JACK BALDWIN AND BILL PRESETON ARE REPRESENTING THE COMMITTEE IN MIAMI. IF YOU CAN GET ANY INFORMATION PLEASE CALL EITHER OF THEM COLLECT IN MIAMI. AM ANXIOUS TO SEE YOU AGAIN TO DO SOME REAL COMPLIMENTING ON WHAT YOU AND THE MARSH BOYS GOT DONE=

CLAUDE PEPPER.

memo
Merrell
 7433
 Miss Theidland
 610P
 To Be
 Bed

Note: Copy given to Green
 Copy sent to Marsh
 care of Walls at Macon.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 8, 1940

Memorandum:

Have to prepare for Pepper a document in the line of the discussion of Wallace's future, but tailor made for a four year senator from the South.

His work in the Senate should consist of speeches and concrete proposals in bill form. These bills should be carefully prepared, should not always be introduced under the Pepper name but one of his associates so that Pepper can support, and generally should be simultaneously introduced in the House by an effective and energetic and respected House member who can follow the bill from the committee--obviously the chairman of the committee which would consider the proposal in the House is the best sponsor.

This particular Senator will put his arms around South America and become expert for the Western World in the Foreign Relations Committee. He will work closely with Russell. He should be the floor manager of his group. Other members of the group should be given the ideas and importance wherever possible.

His speeches throughout the country --and those of other members of the group--should be carefully prepared and should never be insignificant or for small audiences. One particular Senator should be carefully selected who can talk for college groups, another who can talk to farm groups. The college fellow might be Pepper himself, or the Oklahoma Senator. The farm talker might be the Senator from Illinois.

January 1, 1941

For January 10 my thought is that Pepper is not capable of a sustained three days with me, and possibly not over two days without actual generic work. He is also somewhat sensitive, and in theory he should be alone with me.

Ben Belt is, like Pepper, a purist with no ax to grind when he is with me. They would fit. Why couldn't Ben be here too? Can I handle two sensitive horses? Perhaps I can because Harold was present for a couple of hours and things went well, and at that time I raised hell with Pepper's wife. Pepper could take that with another man present, and probably is not so sensitive when he is looking at the thing itself and the spirit of the saying. So, if I had my way for personal pleasure, I would have Young and Pepper and Belt here, all together because I can do more work than the other three, and Young could pick up a guy while I was working with the other one. It is sort of a foursome--like golf or a bridge hand--in the mental realm. I would like to try it some time. Perhaps this is the time, and, if it doesn't work out in the first few hours, we could break it up to twosomes, going to Washington with somebody for something.

* * * * *

The above concludes as of now, subject to change, Belt and Harold in Washington and around the atmosphere of 1941 Washington, they keeping company probably at the Mayflower. Marsh and Pepper here. Nobody will be over two hours away in that case. This is better than having them here and sending them away.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA BEFORE THE EMPIRE
PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION COMPOSED OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT, AT OTTAWA,
CANADA, MARCH 18, 1941.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, 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 give 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 is-

sued 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 Ricardo 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 twenty-one 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 re-examined its policy to be sure there was nothing by omission or commission in that pol-

icy 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 everyone of these twenty-one 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 Havana again came together all our twenty-one 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 non-controversial 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 ter-

ritory 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 Queen's 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 Ogdenburg, 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 Ogdenburg; ~~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 malady 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 prophesy. 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."



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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,

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 save 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,

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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—he 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.