

May 24, 1941

Memo to Pepper: Notes for speeches

In the days to come, we know not what our judgement should be. Facts come fast. Please remember that I want to hear from any one of you at any time, if you feel that you may aid me in the work at Washington. And know that your President wants to hear. Write him. I am sure Senator***** wants you to tell him that which is in your heart. (Note: This localized in every speech ought to build up a whale of a list.) This is the democratic way to fight the Hitler way.

May 24, 1941

Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, opens a national two-week swing through the Southwest, Middlewest, and East, with a radio address in Dallas Sunday morning. He probably will address the legislature of Oklahoma on Monday.

He has accepted an invitation to address the Texas legislature Tuesday morning from 11:30 to 12:30. He speaks at Dallas Tuesday night at the Adolphus Ballroom, at a President's fireside chat radio party. Immediately after the President's fireside chat, Pepper, for thirty minutes will interpret the President's words.

He speaks at Amarillo in the Municipal Auditorium Wednesday night at eight p.m.

The Senator leaves Texas for Denver. Other points are: Kansas City; St. Louis; Milwaukee; Indianapolis; Detroit; Buffalo; Rochester, New York; Pittsburgh.

* * * * *

(Note: Tom, you started something. This baby evidently has gotten the green light to go out and fix up Lindbergh, Wheeler, and Company, and he certainly can do this job. I hope you will listen in on him.)

May 24, 1941

Under the auspices of the American Legion, Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, comes direct from the Senate floor in Washington, D. C. flying to Texas to talk to you this morning on the state of the nation, what we are facing ahead, and what we face at present. This may be a forecast of what your President must say to you next Tuesday night.

Senator Pepper will be with you again Tuesday night to interpret the President's words. He wishes today to discuss the broad issue of the world, the Hitlers, the Stalins, and the Japs; the Wheelers, the Vandenburgs, the Eys, and the Lindberghs.

By special invitation he addresses the Texas Legislature Tuesday between 11:30 and 12:30 at Austin. He leaves Texas Wednesday night.

May 24, 1941

Memo to Pepper: Notes for speeches

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May 24, 1941

Note for Senator Pepper:

The simplest thing that has cracked the meat of the nut on the opposition has been that these Vandenburgs, Nyes, Clarks, and Wheelers would destroy Roosevelt first and Hitler second. This is the line of your first speech of May 1940 when you said that there were men in the Senate who hated Roosevelt. You were attacking the bi-partisan group fighting Neutrality under Garner and Taft and Vandenburg. People understand this talk—a hero and a villain in the play.

Copy to L.B.J.

PRESERVATION COPY

Claude Pepper

x

MR. ARNO JIGGS LOESSNER

MAY 28,

41

OFFICE OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WIRE ME GIST OF THOMAS CHARGES AGAINST ME AND SENATOR LEE MENTIONED IN YOUR TELEGRAM TOMORROW TO THE BILTMORE HOTEL, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA, AND GET FROM WOL AND SEND ME COPY OF HIS REMARKS BY AIR MAIL TO ADOLPHUS HOTEL, DALLAS, TEXAS. AFTER BRIEF STOP OVER IN FAYETTEVILLE REACH OKLAHOMA CITY AT NOON. HAVE VARIOUS ENGAGEMENTS THERE INCLUDING RADIO HOOK UP AT ONE P.M. C.S.T. AND RECEPTION AT DALLAS FIVE O'CLOCK RETURN TO ~~MEMPHIS~~, TEXAS TOMORROW NIGHT ADOLPHUS HOTEL, AUSTIN CARE OF E. H. PERRY UP TO NOON TUESDAY. THEN WACO, TEXAS, FOUR O'CLOCK TUESDAY AFTERNOON CARE OF FRANK BALEWIN, ADOLPHUS HOTEL, SEVEN P.M. TUESDAY. (MORE)

~~page~~ PAGE TWO * MR. ARNO JIGGS LOESSNER

MAY 25,

41

OFFICE OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER, SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAKING RADIO ADDRESS THERE IMMEDIATELY AFTER PRESIDENT EIGHT HUNDRED KILLOCYCLES.
WEDNESDAY FOUR O'CLOCK P.M. WICHITA FALLS CARE OF RAY HOWARD. WEDNESDAY NIGHT
AMARILLO CARE OF COL. ETHAN SIMPSON OR NEWSPAPER. ONLY CHANGE FROM ITENERARY YOU
HAVE IS TO INCLUDE BUFFALO FLAG DAY MEETING SUNDAY JUNE EIGHTH.

CLAUDE PEPPER, U.S.S.

GOVERNMENT BUSINESS - NO. 50-A

LLINGTON HOTEL - 434 - HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS

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All America Cables
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Send the following message, subject to the Company's rules, regulations and rates set forth in its tariffs and on file with regulatory authorities Form 5

To Gov. W. Lee O'Daniel May 25 19 41

Street Address Governor's Mansion

City Austin, Texas

I thank you for your generous and cordial telegram. Unhappily I am to spend today in Hot Springs visiting Senator Pat Harrison who is ill there and tomorrow will be in Oklahoma speaking. Will arrive Austin Tuesday morning and am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you. Regards
Claude Pepper

Sender's Full Name (if not shown) and Address for Reference

Sender's Telephone Number

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Send the following message, subject to the Company's rules, regulations and rates set forth in its tariffs and on file with regulatory authorities

Form 5

To J. C. McKee (Pepper) May 25 19 41
 Street Address 8 West 40th Street

City New York City

Re tel will be glad to accept Buffalo invitation. Will appreciate your making reservations on ten twenty-five train the evening of the seventh of June. Please advise Adolphus Hotel Dallas if itinerary being sent here today, will be advisable for accommodation here. Leaves p.m. CST station at station number Con-3281 Room 1127 Tuesday night. Can be reached tonight at

Sender's Full Name (if not shown) and Address for Reference

Sender's Telephone Number

(more)

CHECK SERVICE DESIRED OTHERWISE MESSAGE WILL BE SENT AT FULL RATE	
DOMESTIC	FOREIGN
FULL RATE	FULL RATE
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Postal Telegraph

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CHARGE ACCOUNT NUMBER	
CASH NO.	TOLLS
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TIME FILED	(STANDARD TIME)

Send the following message, subject to the Company's rules, regulations and rates set forth in its tariffs and on file with regulatory authorities

Form 5

To JC McKee 19

Street Address Page Two

City _____

Hot Springs Arkansas through
Arlington Hotel.
Alma de Pepper

Sender's Full Name (if not shown) and Address for Reference

Sender's Telephone Number

Pepper

May 25, 1941

Measures and means need men.

Texas, in the pinches, has supplied men at Washington.

The man Garner was a great help to Roosevelt in the terrible sixty days of the bank collapse. The man Jones is helping now at the President's side. The man Connally is on our side against the Wheeler's and Lindbergh's. The manhood of Sam Rayburn toils to get the Roosevelt money and measures through the Congress.

A younger man, well known to your Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt, last year fought the battle of Chicago for Roosevelt. And I saw him at Washington fight almost alone the battle for a democratic majority without which the voice of Rayburn would not be the voice from the Speaker's table; and perhaps even the voice of Roosevelt might have been weakened by a Republican, Joe Martin, withholding the money Roosevelt needs to stop Hitler.

I, a Florida Senator, am proud to call these men my friends. Washington-made friends, behind and with Roosevelt.

And to ~~the~~ many new Texas friends I have made in these few days in your great Southwest, may I, in true humility, say a word about one no longer here--a man--a Texan--who died fighting Hitler. (Pause.)

Morris Sheppard was my very great friend. The Florida ship canal, seen by Morris Sheppard as a defense waterway, saving five hundred safe miles from the sneaking submarines of any beast of Berlin, has not been built. But Sheppard's name was on the bill with mine. He fought, seeing far ahead as Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of your Senate. I pledge Senator Sheppard, whom I believe may hear me, that some day, some how, his name shall go down through the ages as the soul who fought this fight. We loved him. If this canal is built, and I am in any authority, I shall propose the name Sheppard for this great defense of freedom project.

And you hearing me may have heard your President. Seldom does he speak on state affairs. Roosevelt backed the Sheppard-Pepper Canal bill--then called a local matter by the six Senators' votes which beat Roosevelt and Sheppard and Pepper

on this canal matter. Please, please remember the President asks you for help in the Senate, experienced and loyal help, as we, his friends, fight Hitler in the Senate--fight Wheeler and Nye and Vandenburg and Clark, who would crucify Roosevelt first, and make peace with Hitler second. Send us someone--the best you have. The votes are getting closer as Hitler comes closer. You vote to fill Sheppard's great place May 28. Send the best man who may help now--a man who knows now. The time is so very, very short. But vote as fine Americans, denying Lindbergh and defeat, affirming with God's will a victory with Roosevelt.

May 26, 1941

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

If the President is weak, don't weaken yourself, and don't give a weak speech by the President your personal lip service.

Remember, if the President weakens, the Gallup Poll was to the effect that he gets sixty per cent, with your view twenty per cent, and Lindbergh's view twenty per cent. If the President lead the sixty per cent toward you, he will lose some of the top sixty per cent, and you will have thirty per cent, with the difference between yourself and the President slightly emphasized. Don't leave the top flight crowd, because they must eventually be significant.

And remember, if this speech is weak, Lindbergh also gains from the bottom, as the opponents of Roosevelt smell and taste the blood of weakness. Roosevelt will be left with a weak position, with less than fifty per cent approving, with the upper and the lower both unsatisfied, and with the necessity within two or three weeks to pass out of leadership, or to come trotting your way fast.

Note: Final suggestion is that you not use Johnson's name.

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

May 26, 1941

Before the legislature, the more local, the better.

You have the Sheppard-Pepper Canal business in your Sheppard eulogy.

Advocate a five months rush job, to cost about the same amount as the Florida Canal (\$275,000,000) to take Texas oil to the defense factories massed from Bridgeport, Conn., to Florida.

The reason: Ships, carrying 90 per cent of Texas oil to defense areas, leave Houston, Galveston, and Corpus Christi. Twenty-five of these oil tankers have already been taken off by government order. Railroads can carry less than 10 per cent on railroad tank cars, and the steel for new tank cars isn't here. Railroad lobbies are fighting this proposed government (or private) line. A big group of oil companies want to build. Railroad lobbies in the State of Georgia have stopped oil pipe line rights-of-way across Georgia to the Atlantic.

In the days to come oil tank ships will come back, and you hope through the Florida ship canal to save shipping charges from Texas, and give the producer a better break. But today there is no time. There is time for a five months drive to get the oil by pipe line from Texas and Oklahoma, which produce almost half of America's supply, immediately with greatest speed to defense work. Without oil to run the wheels, we perish.

So you, a Florida Senator, are not selfishly for Florida, as Hitler strikes with submarines. And you favor government money and government control, so that costs of pipe lines distribution may be determined just as definitely as the cost of electricity was cut down by the Colorado River dams, which is the Texas answer to high electric rates. You honor the great Senator Norris, who joined you yesterday, saying, "No Hitler shall bluff or prevent all aid to Britain." You honor Norris because, with Sheppard and others of vision, he fought the good fight for the Tennessee Valley Authority, and supported your own Congressman, Lyndon Johnson, in the sixty million dollar power development of the Colorado, and you predict that such government enterprise shall aid oil producers of Texas, and those state institutions, such as your University and your common schools, by making a better and cheaper market by government pipe line.

Douglas

ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III
PRESIDENT

Hotel Adolphus

DALLAS
TEXAS

H. FULLER STEVENS
MANAGING DIRECTOR
OTTO SCHUBERT, JR.
RESIDENT MANAGER

May 28, 1941

Dear Melvyn:

A couple of Texas friends, or one of them, may come to see you on the general "beat Hitler" business.

Both I can guarantee. Their names are Jack Frost and Charles E. Marsh.

Sincerely yours,

Claude Pepper
Claude Pepper



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825 ROOMS—300 AIR CONDITIONED
CIRCULATING ICE WATER

Robinson

ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III
PRESIDENT

Hotel
Adolphus
DALLAS
TEXAS

H. FULLER STEVENS
MANAGING DIRECTOR
OTTO SCHUBERT, JR.
RESIDENT MANAGER

May 28, 1941

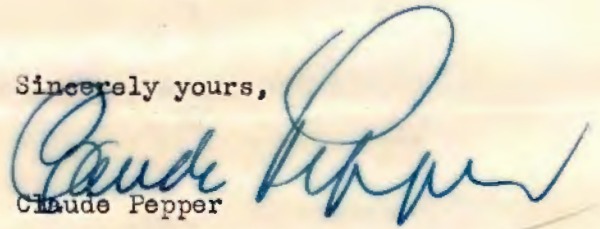
Dear Edward:

A couple of Texas friends, or one of them, may come to see you on the general "beat Hitler" business.

Both I can guarantee. Their names are Jack Frost and Charles E. Marsh.

Sincerely yours,

Claude Pepper



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DALLAS HOTEL COMPANY

825 ROOMS—300 AIR CONDITIONED
CIRCULATING ICE WATER

Visiting Senator Honored at Breakfast



This picture of Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, right, member of the senate foreign relations committee and all-out supporter of President Roosevelt in the present national emergency, was made Wednesday morning as he greeted Sheriff Smoot Schmid at the start of a breakfast the sheriff gave in his honor at the Hotel Adolphus. The breakfast guests included Mayor J. Woodall Rodgers and executives of local newspapers and radio stations.

**PEPPER SAYS
PRESIDENT TO
HIT DICTATORS**

**NEW DEAL SUPPORTER IN
SPEECH HERE LAUDS
ROOSEVELT'S TALK**

STRESSES PATRIOTISM

**Declares Labor Disputes to Be Set-
tled Through Negotiations,
Not Violence or Idleness**

Expressing the belief that President Roosevelt's Tuesday night address was notice to the world that the president is going to "get tough with the dictators," Senator Claude Pepper, senate foreign relations committee member, and all-out supporter of the administration in the present national emergency, said Wednesday morning that "we have all got to make up our minds now whether we are going to help Hitler or help Roosevelt."

"It is my hope that with the president's speech and his declaration of an unlimited national emergency, we will have an upswing of the good, old fashioned Texas brand of patriotism throughout the entire nation," said Senator Pepper.

He expressed the belief that from now on out "all labor disputes will be settled through negotiation and consultation and not by resort to violence or stoppage of work."

Honored at Breakfast.

Senator Pepper was the honor guest at a breakfast given early Wednesday morning at the Hotel Adolphus by Sheriff Smoot Schmid. Other guests included Mayor J. Woodall Rodgers and the executives of Dallas newspapers and radio stations.

He also outlined his attitude on his views of President Roosevelt's speech over a statewide net work and KRLD, immediately after that address Tuesday night. He did this at a meeting sponsored by the American Legion at the Adolphus.

Regarding the potentialities for trouble with Japan in the present national crisis, Senator Pepper had this to say Wednesday morning: "The president's speech was an announcement that he is going to get tough with the dictators, and I believe that will include taking care of Japan should the need arise, and

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1941

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is to Stand by F. D. R.

Senator Urges Citizen

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THE DAILY

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2

THE TIMES HERALD IS THE ONLY DALLAS NEWSPAPER

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PEPPER

Continued from Page One.

that we are not going to take any more foolishness off of Japan."

He added that he thought it significant that the president, in his speech, said that there is going to be further help given China in her struggle.



Help For China.

The senator also called attention to a recent speech he himself made in the senate.

"At that time, I advocated the giving of American planes and pilots to the Chinese," he said.

"The Japanese, who are only second and third-rate pilots themselves, live in mortal fear that their capital, Tokyo, will be bombed. They know it is very vulnerable in this respect, since it is a veritable match box because of the flimsy, highly inflammable construction of so many of its buildings and residences."

The first job of the citizen under the present emergency, Senator Pepper said, will be to give more thought to "standing by the country and less to standing by himself."

He also expressed the belief there will be less opposition to the president, especially in those phases where opposition to the president will be opposition to the country's needs.



Must Stop Hitler.

In his Tuesday night address, Senator Pepper said that President Roosevelt, in declaring that Britain must not fall and that Hitler must be stopped, was seeking to save this nation from a lone fight against invaders.

He expressed the belief that the next five months contain the destiny of this nation, that it is up to Americans to decide whether they will act wisely and courageously now, or reach the decision which lies in their own hands too late.

The real war mongers, he said, are those who would jeopardize aid to Britain, thus forcing this nation to send its own armed forces overseas. He added the warning that every delay in sending airplanes, tanks and other armament to the British brought this country closer to the necessity for sending such forces to other shores.



Warns Labor, Business.

He called upon labor to give up some of its rights, and upon business to forget its profits in order that the democratic system which gives them these things may be preserved. Business has no profits

invited by increased wages, which

"The selfishness of both capital

and labor no rights under the dictators, he warned.

He expressed the hope there will be no repetition of such things as the recent lengthy haggling between John L. Lewis and other labor leaders as to whether the coal strike settlement conference should be in New York or Washington, and the further hope that the muchly-decorated Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will heed the call of his commander in chief to stand by America."

Ernest L. Tutt, chairman of the Dallas central council of the American Legion, presided at the meeting.

Maj. B. F. McLain of John W. Low Post introduced Senator Pepper.

BOOKS

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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS	
DL	Day Letter
NT	Overnight Telegram
LC	Deferred Cable
NLS	Night Letter
	Ship Radiogram

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CHAS E MARSH= 22 - 157

1941 JUN 5 PM 4 03

RICE HOTEL HOU*

RE TEL WILL PHONE YOU FROM DENVER CROWD AWAITING ME HERE AND QUICK CONNECTION MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO PHONE=

CLAUDE. *Pepper*

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
NT - Overnight Telegram
LC - Deferred Cable
NLT - Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE
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NEWCOMB CARLTON
 CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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HON CHARLES MARSH RICE HOTEL HOUSE

1941 JAN 5 AM 11 50

JUST LEAVING. TALKED TO DOUGLAS. HE IS TRYING TO GET PARTIES MENTIONED AND WILL ADVISE WIRTZ WHEN HE CALLS TOMORROW. HE IS ANXIOUS TO COME PERSONALLY AND WILL DO SO NEXT WEEK IF POSSIBLE KEEP UP GOOD WORK I TOLD DOUGLAS IF HE CAME TO WORK OUT PLAN IN CONJUNCTION WITH YOU=

CLAUDE PEPPER.

Longma

Mrs. Carpenter
4:00

14

1941 JUN 5 AM 11 26

RA-HOUSTON TEXAS

02 11 AM 2 JUN 11 20

JUN 5 AM 11 53
TUE

Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

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National Chairman

LEWIS W. DOUGLAS
Chairman, National Board

Vice Chairmen

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June 12, 1941


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Rev. Duncan H. Browne
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Harry Chandler
Mrs. William Astor Chanler
C. C. Chapman


Mr. Charles Marsh
Adolphus Hotel
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation some weeks ago when I was in Kansas City, Missouri with Senator Claude Pepper, I wish you to consider this a semi-official report concerning the discharge of the duties you imposed upon me.

I have no doubt Senator Pepper has been in touch with you since the close of our tour last Monday, and has given you a comprehensive idea of the various reactions we encountered throughout the middle west.

I deeply appreciate the interest and cooperation you gave us, and hope that you will find the conduct of my responsibilities satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,


Eugene A. Rose

EAR:KTB

Harry Woodburn Chase
Mary Ellen Chase
Ward Cheney
Mrs. Arthur O. Choate
Joseph H. Choate, Jr.
Frederick M. Clapp
Evans Clark
Grenville Clark
John H. Clarke
William L. Clayton
Rufus E. Clement
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To SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER JUNE 22, 1941

Street and No. ADAMS 9610 - 1661 CRESCENT PLACE

Place WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~PLEASE SEND ME FOUR HUNDRED WORDS BEST OF YOUR RUSSIAN STATEMENT WHICH~~
~~YOU THINK MIGHT BE USED BY CANDIDATE. SEND COLLECT TO ME ADOLPHUS~~
~~TONIGHT PLEASE. THANKS.~~

C. E. H.

CHARLES E. MARSH
ROOM 829 - ADOLPHUS HOTEL

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WA6 305 NT=WASHINGTON DC JUNE 22

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HON CHARLES MARSH=

ADOLPHUS HOTEL DAL=

I GAVE TO THE PRESS THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON RUSSIAN SITUATION THIS AFTERNOON QUOTE AMERICA HAS JUST HEARD THE VOICE OF CHURCHILL SAYING THAT BRITAIN WILL HELP RUSSIA TO STOP BITLER CHURCHILL IS A CLEAR THINKER. HE SEES THAT HITLER MUST BE STOPPED OR BRITAIN WILL BE DESTROYED. HE WILL RUSSIA OR ANYONE ELSE TO DESTROY HITLER

WE SEE THAT HITLER MUST BE STOPPED OR WE SHALL BE DESTROYED. IF HITLER TAKES RUSSIA, HE HAS REMOVED THE LAST THREAT TO THIS STRENGTH IN EUROPE. THE TRANS SIBERIAN RAILROAD WILL BE HIS AND HE WILL HAVE THE POWER TO PUT GERMAN TROOPS WHERE RUSSIAN TROOPS NOW ARE WITHIN FORTIFICATIONS IN SIGHT OF ALASKA. HE WILL BE TOUCHING AT OUR VERY SHORES IN HIS OWN POLICY OF ENCIRCLING US. WITH HIS ALLIED JAPAN WHICH HE WILL UNLOOSE WITH RUSSIAS DESTRUCTION HE WILL HAVE FORGED A STEEL RING AROUND THE PACIFIC AND US.=

Senator Pepper

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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R. B. WHITE
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841 JUN 23 AM 6 47

THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER THEREFORE IS ONE OF THE WALLS WHICH NOW HOLDS HITLER IN EUROPE AND AWAY FROM ALASKA AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE EVERYTHING THAT HOLDS HITLER BACK HELPS AND DEFENDS US. WHEN WE STRENGTHEN THOSE THINGS AND THOSE PEOPLE WHO HOLD BACK BITLER WE STRENGTHEN OUR DEFENSE.

WHO WILL BE SO SHORT SIGHTED FOR PREJUDICE AMONG US THAT THEY WOULD RATHER THAT HITLER WOULD STRIKE US THAN TO HELP RUSSIA STOP HIM. AMERICANS KNOW NOW THAT OUR ONE AIM, OUR ONE WAY TO KEEP WAR FROM AMERICAN IS TO KEEP HITLER SHUT UP IN EUROPE. OUR POLICY THEREFORE IS TO DEFEND AMERICA AGAINST HITLER, AND HELP ALL OTHERS-BRITAIN, CHINA, GREECE, RUSSIA OR ANY OTHER PEOPLE WHO WILL HELP TO FEND HITLER OFF. WE WILL PLAY INTO HITLERS HANDS IF WE LET OUR SELVES BE DIVIDED BY OUR HATE.

LET US THINK OF THOSE WHO HELP US AND HELP THEM TO HELP US.=

CLAUDE PEPPER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Sen. Charles Pepper

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
October 14, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

From where I am looking, there is such a close similarity between Pepper's political career in the early thirties and your own at this moment that I am attaching a rather lengthy memorandum. He had the old age pension question; the contractors' support; the stealing of an earlier election; then the final victory against the associated utilities and railroad and banking groups; he won practically without a newspaper by pure activity and personality, although the contractors have hung on to him and may have hung something on him. He has your same helpful detailed personality, which has taken him now and then beyond the place where he should go, but he has escaped and is getting into a very fine position which I think we are going to be able to call the fearless statesman.

Pepper was thirty-four when he came to the Senate. You can best get the detail of the coming and the line and the problems from the man himself.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA
OVER THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM ON THE
SUBJECT: "PATENTS AND ECONOMIC WARFARE", EARLE
BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. APRIL 24, 1942,
10:15 to 10:30 P.M.

When Hitler came to power he immediately launched war upon the rest of the world. It was not war with guns and planes and ships, but economic war, which may be the deadliest form of attack. Mr. Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, for the last several years has been putting together a sad story of how the selfishness of some big business and the indifference of the Government of the United States has been Hitler's partners in this economic war upon America. The usual weapon with which this mighty assault has been waged has been the Patent Laws of this Nation. The incentive for the cooperation of some of our large business enterprises has been profit and the reward of monopoly in American markets. So strong has been this passion for profit and power which some of America's greatest firms have been moved by that they even forgot about their first allegiance to their country, and in one case such a company, in spite of the prohibition of our Navy Department, furnished detailed information to Germany as to the details of our use of certain strategic materials produced under license from the owners of German patents.

In the Patents Committee, of which I am a member, the story, the tragic story is daily unfolding and the American people are naturally shocked, both at what some of our fellow citizens have been willing to do for profit and power (profit and power, mind you, from and over their fellow citizens) and that their Government would so long have let them drain off its life-blood by such method.

It is interesting to reflect that as far back as 1882 Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, the father of the late Neville Chamberlain, pointed out to Britain that German economic power was gripping at the throat of his people through the process of the licensing of British firms to develop strategic and critical articles, the invention of which occurred in Germany and which were protected by German patents. Mr. Chamberlain was responsible for the passage of a law which gave the Government the power to break arrangements contrary to the public interest and to commandeer needed processes. The speech he made might well have been made in the last two years in the American Congress by one who could have seen how the tentacles of this mighty octopus were closing around the arteries of our own strength.

Let me tell you in some detail the story of just one of these schemes whereby German business, following the policy of the German War Machine, used American business to get a stranglehold upon our own strength and to build mightier the colossal war power of Germany.

Karl Zeiss in Germany was the maker of the world's best optical instruments - glasses, binoculars, gunsights and the like. In 1906 Karl Zeiss licensed Bausch & Lomb in the United States to sell his optical supplies, but up until 1917 Zeiss took care that all production should occur in Germany and none in the United States. The result was that in 1917 the United States Government, when we entered the war, found itself appealing to the public for binoculars. The same principle substantially, I might add, in the aluminum field led our Government to have to appeal to its citizens for pots and pans upon the verge of this war.

In 1921 the United States Navy Department took the initiative in inducing Bausch & Lomb to begin the manufacture of optical supplies in the United States. Bausch & Lomb did execute such an agreement, after a visit to Germany, but that agreement contained some strange provisions. One was that the American Company should pay to the German Company a royalty on a unit basis, which required the American Company to give to the German Company detailed information as to the number of glasses so and the use to which each was to be put. Moreover, a military department was set up in Bausch & Lomb's, and significantly enough it was provided in this agreement with the German Company that the person appointed the head of this military department in Bausch & Lomb must be approved by the German Company as well as the American Company. This agreement contained the now familiar cartel whereby the American Company, in consideration of being allowed a monopoly on the American market and to sell at any price, it distinctly agreed to abstain from competition with the German Company in any other part of the world without the specific permission of the German Company.

In 1935 the British and French, quickening a little, at least, their armament program, in the face of the mushrooming of the war machine of Hitler on their borders, tried to buy from the American Company these various optical goods and the American Company refused to sell upon the ground that they could not permit their products to be used for the purposes of war, alleging that those were the intentions of the British and the French. You may remember that Father Coughlin, for this so-called christian spirit on the part of this American associate of the German Company, awarded the American Company his then famed laurel wreath.

In 1929 the War Department forbade the American Company continuing to furnish the German Company detailed information as to the quantity of optical supplies it sold and the purposes for which each was to be used, pointing out that by informing them how many gunsights we had showed the Germans how many guns we had and in other numerous ways revealed our military strength and preparation. Yet Mr. Thurman Arnold has discovered a document of this American Company, Bausch & Lomb, in which it advised the German Company, after this prohibition of the War Department, that it was forbidden to give this information, but it would continue to do so confidentially. You can imagine the ramifications of this cooperation between the American and the German Company as it affects our ability now to wage war.

I might add reference to its affect upon those of us who wear eyeglasses and those of us who need them are not able to afford them. In conjunction with the American Optical Company, which control optical supplies in the United States, by virtue of the use of these German patents under this arrangement, giving them the monopoly in the United States and the power to fix all prices of optical supplies that they should sell in this country, fix the price which both the wholesaler and the retailer must receive for such supplies. For example, for a pair of glasses which cost a few cents to produce, the wholesaler must receive \$3.25 for, and the retailer must receive from fifteen to twenty dollars for the same pair. This profit policy has been responsible, according to an estimate of the Trade Association, itself for thirty-four million people in the United States who need glasses not being able to buy them.

Another case: The Remington Arms Company, a subsidiary of the duPont Company, one of the largest manufacturers of ordnance in America, has as late as January 1943 refused to sell certain types of ammunition to the British Purchasing Commission because of an agreement it had with a German Munitions Company, on the ground that the British desired to buy for military purposes.

You already know from the press the story of rubber, of how, while the Japs were scheming and planning and laboring to deprive us of our natural sources of rubber, the Germans were drying up any possibility that we might have of synthetic production in any great quantities in this country, unhappily with the questionable cooperation of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. We all are having to pay the price for the failure of the American Company to be as sensible of its obligation to the American Government and the American people as the German Company was of its obligation to the German Government and the German war effort, and the failure of the American Government to be as alert to the menacing situation confronting us as it might have been.

Last year the American people, in response to the Government's appeal, were giving their aluminum pots and pans. That necessity and the shortage we have experienced in the war effort of both aluminum and magnesium is attributable to the same source -- the selfishness of big business and the shortsightedness of the Government. German production of aluminum in 1942 exceeded production in all the United Nations. They refused to limit production, and the Aluminum Company of America, acting in concert with an international cartel, cordially limited production in this country, satisfied with its monopoly and its immense profit.

Magnesium is one-third lighter than aluminum and therefore the more desirable for airplanes and war purposes, but another agreement with a German company by Aluminum Company of America and Dow Chemical Company kept down production in the United States until after the beginning of the war, while colossal production was pouring out of German factories and going into the mighty German war machine.

It is the same story with beryllium, which is essential to the making of some of the springs which go into aviation instruments and with tungsten carbide, necessary to the making of machine tools, which are the very life-blood of modern industry. I could name at least another dozen similar cases.

The bold stroke of the President in taking over all patents directly or indirectly controlled by aliens will have a salutary effect. This device of the control of patents has been the core of this whole grievous wrong which has been done our country by the selfish and the shortsighted.

Thus, we see that in the first place certain business firms in America have been thinking primarily about their profit and power position and not about what effect an alliance with foreign firms might have on their country. They followed the principle of let everybody look out for himself; the principle of use your power to your own self-advancement, your own best interest. They were willing to line up with a foreign country or company, even to exploit their own fellow-citizens, and the device which they employed to accomplish that exploitation, and in some cases an unpatriotic purpose was the device of patent control.

Here was another perversion. By our Constitution Congress was given power "to promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." This constitutional provision was never intended to be made the instrument of exploitation of the people. It was never intended to accomplish an unpatriotic purpose. It was intended to do just what it says - to promote the progress of science and useful arts by giving for a limited time to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

I cannot say that those who have been guilty of these practices are alone at fault. Those who have been in power in government cannot escape their share of the responsibility. We in the Congress should long ago have enacted effective legislation to have prevented these abuses; to have made it obligatory for one given the protection of a patent to use that patent and not lock it up in a safe and keep the knowledge it contains, the good it might do, from the nation; to see to it that the protection intended for inventors and authors was not made the means by which their fellow-citizens should be held up and made to pay exorbitant prices for the results of their writings and discoveries. The Patent Committee proposes before it finishes this job to do just that, to try to make the Patent Laws of our land accomplish their intended purpose, no more, no less.

Too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Thurman Arnold in the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, which has drawn the curtains back from this dark picture in America, indeed in International life. As a result of his labors and what I believe we shall do in the Congress, it will never again be possible for a few private companies, for profit and power, to divide up the world for exploitation, regardless of national interest or human welfare. This salutary purpose cannot be too soon accomplished.

You people of America today, if I read aright your sentiments, are demanding total mobilization; that everybody and everything do his, her, or its part. It was only a little while ago that the War and Navy Departments were unable to get the owners of certain airplane licenses to allow their use by other manufacturing concerns. Now I am sure that time is past. But there are still too many cases where profit predominates above patriotism and where companies, individuals and groups are thinking more about what their position will be after the War than about what they can do to win the War. If there is such a foolish person yet in America, the sand is fast running out. America's destiny today literally hangs in the balance. When gallant men are dying, when some -- and more yet to come -- must give all, shall any of us refuse or hesitate to put what our Government needs upon the altar where are to be found the free offerings of those who want to give and those who war to live?

Release in papers appearing on the
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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

AMERICA TOMORROW

Address of the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice
President of the United States, before a
meeting sponsored by the Detroit labor and
civic organizations at the State Fair Grounds,
Detroit, Michigan, Sunday, July 25, 1943,
broadcast over NBC, 4:30 p.m. E.M.T.

Three months ago in South America I found that the
lowliest peon looked on President Roosevelt as the symbol of
his dearest aspirations in the peace to come. So it is also
in China and occupied Europe. I have known the President
intimately for ten years and in the final showdown he has
always put human rights first. There are powerful groups
who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration
on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished
on the domestic front over the last ten years. Some people
call these powerful groups "isolationists," others call
them "reactionaries" and still others, seeing them following
in European footsteps, call them "American fascists." They
are out to destroy first the President's domestic program,
second the President himself, and finally they hope to control
America and the world.

Sooner or later the machinations of these small but
powerful groups which put money and power first and people
last will inevitably be exposed to the public eye. My
purpose today, however, is to talk about the America of
tomorrow.

There are some who want to stick to what they would have us believe are the realities of the present. Their quick comeback to any question on our peace objectives is, "We must not discuss anything except the war."

There are others who want to stick to what they hold are the realities of the past. They have a stock reply when asked about the peace: "Let us wait and see what England and Russia do before we make our plans."

Both opinions are fighting delaying actions against our destiny in the peace--a destiny that calls us to world leadership.

When we as victors lay down our arms in this struggle against the enslavement of the mind and soul of the human family, we take up arms immediately in the great war against starvation, unemployment and the rigging of the markets of the world.

We seek a peace that is more than just a breathing space between the death of an old tyranny and the birth of a new one.

We will not be satisfied with a peace which will merely lead us from the concentration camps and mass-murder of Fascism--into an international jungle of gangster governments operated behind the scenes by power-crazed, money-mad imperialists.

Starvation has no Bill of Rights nor slavery a Magna Carta. Wherever the hopes of the human family are throttled, there we find the makings of revolt.

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Shall it be "Never again" to joining in seeking world peace? Shall it be "Never again" to living alone on an

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Ours must be a generation that will distill the stamina and provide the skills to create a war-proof world. We must not bequeath a ~~second~~^{third} blood-bath to our children.

World leadership must be more concerned with welfare politics and less with power politics--more attentive to equalizing^{ing} the use of raw materials of nations than condoning the policies of grab and barter that freeze international markets--more interested in opening channels of commerce than closing them by prohibitive tariffs--more mindful of the need for a stable currency among all countries than in high interest rates on loans. World leadership must be more occupied with preventing the political house burners from setting off the fires of revolt than stopping them after they start.

But world cooperation cannot enforce such standards of international justice and security by paper diplomacy and remote control.

Our choice is not between a Hitler slave-world and an out-of-date holiday of "normalcy." The defeatists who talk about going back to the good old days of Americanism mean the time when there was plenty for the few and scarcity for the many.

Nor is our choice between an Americanized Fascism--and the restoration of pre-war scarcity and unemployment. Too many millions of our people have come out of the dark cellars and squalor of unemployment ever to go back.

Our choice is between democracy for everybody or for the few--between the spreading of social safeguards and economic opportunity to all the people--or the concentration of our abundant resources in the hands of selfishness and greed.

The American people have brought a brave and clear conscience to this crisis of all mankind. Every family, every community,--feeling the denials and restraints of war, has been forced to search for a bed-rock of faith.

And in that tomorrow when peace comes, education for tolerance will be just as important as the production of television. The creation of a decent diet for every family will take as much planning as the building of new cars and refrigerators and washing machines.

Along with Britain, Russia and China our nation will exert a tremendous economic and moral persuasion in the peace.

But many of our most patriotic and forward looking citizens are asking, "Why not start now practising these Four Freedoms in our own back yard?"

They are right! A fuller democracy for all is the lasting preventive of war. A lesser or part-time democracy breeds the dissension and class conflicts that seek their solution in guns and slaughter.

We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad and condone race riots at home. Those who fan the fires of racial clashes for the purpose of making political capital here at home are taking the first step toward Nazism.

We cannot plead for equality of opportunity for peoples everywhere and overlook the denial of the right to vote for millions of our own people. Every citizen of the United States without regard to color or creed, whether he resides where he was born, or whether he has moved to a great defense center or to a fighting front, is entitled to cast his vote.

We cannot offer the blueprints and the skills to rebuild the bombed-out cities of other lands and stymie the rebuilding of our own cities. Slums have no place in America.

We cannot assist in binding the wounds of a war-stricken world and fail to safeguard the health of our own people.

We cannot hope to raise the literacy of other nations and fail to roll back the ignorance that clouds many communities in many sectors of our own nation. Democracy can work successfully for that future which is its predestined heritage only when all people have the opportunity for the fullest education.

The world is a neighborhood. We have learned that starvation in China affects our own security--that the jobless in India are related to the unemployed here. The Post War Problems Committee of the National Association of

Manufacturers (business men all) has wisely declared that increased production in other countries will not reduce living standards in the United States. Those twisters of fact who shriek that your Vice President is a wild-eyed dreamer trying to set up T.V.A.'s on the Danube and deliver a bottle of milk to every Hottentot every morning should read that report. No business prospers without prosperous customers. That is plain common sense.

The average American may not be an expert on all phases of our economic and political life. He may not understand completely the complexities of money and markets. He may never feel completely at home in the intricacies of world trade as they are affected by tariffs and cartels. He may not know too much about parity farm prices and subsidies.

But the average American does know what happens when inflation comes--when prices rise faster than wages, and he knows that the worst lie of all is that the way to make money is to produce scarcity. The common man in America, and every American soldier over seas, wants free enterprise and full employment. He wants to see the great new war plants converted into plants producing peacetime goods. He knows that he and others have acquired new skills and they should be put to use. The average man of America knows that we can make and consume all

goods which make for a higher standard of living. He wants and he must have a job, enough to eat and wear, decent shelter, his own home and automobile, and a chance to educate his children.

He knows that high tariff protection for our markets leads only to retaliation and boycotts by other countries.

He knows that no coalition of nations can weather the innumerable impacts of money and trade monopolies. He witnessed the collapse of sanctions under the League of Nations and the growth of dictatorships that appealed to their peoples by promising to free them from economic slavery. He is convinced that nations must be organized by something more than trade pacts and non-aggression treaties. The peace-makers must have more daring and vision than the war-makers.

A year ago I cited the four duties of the people's revolution as I saw them. They were:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.

4. The duty to build a peace--just, charitable and enduring.

Millions of our people from offices and factories, from farms, mines, oil fields and timber lands, have accepted those duties with typical American courage and fortitude. They are making heroic sacrifices to speed the victory. But if war has its duties, peace has its responsibilities. Three outstanding peace-time responsibilities as I see them today are these:

1. The responsibility for enlightenment of the people.
2. The responsibility for mobilizing peace-time production for full employment.
3. The responsibility for planning world cooperation.

The American press, radio, school, and church free from domination by either Government or corporate interest can hold up to our people the vision of the freedom and abundance of the America that is to be. These great agencies of enlightenment can educate us with regard to the fundamental deficiencies and understandings which are essential if our power is to be a blessing to the world and not a curse.

Labor is beginning to do its part in enlightening the public. It is beginning to make crystal clear that ⁹⁷~~99~~ percent of labor has cooperated 100 percent with our

Government in the war effort. More and more in the future labor will demonstrate that it can cooperate with both employers and with agriculture in those measures which lead to increased employment, increased production and a higher standard of living. The people of America know that the second step toward Nazism is the destruction of labor unions. There are midget Hitlers here who continually attack labor. There are other demagogues blind to the errors of every other group who shout, "We love labor, but..." Both the midget Hitlers and the demagogues are enemies of America. Both would destroy labor unions if they could. Labor should be fully aware of its friends and of its enemies.

The second responsibility, that of mobilizing the peace for full production and full employment, will challenge the best brains and imagination of our industries large and small, our trade associations, our labor unions, and our financial institutions.

When the guns stop, America will find itself with the following assets:

1. Manpower by the million; skilled workers from war industries, military manpower and young people coming of working age.
2. The largest industrial plant capacity in the world.

3. The greatest resources both natural and artificial to make peace-time products--and thousands of new inventions waiting to be converted to peace-time use.
4. The largest scientific farm plant in the world.
5. The biggest back-log of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts.
6. The greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that any nation has ever known.

With such wealth who says this nation is now bankrupt?

If industrial management can bring the same wisdom in producing for peace that it has shown on many production fronts in the supply program for war, the horizons we face are bright. We have witnessed many evidences of industrial statesmanship, of cooperation with labor to increase production and cut costs. In hundreds of industries the war has demonstrated that management and labor can be friends in the service of the nation.

Our industries, trade associations and lending institutions will open the gates of labor's participation wider. They have the choice of approaching the new world of greatly expanded production with new energies and foresight--or they can hold back and fearfully await the stimulus of their government to expand production and consumption.

Whichever choice they consciously or unconsciously make, I believe they want to do their part in keeping this nation on solid ground when peace comes.

If we are to mobilize peace production in the service of all the people we must completely turn away from scarcity economics. Too many corporations have made money by holding inventions out of use, by holding up prices and by cutting down production. Witness 1932 with farm machinery and automobile prices cut less than 15 percent, but with production cut 75 percent. No wonder hog prices in 1933 fell as a result of unemployment and scarcity in the cities to a level only 40 percent of normal. But pig production in 1933, even with the program of killing pigs at light weights, was normal. In contrast pig iron production went down by more than 60 percent. I say that a million times as much injustice has been done to the American people by the slaughter of immature pig iron, the abortion of baby farm machinery, and the killing of promising inventions as was ever done by killing little pigs at light weight. But in any event, the little pigs did not die in vain. Their death helped the country through the emergency. And the fact that it was necessary to kill them gave the American public a complete and utter abhorrence of scarcity economics -- the economics which in 1932 held up city prices, cut city manufactures in half, lengthened break lines, and cut farm prices by more than one half. We want

balanced abundant production of both pigs and pig iron with prices of both equally flexible and equally stable.

I believe in our democratic, capitalistic system, but it must be a capitalism of abundance and full employment. If we return to a capitalism of scarcity such as that which produced both 1929 and 1932, we must anticipate that the returning soldiers and displaced war workers will speak in no uncertain terms.

The third responsibility--that of planning world cooperation--will stem from the open and full partnership between the people and their government.

We will face combustible realities when this struggle has passed.

Even now there are millions in Europe and Asia who have only one thought, one question: "When do we eat?"

Peace does not come where starvation stays.

Peace is a mockery where millions of homeless and diseased are given only the freedom to die.

America will have to fill many bread-baskets, help to restore homes and provide medical care here and in other lands before our own peace will be secure.

We know that a combination of countries seeking to limit our air commerce could shut off our international skyways.

We know that a ganging-up by a group of international

cartels at odds with us could wipe out our markets and sow the seeds of war.

We know that we cannot close the doors on other nations and not expect them to close their doors on us.

We know that imperialistic freebooters using the United States as a base can make another war inevitable.

In that knowledge we can create cooperation or conflict; unity of purpose or under-the-table dealing.

We must continue our splendid teamwork with the British. We must become better acquainted with our new friends, the Russians. We can live peacefully in the same world with the Russians if we demonstrate to ourselves and the world after the war that we have gone in for all-out peace production and total consumer use of our products to bring about the maximum of human welfare.

The Atlantic Charter with its Four Freedoms provides the broad base of general principles to safeguard our decisions. It is a Charter of Faith that must be worked out to endure and the American people intend that it shall work and that it shall endure.

Shouldering our responsibilities for enlightenment, abundant production and world cooperation, we can begin now our apprenticeship to world peace. There will be heart-breaking delays--there will be prejudices creeping in and the faint-hearted will spread their whispers of

doubt. Some blueprints and many programs will be tested and found unworkable--some men with selfish motives will use the propaganda of protest and the sabotage of delay to promote disunity in peace as they have in war.

But the day of victory for humanity will come just as this night of terror and desolation will pass. Nothing will prevail against the common-man's peace in a common-man's world as he fights both for free enterprise and full employment.

The world is one family with one future--a future which will bind our brotherhood with heart and mind and not with chains--which will save and share the culture past and now aborning--which will work out the peace on a level of high and open cooperation--which will make democracy work for mankind by giving everyone a chance to build his own stake in it.

The challenge and the opportunity to win the battle of the peace has joined mankind. Victory demands our best thought, our best energies and our everlasting faith.

Release in papers appearing on the
street after 5 p.m. Sunday, July 25

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

AMERICA TOMORROW

Address of the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice
President of the United States, before a
meeting sponsored by the Detroit labor and
civic organizations at the State Fair Grounds,
Detroit, Michigan, Sunday, July 25, 1943,
broadcast over NBC, 4:30 p.m. E.M.T.

Three months ago in South America I found that the
lowliest peon looked on President Roosevelt as the symbol of
his dearest aspirations in the peace to come. So it is also
in China and occupied Europe. I have known the President
intimately for ten years and in the final showdown he has
always put human rights first. There are powerful groups
who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration
on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished
on the domestic front over the last ten years. Some people
call these powerful groups "isolationists," others call
them "reactionaries" and still others, seeing them following
in European footsteps, call them "American fascists." They
are out to destroy first the President's domestic program,
second the President himself, and finally they hope to control
America and the world.

Sooner or later the machinations of these small but
powerful groups which put money and power first and people
last will inevitably be exposed to the public eye. My
purpose today, however, is to talk about the America of
tomorrow.

There are some who want to stick to what they would have us believe are the realities of the present. Their quick comeback to any question on our peace objectives is, "We must not discuss anything except the war."

There are others who want to stick to what they hold are the realities of the past. They have a stock reply when asked about the peace: "Let us wait and see what England and Russia do before we make our plans."

Both opinions are fighting delaying actions against our destiny in the peace--a destiny that calls us to world leadership.

When we as victors lay down our arms in this struggle against the enslavement of the mind and soul of the human family, we take up arms immediately in the great war against starvation, unemployment and the rigging of the markets of the world.

We seek a peace that is more than just a breathing space between the death of an old tyranny and the birth of a new one.

We will not be satisfied with a peace which will merely lead us from the concentration camps and mass-murder of Fascism--into an international jungle of gangster governments operated behind the scenes by power-crazed, money-mad imperialists.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address of the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, as Chairman of the Iowa Delegation, Seconding the Nomination of President Roosevelt -- Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois, July 20, 1944

As Chairman of the Iowa delegation I am deeply honored to second the nomination of the greatest living American -- Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The strength of the Democratic party has always been the people -- plain people like so many of those here in this convention -- ordinary folks, farmers, workers and business men along Main Street. Jefferson, Jackson and Woodrow Wilson knew the power of the plain people. All three laid down the thesis that the Democratic party can win only if and when it is the liberal party.

Now we have come to the most extraordinary election in the history of our country. Three times the Democratic party has been led to victory by the greatest liberal in the history of the United States. The name Roosevelt is revered in the remotest corners of this earth. The name Roosevelt is cursed only by Germans, Japs and certain American Troglodytes.

The first issue which transcends all others is that complete victory be won quickly. Roosevelt in a world sense, is the most experienced military strategist who has ever been President of the United States. Roosevelt is the only person in the United States who can meet on even terms the other great leaders in discussions of war and peace. The Voice of our New World Liberalism must carry on.

It is appropriate that Roosevelt should run on the basis of his record as a war leader. He is successfully conducting a war bigger than all the rest of our wars put together. We must finish this job before the nation can breathe in safety. The boys at the front know this better than anyone else.

The future belongs to those who go down the line unswervingly for the liberal principles of both political democracy and economic democracy regardless of race, color or religion. In a political, educational, and economic sense there must be no inferior races. The poll tax must go. Equal educational opportunities must come. The future must bring equal wages for equal work regardless of sex or race.

Roosevelt stands for all this. That is why certain people hate him so. That also is one of the outstanding reasons why Roosevelt will be elected for a fourth time.

President Roosevelt has long known that the Democratic party in order to survive, must serve men first and dollars second. That does not mean that the Democratic party is against business -- quite the contrary. But if we want more small business men, as the Democratic party undoubtedly does, we must modify our taxation system to encourage risk capital to invest in all rapidly growing small business. We want both a taxation system and a railroad rate structure which will encourage new business and the development of the newer industrial regions of the south and the west. Rate discrimination must go.

The Democratic party in convention assembled is about to demonstrate that it is not only a free party but a liberal party. The Democratic party cannot long survive as a conservative party. The Republican party has a monopoly on the conservative brains and the conservative dollars. Democrats who try to play the Republican game inside the Democratic party always find that it just can't work on a national scale.

In like manner Republicans who try to play the Democratic game inside the Republican party find that while it may work on a state basis, it can never work nationally. I know because my own father tried it. Perhaps Wendell Willkie may have learned in 1944 a little of that which my own father learned in 1924. The Old Elephant never changes and never forgives.

By nominating Franklin Roosevelt the Democratic party is again declaring its faith in liberalism. Roosevelt is a greater liberal today than he has ever been. His soul is pure. The high quality of Roosevelt liberalism will become more apparent as the war emergency passes. The only question ever in Roosevelt's mind is how best to serve the cause of liberalism in the long run. He thinks big. He sees far.

There is no question about the renomination of President Roosevelt by this convention. The only question is whether the convention and the party workers believe wholeheartedly in the liberal policies for which Roosevelt has always stood. Our problem is not to sell Roosevelt to the Democratic convention but to sell the Democratic party and the Democratic convention to the people of the United States.

The world is peculiarly fortunate that in times like these the United States should be blessed with a leader of the caliber of Roosevelt. With the spirit of Woodrow Wilson but avoiding the pitfalls which beset that great statesman, Roosevelt can and will lead the United States in cooperation with the rest of the world toward that type of peace which will prevent World War III. It is this peace for which the mothers and fathers of America hope and work.

Issues that will be with us for a generation, -- perhaps even for a hundred years, will take form at this convention and at the November election. The Democratic party and the Independent voters will give Roosevelt their wholehearted support, because of his record in peace and war.

As head of the Iowa delegation, in the cause of liberalism, and with a prayer for prompt victory in this war, permanent peace, and full employment, I give you Franklin D. Roosevelt.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address of the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, as Chairman of the Iowa Delegation, Seconding the Nomination of President Roosevelt -- Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois, July 20, 1944

As Chairman of the Iowa delegation I am deeply honored to second the nomination of the greatest living American -- Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The strength of the Democratic party has always been the people -- plain people like so many of those here in this convention -- ordinary folks, farmers, workers and business men along Main Street. Jefferson, Jackson and Woodrow Wilson knew the power of the plain people. All three laid down the thesis that the Democratic party can win only if and when it is the liberal party.

Now we have come to the most extraordinary election in the history of our country. Three times the Democratic party has been led to victory by the greatest liberal in the history of the United States. The name Roosevelt is revered in the remotest corners of this earth. The name Roosevelt is cursed only by Germans, Japs and certain American Troglodytes.

The first issue which transcends all others is that complete victory be won quickly. Roosevelt in a world sense, is the most experienced military strategist who has ever been President of the United States. Roosevelt is the only person in the United States who can meet on even terms the other great leaders in discussions of war and peace. The Voice of our New World liberalism must carry on.

It is appropriate that Roosevelt should run on the basis of his record as a war leader. He is successfully conducting a war bigger than all the rest of our wars put together. We must finish this job before the nation can breathe in safety. The boys at the front know this better than anyone else.

The future belongs to those who go down the line unswervingly for the liberal principles of both political democracy and economic democracy regardless of race, color or religion. In a political, educational, and economic sense there must be no inferior races. The poll tax must go. Equal educational opportunities must come. The future must bring equal wages for equal work regardless of sex or race.

Roosevelt stands for all this. That is why certain people hate him so. That also is one of the outstanding reasons why Roosevelt will be elected for a fourth time.

President Roosevelt has long known that the Democratic party in order to survive, must serve men first and dollars second. That does not mean that the Democratic party is against business -- quite the contrary. But if we want more small business men, as the Democratic party undoubtedly does, we must modify our taxation system to encourage risk capital to invest in all rapidly growing small business. We want both a taxation system and a railroad rate structure which will encourage new business and the development of the newer industrial regions of the south and the west. Rate discrimination must go.

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Tonight I see America as a vigilant watcher and perpetual guardian of the ramparts of the future. This future has one essential -- the continuous rebirth of liberalism. The light of this liberalism is all important, not only to the United States but to the far corners of the earth.

Should the ignorance of the selfish, the blindness of the fearful or the designs of the international freebooters capture Washington, where then would be the victories of Berlin and Tokyo, either for us or for the world?

You may well ask what I mean by a liberal person. A liberal is a person who in all his actions is continuously asking, "What is best for all the people -- not merely what is best for me personally?" Abraham Lincoln was a liberal when he said he was both for the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict he was for the man before the dollar. Christ was the greatest liberal of all when he put life before things -- when he said to seek the Kingdom of Heaven first and things would take care of themselves. Great artists, actors and scientists must be great liberals because in order to create great things they are compelled, for a time at least, to forget "self." In the fever of enthusiasm they strive to create a new beauty, to discover a new truth, to serve mankind in a new way.

The most important seedbed of the future for the production of great scientists, great artists and great liberal leaders is our twenty million white collar workers. These are the forgotten men and women. During the war the cost of living always runs away from their wages. They are poorly organized but any liberal movement if it is to succeed should remember that it must not only represent farmers and factory workers but also the white collar workers and their cousins the small business men.

To us, who realize the supreme importance of the continuous rebirth of liberalism to meet changing conditions, it is peculiarly appropriate at this time to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest American liberals, who more than any other showed his capacity to change in order to meet new conditions -- George W. Norris. Norris, a Protestant, a Middlewesterner, a

Republican and a dry supported Al Smith in 1928 because he believed Al was more liberal than Herbert Hoover. Norris felt even happier in supporting Roosevelt in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944. Roosevelt saw eye to eye with Norris on the Tennessee Valley Authority, farm relief, rural electrification and foreign policies. Roosevelt, like Norris, had fought the forces of evil in both parties. Norris said about Roosevelt, "He is the nearest right on the power issue of any man in public life." Roosevelt said about Norris, "To those who would say that Senator Norris has been no respecter of parties I would suggest something more important: the forces of evil are far less respecters of parties. They are the lineal descendants of the men and the organizations who called Jefferson a 'radical'; who called Jackson a 'demagogue'; who called Lincoln a 'crack-pot idealist'; who called Theodore Roosevelt a 'wild man'; who called Woodrow Wilson an 'impractical idealist.' Senator Norris, I go along with you because it is my honest belief that you follow in their footsteps -- radical like Jefferson, demagogue like Jackson, idealist like Lincoln, wild like Theodore Roosevelt, theorist like Wilson -- dare to be all of these, as you have in bygone years."

Yes, dare to be all of these, as you have in bygone years. Here Roosevelt issued a challenge to Norris which he kept to the last days of his life. One of my most cherished possessions is a five-page letter written by Norris on August 19 of this year, a few days before his fatal illness in which he demonstrated perhaps for the last time his unfailing devotion to the liberal ideals which meant everything to him.

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Senator Wagner is running for re-election. The liberals of the nation will watch the outcome of this election with great eagerness to see whether one of the finest of American liberals is again returned to a place of usefulness and service. Were I a citizen of New York it would be my proud privilege to vote for Wagner and Roosevelt.

No view of the future in the light of liberalism, as represented by President Roosevelt and Senator Wagner can overlook the necessity of planning the inclusion of all the people in the economic, educational, and political progress which only such liberalism can guarantee. And by all the people, I want specifically to include the negro and every other minority group. If that means a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee

patterned after the Committee already established by the President, then we must have it. If that means Federal aid to education such as was killed in this Congress by the Republicans, then we must provide it. If that means abolition of the Poll Tax, then the Poll Tax must go. I repeat what I have said before and shall always believe -- in an economic, educational, and political sense, there must be no inferior races,

There are ninety million people in the United States who could vote if all were permitted to vote. The more potential voters who register and vote, the more democracy. And I am firm in the belief that the more voters we have the more liberalism we shall enjoy and therefore the greater hope for America and for the world. I am talking in New York. I use New York as an example. On October 12th registration is over, and so there is a double duty of registering before October 12th and of voting on November 7th. Since he who does not register does not vote, I urge all Americans to register so that the largest number of Americans in history may reach the polls on November 7th -- each to have his part in deciding the leadership for the most critical period this country and this world have ever faced.

The problem in this campaign is not one of indispensability. The only issue confronting us is, -- who of the two men can better handle the following two problems:

1. Who can better cooperate with Churchill, Stalin, and the Generalissimo, in writing a lasting, liberal, democratic peace which will best preserve American interests without being unfair to any nation, big or small?

2. Who can best make sure that there are jobs for everybody and therefore good incomes for farmers, white collar workers, business and professional men?

Who scores higher as we pose these two problems? I know your answer.

Even the most ardent Republican knows that Roosevelt has the precious asset of long acquaintance as he deals with Churchill and Stalin. He has met them face to face. He knows their innermost reactions because he has been in continuous, almost daily contact with them for several years. Even a reactionary will not lightly vote to toss such knowledge into the discard.

Moreover, all middle-aged Republicans in favor of permanent peace will remember how Harding betrayed their peace ideals in 1920 and 1921. In spite of everything Dewey has said, the isolationists are still going to vote Republican in 1944. Just as Harding placated the isolationists in 1921, so Dewey would be under the necessity of placating the isolationists in 1945. The Republican Party in spite of the millions of its members

who think clearly about international affairs has been, is now, and will be the channel through which the isolationists, the cartelists and the international freebooters work best.

I am glad to bring you a bit of information which should cheer us all to greater and more confident effort. During the past month I have spent most of my time among active workers, seeking my own education on the great subject of post-war employment. There has been time for many questions. Four out of five of the people I met believe post-war jobs and a durable peace the two most important problems of their lives. Two-thirds of the people think Roosevelt is the man best equipped to fashion an abiding peace. A majority think that Roosevelt is the best hope for the management of post-war domestic affairs. Three out of four say Roosevelt is the man to finish the war. I am not forecasting. I am merely telling you what I heard and what was said by a cross-section of people. I am telling you this because I returned to Washington from each of four trips more than ever convinced that the American people cannot be frightened, cannot be confused, and are moving ahead in calm bravery towards the future and its problems.

There is an especial reason this year which makes a ballot November 7th of unusual value. In this democracy we are dedicated to the principle that the majority rules. There are ninety million potential voters. Forecasters who make up what are called Polls regarding future events, have estimated at Princeton, New Jersey, that only forty million of the ninety million will vote. The additional information is volunteered that a vote below forty million should result in a victory for the conservatives. The same sources declare that nineteen million conservatives are certain to vote against Roosevelt and that only eighteen million other people are certain to vote for Roosevelt. Well, I am not a conservative. I do not for one moment believe that the American people are not alive to the vital importance of registering and voting in this most important electoral year in the history of our country. I believe that over forty-five million people, a clear majority of the electorate, will vote November 7th. And I am willing to take the conservative statement from Princeton that forty-five million votes mean victory with Roosevelt.

A reactionary does not believe in nor does he hope for, a forty-five million vote November 7th. Such a man merely wants a conservative victory. He wants Roosevelt beaten. He does not care how. He does not care whether the soldier, or the war worker away from home, gets maximum help from his Governor. For such a man, victory is its own significance. Only a full registration and a maximum vote will express the new liberalism and guarantee the hope of this world for permanent peace and maximum jobs.

As we liberals strive to blue print the future we give first place in our hearts to "Jobs for All," in health and in security. Any modern government, post-war, which is not dedicated to full employment, will fail its people. Such a government deserves to fail. Such a government will be discarded. It is not enough to protect factories in reconversion. It is absolutely imperative to protect people in reconversion. The cart must not lead the horse.

In all earnestness I say again that it is not enough to fix up our war production plants by granting tax relief to big capital. Twenty billion of tax relief for factory and machinery and capital structure will not do all this job. The blue print calls for an orderly and efficient change over of thirty million workers from war time and fighting jobs to full peace time work. Any government which fails in this maximum ideal, fails all. Any government which does not give confidence to our workers and farmers, and to the great white collar twenty millions, that they shall not be idle, will be responsible for a panic mass movement. This panic would find millions in ill-considered shifting, each man trying to find the safest spot, many men forgetting that each should, in calm bravery, stand at his lathe or plow his furrow, until the job of Tokyo and Berlin is done -- until the boys who have done the job of Tokyo and Berlin are back with us in work and comradeship. All may help in this -- the individual, the business man, and our governments -- city and county and state and national. It has been my privilege recently -- since the Chicago Convention, in fact -- to travel through the South, New England, and the Middle East, talking to workers, farmers, and business men about the reconversion of human beings. Everywhere I have found optimism and courage. I have returned to Washington from these trips each time refreshed in the knowledge that our people will be calm. They, these American people, are grown up. They will not be frightened by those who say that their government would abuse them. They do not believe absurd charges that their government would keep one man at war for one minute longer than it is necessary to win a total victory. And they know that every right thinking American believes that his government will meet the terrific post-war employment problem in the spirit of fairness. Those who say otherwise are self-seeking. Those who say otherwise do not know the American people. You cannot scare America this way.

Next after "Jobs for All" we liberals emphasize the willingness -- yes, the eagerness -- of all men in health, to work. There can be no sit-down strike of idle seeking the dole. In my trips I never found a single man who wanted to be idle. But I found hundreds who were thinking and planning for healthful work so that their churches, their homes, and their families might inherit the fruits of victory in peace and gainful work.

Third in our liberal blue print we would underline the problem of the returned soldier. Wise laws have already been

passed at Washington and by nearly every state, giving job priority to the volunteer and the man drafted into war work and the fighting line. The military authorities, for instance, have provided questionnaires for each soldier to sign regarding his former job. It will be known by every draft board and in every community whether a soldier wants his job back or whether he wants some other kind of work. There will have to be much readjustment, of course. Five hundred thousand businesses have been closed since Pearl Harbor. An equal number of new businesses must be started as civilian demand and the backlog of civilian need swings this country from war to peace.

A wise government, believing in humanity, should be adequate to protect the relocation of men and women with the least waste and the least idleness and the most promptness. There is not time here to fill in the detail. Some of the broad outlines may be mentioned. This country needs a peace time industry producing at least one hundred seventy billion dollars annually at present price levels of peace time goods and services. With war needs over, one hundred and seventy billion dollars of peace time activity will mean sixty per cent more clothing to be enjoyed; will mean a better food standard; will mean better housing; will provide for the housewife those labor-saving devices and home comforts which modern invention has so ably conceived and executed.

A brave America knows that we have the factories and the machines and the great backlog of savings. Who should tell us that the consuming market is not here? Who should tell us that private American industry and a half million new small businesses will not be ready and anxious to fill the need and to wait on the customer? The man who tells us such things is self-seeking or ignorant. The man who would approach the business of government leadership in fear and accusation, shall not merit the confidence of a work-willing people. When a willing people on farm, in mine, in factory, in the professions, in transportation, and in other services, goes forward toward full peace time employment, there is reason to believe that three-fourths of the problem will take care of itself. There will, of course, be much to be done by the minute men of peace time conversion in the cities, in the states, and in the nation. For instance, Lynchburg, Virginia, has its plan; Worcester, Massachusetts, has its plan; the state of Rhode Island has its plan, and the forward-looking Governor of Georgia is on his way with post-war jobs for Georgia. The bankers and large corporations are necessary but have no monopoly on peace time reconversion. The job is a human one. Liberals looking forward know this. You know it, Roosevelt knows it. I wonder if certain other people know it.

Tonight we should look ahead to the Washington scene post-war. After all, what the Federal government does will act as encouragement and inspiration for every state and every community. The national blue print must come from Washington after private industry, the county, the city and the state have contributed their all. I believe the best guarantee that Washington will do its full share comes from the examination of the facts. What has Roosevelt done since Hoover left off? You know the answers. What has Roosevelt done since Pearl Harbor to keep inflation from engulfing this country? What has Roosevelt done to see that our soldiers became the best equipped and the best fed, and that there was still enough left for all the healthful needs of those who remained behind to make and build for victory?

These facts are your guide. These facts should govern your vote as you seek to choose between one of two men.

It would be absurd to attack the motives of any man seeking national leadership. Certainly both Dewey and Roosevelt will do their level best if called upon to serve. The first question to decide is one of equipment and experience. Who can better provide for permanent peace and full employment -- Dewey or Roosevelt? Who do you say?

I pause here to say that no man can run this country by himself. If Roosevelt is to carry on he is charged, as you are charged, with the duty of having the ablest body of team mates. If a war time President may draft men to fight, certainly a peace time President may draft the brains of this country to work full time in the most exciting battle of modern times -- the battle against depression, against panic, against defeatism; the battle for full employment, national health, and a permanent peace. There is no peace time job for profit or self which ever again will be paramount over the needs of all. Government service must be the supreme duty when the need is determined. There can be no slackers as we fight for the common man in his pursuit of the richer life. I do not favor the dollar-a-year plan; I do believe that this government, at fair wages, has the first call on all for all. Especially where brains and leadership are in demand, no private industry should have the right to bid unfairly for private profit against government and public necessity. A sit-down strike of brains needed by government should be impossible in the days to come.

The opponents of what Roosevelt stands for will question the right of the government of all the people to call on the best brains for peace time service. These same critics of Roosevelt first questioned the right of government to draft men to fight. These same critics questioned Congress when the President was given power to take over factories for maximum war production. These same critics, who under no circumstances would vote for

Roosevelt, will be loudest in demanding that government and the people take second place -- that the needs of men are second to the needs of profit and immediate dollars. And if, on November 7th, these men win because people are too excited to register or too far from a voting place to vote, we may return to a normalcy of a Harding and a ten year decay into the panic of a Hoover.

Our people are winning a magnificent military victory against despotism. Our people shall also win a victory even more exciting than the victories of the war. The constructive victory of the peace to come will be won on the farm, in the factory, at the fireside. Those who believe in human rights as a first love and a first duty shall win the peace. The new liberalism shall carry on responsibly and bravely confident that peace on earth and good will toward men is a practical endeavor. There shall never be a return to the normalcy of yesteryear -- to normalcy for the few and sub-normalcy for the many. We welcome -- yes, we shall fight for something we have never had -- the normalcy of the good life for everybody.

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THE NEW LIBERALISM

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There is an especial reason this year which makes a ballot November 7th of unusual value. In this democracy we are dedicated to the principle that the majority rules. There are ninety million potential voters. Forecasters who make up what are called Polls regarding future events, have estimated at Princeton, New Jersey, that only forty million of the ninety million will vote. The additional information is volunteered that a vote below forty million should result in a victory for the conservatives. The same sources declare that nineteen million conservatives are certain to vote against Roosevelt and that only eighteen million other people are certain to vote for Roosevelt. Well, I am not a conservative. I do not for one moment believe that the American people are not alive to the vital importance of registering and voting in this most important electoral year in the history of our country. I believe that over forty-five million people, a clear majority of the electorate, will vote November 7th. And I am willing to take the conservative statement from Princeton that forty-five million votes mean victory with Roosevelt.

A reactionary does not believe in nor does he hope for, a forty-five million vote November 7th. Such a man merely wants a conservative victory. He wants Roosevelt beaten. He does not care how. He does not care whether the soldier, or the war worker away from home, gets maximum help from his Governor. For such a man, victory is its own significance. Only a full registration and a maximum vote will express the new liberalism and guarantee the hope of this world for permanent peace and maximum jobs.

As we liberals strive to blue print the future we give first place in our hearts to "Jobs for All," in health and in security. Any modern government, post-war, which is not dedicated to full employment, will fail its people. Such a government deserves to fail. Such a government will be discarded. It is not enough to protect factories in reconversion. It is absolutely imperative to protect people in reconversion. The cart must not lead the horse.

In all earnestness I say again that it is not enough to fix up our war production plants by granting tax relief to big capital. Twenty billion of tax relief for factory and machinery and capital structure will not do all this job. The blue print calls for an orderly and efficient change over of thirty million workers from war time and fighting jobs to full peace time work. Any government which fails in this maximum ideal, fails all. Any government which does not give confidence to our workers and farmers, and to the great white collar twenty millions, that they shall not be idle, will be responsible for a panic mass movement. This panic would find millions in ill-considered shifting, each man trying to find the safest spot, many men forgetting that each should, in calm bravery, stand at his lathe or plow his furrow, until the job of Tokyo and Berlin is done -- until the boys who have done the job of Tokyo and Berlin are back with us in work and comradeship. All may help in this -- the individual, the business man, and our governments -- city and county and state and national. It has been my privilege recently -- since the Chicago Convention, in fact -- to travel through the South, New England, and the Middle East, talking to workers, farmers, and business men about the reconversion of human beings. Everywhere I have found optimism and courage. I have returned to Washington from these trips each time refreshed in the knowledge that our people will be calm. They, these American people, are grown up. They will not be frightened by those who say that their government would abuse them. They do not believe absurd charges that their government would keep one man at war for one minute longer than it is necessary to win a total victory. And they know that every right thinking American believes that his government will meet the terrific post-war employment problem in the spirit of fairness. Those who say otherwise are self-seeking. Those who say otherwise do not know the American people. You cannot scare America this way.

Next after "Jobs for All" we liberals emphasize the willingness -- yes, the eagerness -- of all men in health, to work. There can be no sit-down strike of idle seeking the dole. In my trips I never found a single man who wanted to be idle. But I found hundreds who were thinking and planning for healthful work so that their churches, their homes, and their families might inherit the fruits of victory in peace and gainful work.

Third in our liberal blue print we would underline the problem of the returned soldier. Wise laws have already been

passed at Washington and by nearly every state, giving job priority to the volunteer and the man drafted into war work and the fighting line. The military authorities, for instance, have provided questionnaires for each soldier to sign regarding his former job. It will be known by every draft board and in every community whether a soldier wants his job back or whether he wants some other kind of work. There will have to be much readjustment, of course. Five hundred thousand businesses have been closed since Pearl Harbor. An equal number of new businesses must be started as civilian demand and the backlog of civilian need swings this country from war to peace.

A wise government, believing in humanity, should be adequate to protect the relocation of men and women with the least waste and the least idleness and the most promptness. There is not time here to fill in the detail. Some of the broad outlines may be mentioned. This country needs a peace time industry producing at least one hundred seventy billion dollars annually at present price levels of peace time goods and services. With war needs over, one hundred and seventy billion dollars of peace time activity will mean sixty per cent more clothing to be enjoyed; will mean a better food standard; will mean better housing; will provide for the housewife those labor-saving devices and home comforts which modern invention has so ably conceived and executed.

A brave America knows that we have the factories and the machines and the great backlog of savings. Who should tell us that the consuming market is not here? Who should tell us that private American industry and a half million new small businesses will not be ready and anxious to fill the need and to wait on the customer? The man who tells us such things is self-seeking or ignorant. The man who would approach the business of government leadership in fear and accusation, shall not merit the confidence of a work-willing people. When a willing people on farm, in mine, in factory, in the professions, in transportation, and in other services, goes forward toward full peace time employment, there is reason to believe that three-fourths of the problem will take care of itself. There will, of course, be much to be done by the minute men of peace time conversion in the cities, in the states, and in the nation. For instance, Lynchburg, Virginia, has its plan; Worcester, Massachusetts, has its plan; the state of Rhode Island has its plan, and the forward-looking Governor of Georgia is on his way with post-war jobs for Georgia. The bankers and large corporations are necessary but have no monopoly on peace time reconversion. The job is a human one. Liberals looking forward know this. You know it. Roosevelt knows it. I wonder if certain other people know it.

Tonight we should look ahead to the Washington scene post-war. After all, what the Federal government does will act as encouragement and inspiration for every state and every community. The national blue print must come from Washington after private industry, the county, the city and the state have contributed their all. I believe the best guarantee that Washington will do its full share comes from the examination of the facts. What has Roosevelt done since Hoover left off? You know the answers. What has Roosevelt done since Pearl Harbor to keep inflation from engulfing this country? What has Roosevelt done to see that our soldiers became the best equipped and the best fed, and that there was still enough left for all the healthful needs of those who remained behind to make and build for victory?

These facts are your guide. These facts should govern your vote as you seek to choose between one of two men.

It would be absurd to attack the motives of any man seeking national leadership. Certainly both Dewey and Roosevelt will do their level best if called upon to serve. The first question to decide is one of equipment and experience. Who can better provide for permanent peace and full employment -- Dewey or Roosevelt? Who do you say?

I pause here to say that no man can run this country by himself. If Roosevelt is to carry on he is charged, as you are charged, with the duty of having the ablest body of team mates. If a war time President may draft men to fight, certainly a peace time President may draft the brains of this country to work full time in the most exciting battle of modern times -- the battle against depression, against panic, against defeatism; the battle for full employment, national health, and a permanent peace. There is no peace time job for profit or self which ever again will be paramount over the needs of all. Government service must be the supreme duty when the need is determined. There can be no slackers as we fight for the common man in his pursuit of the richer life. I do not favor the dollar-a-year plan; I do believe that this government, at fair wages, has the first call on all for all. Especially where brains and leadership are in demand, no private industry should have the right to bid unfairly for private profit against government and public necessity. A sit-down strike of brains needed by government should be impossible in the days to come.

The opponents of what Roosevelt stands for will question the right of the government of all the people to call on the best brains for peace time service. These same critics of Roosevelt first questioned the right of government to draft men to fight. These same critics questioned Congress when the President was given power to take over factories for maximum war production. These same critics, who under no circumstances would vote for

Roosevelt, will be loudest in demanding that government and the people take second place -- that the needs of men are second to the needs of profit and immediate dollars. And if, on November 7th, these men win because people are too excited to register or too far from a voting place to vote, we may return to a normalcy of a Harding and a ten year decay into the panic of a Hoover.

Our people are winning a magnificent military victory against despotism. Our people shall also win a victory even more exciting than the victories of the war. The constructive victory of the peace to come will be won on the farm, in the factory, at the fireside. Those who believe in human rights as a first love and a first duty shall win the peace. The new liberalism shall carry on responsibly and bravely confident that peace on earth and good will toward men is a practical endeavor. There shall never be a return to the normalcy of yesteryear -- to normalcy for the few and sub-normalcy for the many. We welcome -- yes, we shall fight for something we have never had -- the normalcy of the good life for everybody.

* * *

To the left? Who has the
right to say that?

Return to normalcy? Who
is so normal as to say ~~so~~
so?

All that we who see
Hitler wish to do is to
defend America.

That contract calls
for drive and speed?

When was passionate
speed ever normal?

When did a driver
sit at an idle
steering wheel, whittling
and spitting his theories

Cable Mayflower



Telephone District 3000

The Mayflower

CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.

Washington, D.C.

of how his grandfathers
forgot the Indians?

A thousand trumpeters
of tute tute are telling
America today that Hitler
will be satisfied with
Europe; that America's
destiny is in the Americas,
that we may live in peace
with two oceans to guarantee

Cable Mayflower



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CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
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the proposal.

no proposal of a Hitler

~~*[Signature]*~~

Be it resolved that it is the sentiment of the United States Senate that the democratic allies be supported to the full extent of the power of the United States this side of war.

Be it resolved that a primary need at this time being airships to fight the battle of democracy; that this Senate ask its Committee on Military Affairs to submit a resolution inviting the democratic allies to ask America to supply, through sale or otherwise, a maximum amount of American owned ships for immediate use abroad, consistent with the national defense.

From a practical standpoint, planes now being built on 1940 plans, plane for plane, will add to our national defense without risk. Personally, I hope that five thousand planes are available, as fast as ships can carry them to the defense of Western Europe and civilization.

Personally I hope that any American aircraft that can reach Europe on its own power will be flown.

As a final word, I say to this Senate that their duty to peace and happiness in America is to keep the war over there.

This is no time for delay. This is to be freedom or slavery. The decision may be expected this summer. A Hitlerized world is unthinkable. To open our factories is not enough.

Our experts, industrial and military, have told us that two years may be required to move airplanes not now constructed in full force to those that need them. I ask the Senate, "Who needs airships two years from now?" I ask the Senate, "How many ships does America need for its own defense now?" I ask the Senate to permit the President and his military advisors to tell us, so that we may act promptly, courageously, effectively, in the face of what now goes on in Belgium and France.

And, I tell the Senate that the word going abroad at this time that the Senate so has acted, will tell something to ^{Italy} ~~XXXX~~, will tell something to Germany, will tell something to Russia.

And, I tell the Senate that the word passing over the cables tonight that this plan is even being considered tonight, will put the strength of a dozen divisions into the spirit of the French and English with their backs to the wall.

It is in that spirit that I speak, that I desire you to resolve.

Speaking in the vernacular, if Hitler wins, we are in the doghouse anyway.

Any sensible Senator knows, and every humble citizen of the United States knows that a Hitler bestride Europe means a Hitler looking into Canada, looking into South America, and looking at us.

From a practical standpoint, I presume that upon receipt of this resolution, the President will call in his advisors of the army and navy. From a practical standpoint, I believe he will ask them for our information how many planes are available, owned by the United States Government, which may be shipped immediately abroad without jeopardizing American Defense. From a practical standpoint we shall expect present unfilled orders of planes destined for allied use will be available to supplement our temporarily depleted force.

To the Senator who says we need all our planes here, I answer: Three thousand miles of water is fairly good protection for a year or two. I feel the war should be kept over there. Lindberg has told us that Hitler can't reach America effectively for two or three years. I think Lindberg is a fair authority on this point. And, I tell the Senator that I am willing to trust the judgement on this resolution to the President of the United States and military experts.

Pepper, or some one, should contact Mrs. Ogden Reed by telephone, and say simply:

"Some of us men ought to be ashamed to have you and Dorothy Thompson be the first Americans really to say it. I for one want to go on record that I think the Herald Tribune is leading this country more intelligently right now than any other paper."

Mr. President:

I wish to serve notice that over the weekend of little news in what many may feel favorable news from Europe, there has been a wave of public sentiment reaching Washington from Florida to Maine, from California to Oregon, demanding that this Senate act and act now in giving every possible aid short of war to the Allied foes of Hitler. On Wednesday the Foreign Relations Committee will consider a resolution reading:

What are the people saying? In March a poll of American public opinion as printed nationally (and I have it in front of me from the New York Times) showed less than one out of five Americans were willing to send military supplies, planes, and cannons to aid the foes of Hitler.

When this man eating tiger clawed Norway in March, America woke up.

I repeat that less than one out of five Americans in March were awake. I was not awake. We of this body were not awake. We of the Foreign Relations Committee were not awake. We were lulled in optimism.

It was inconceivable to us that a hater of God, a hater of mankind, could conquer.

The mad man clutched Holland and Belgium. Today from out of the West, up from the South, down from the North, comes the cry we must aid--and now.

My simple resolution putting at the discretion of the Commander-in-chief of our Army and Navy--the President of the United States--the question of how much help, is the entire question before this body.

Before the people of the United States the question is already settled. The people of the United States in this authoritative and substantial poll, as printed in this authoritative and substantial paper, the New York Times, printed Sunday, says over seven out of ten Americans believe we should send all fighting material possible to the foes of Hitler, now and at once.

My resolution does not go that far. My resolution simply states that we should send some, and at the discretion of the Commander-in-chief.

Gentlemen, I submit, if my resolution could be voted on today by America, 90 per cent of our constituents would tell us to vote for this resolution.

Today is not a day of Republicans or Democrats. Today is a day for all Americans to unite as one in the defense of America.

Senator Austin, I salute you. I feel not alone. I do not feel myself in the moment to be a Democrat. I do not feel you at the moment to be a Republican. I do not feel myself at the moment to be a Southerner. I do not feel you to be from the North.

Today, and every day until this Senate and the House of Representatives unties the hands of our Commander-in-chief, I shall speak. I shall speak because I do not want war in America. I shall speak because I want not one American boy ever to have to fight in war. I shall speak because I believe that our intelligent action now in aiding the foes of Hitler to withstand the thing that Hitler is, is the most intelligent act of today. The war should, from the most selfish, the most nationalistic, the most humanitarian belief of every true American, be kept on foreign shores.

I shall speak because I do not see how otherwise we may act in the defense of America today. Those who say that we should keep material to defend America now manufactured on these shores to save us from a Hitler, should he come over here, have not my confidence. Those who so say have not the confidence of eighty per cent of America at this moment. And every day I shall ask those who see as I see also to speak and work and fight for peace on this Senate floor. Peace for America, peace for the world, the safety of the Western hemisphere, the safety of the American home, calls us to act, to act now on this resolution in the defense of America.

I submit ^{*Seven Point*} *the* **A Program for America's Defense** *of America*

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

If Hull Were Vice-President

Hopkins as assistant executive president would save the President's health and time, and would be accepted as defense measure. Kennedy to the Commerce Department or Post Office Department would answer Farley's exit with the Catholics. The country would say Hopkins, Kennedy, and one other strong man in the State Department constitute a wealth of youth and drive behind the President and Hull as time passes.

Hitler probably will turn East:

1. Because he cannot afford to make his major English effort with Stalin, the bank robber, still dangerous in whole Rumanian, Turkish, Baltic area. Until he spans Russia, all to the east and south and north of him is potentially dangerous. Russia is easy and spectacular, and finishes up the continent, and gives him his feed bag.

2. England is a harder nut than Russia. Hitler always has taken the easier nut first. With France out, and Italy in, he isn't afraid of anything but a defensive England, a blockading England, which would mean little if he has Hungary, Rumania, and the Russian Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and Swedish ore.

This does not mean there will be no trouble for England on English soil. I am talking about the major and immediate effort. Hitler has to win every battle, or lose the entire show. Why should he not prepare for next winter on a sure shot? He can nibble at English lines, and English spirit, and encourage Japan by a succession of spectacular defeats of Russia, especially when he knows America can do relatively little for England within a year. The combination drive on England and South America is a little harder way to the feed bag which he must have. If Stalin would give him a free hand to the feed bag, the show probably would be reversed, but Stalin faces famine.

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Pittman, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, author of the Pittman Silver Purchase Act, of which Pittman said, "Raising the price of silver will double the purchasing power of over half of the people of the world."

Pittman, and his active supporters, represent seven states producing silver whose mines employ about 50,000 people. These senators represent only three per cent of the people of the United States, indirectly to benefit corporations producing silver, these fourteen senators, representing less than one-thirtieth of our people, but having one-sixth of the senatorial voting strength, have traded and sold silver to the United States Government at a direct loss to the government of over one billion dollars in five years.

Hitler ordered all Jews to give up their silver to the Nazi government. He sold it at the Pittman price (three times its real value) to the United States.

Japanese soldiers rob Chinese of silver, melt millions of Chinese coins annually and sell this silver to the people of the United States. With Chinese silver loot they buy American iron and cotton with which to murder the Chinese they have robbed.

This billion dollar theft would have built twenty battleships of the first class, or would have built twenty thousand airplanes.

Senator Pittman, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, knows these things.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is holding within its hand potentially the fate of the United States. The people of the United States should not forget this, now or later. The President, ^{with} ~~with~~ vigorous far-sight two years ago, a year ago, fought for the right to defend America, fought for the right to notify the people, who have just realized it, that America was pathetic in its isolationism. ^{Thank God of this record - a president - a leader -} ~~that America~~ was not afraid to speak clearly for liberty and right.

The people--our people--were led astray by the very members of this Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a younger and unimportant member. But I want to tell the Senate that the Foreign Relations Committee of this Senate has sold and bartered the rights of a new and rising generation--a generation of lives, and millions of lives which they themselves do not own. They have sold this rising generation, to which I belong, for nothing more than a narrow egotism and a petty holding up to the world of their own importance; ^{they} ~~and~~ defeated our President in the most critical time in the American history--the spurning of Hull in the pathetic statement of a grand old man that he knew individually more than the United States, a man unfortunately no longer here to defend his position (so I speak no longer) has left in the spirit of this Foreign Relations Committee the same simple glorification, the same idolatry of the fact that one hundred and fifty years ago in the making of the framework of the United States the Senate was ^{placed as} ~~the~~ guard against a President who might lead the country astray.

I charge that the policeman has wrecked the house. I charge that the policeman has ~~not protected the~~ ^{slept on the beat}

The embattled privileges of age have no place in the speed of defense.

I am saying to you a defense program--not my defense program--must be determined upon now. I am watching the clock, not the calendar.

These powers I propose to vest in The President of the United States, not a President of the United States.

I propose we vest these powers in any President of the United States that this democracy sees fit to elect--whoever in November this democracy in its love of Freedom places at the head of its defense effort--would be my President.

These powers can be exercised only by the President of the United States.

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A Program for America's Defense

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3. Conferring upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and Departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgement interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense material.
4. To confer upon the President the power to suspend the peace-time debt limitations, if in his judgement such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.
5. To grant the President the authority to aid in material or finances those countries and nations which in his judgement at this time constitute America's first line of defense.
6. The President and the Congress to begin immediately in the preparation and adoption of a defense budget and tax program adequate to the national defense.
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Be it resolved by the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives in congress assembled that American farm surpluses of food in the amount of \$25,000,000.00 value be supplied by the people and government of the United States to the governments of Poland and Belgium as now existant in France.

Further, resolved that \$5,000,000.00 in cash be contributed by the American people, through their government, to the American Red Cross for the purchase in America of clothing and medicines and transportation of same to France for the succor and relief of refugees from Hitler of Polish, Norwegian, Czecho-Slovakian, Belgian, and Holland citizens now residing in France as the result of Hitlerism.

Further, resolved that this small expression of American sympathy is now extended so that France in her present peril shall not be forced to feed and succor other than her own citizens as she fights on her soil for Liberty.

(Representative T. V. Smith, of Illinois, probably would be glad to concur in this resolution. Both Senator Lee and Congressman Smith are crying for radio time.)

A Hopkins brain trust sends Lloyed George or H. G. Wells to America at once.
We know them, and like them, and are distrustful of politicians and diplomats.
Lord Lothian is a failure--color in giving the British Empire's picture is
necessary within the next forty days while the isolationists fight with Roosevelt
for thought control of this country at the national election.

Yesterday was the Sabbath. A tired leader of our America, sublimated above self and party and politics, faced another day. While we rested, he worked.

He returned to the White House in the late afternoon. He had before him the news of another day of Hitler advance, with German parachutists dropping almost at the outskirts of Paris.

As the sun set on this Lord's Day, our President began to write a message to the American people.

I do not know what that message contains. He will stand and deliver at Charlottesville, where Jefferson, the friend of France and Liberty, so often walked among the elms.

T There is before this Senate a resolution calling for all moral support to the President of the United States on behalf of this Senate in our leader's effort to keep the war in Europe away from American shores.

When one arises to address his fellow Senators, it is customary for a Senator to speak, and following speech, to yield the floor. Unless otherwise interrupted, and in the absence of the Chaplain of this Senate, I shall bow before the Ruler of All: Almighty God, as one among the legions of your followers on this earth, I ask that this, a simple prayer, be heard. In this room, in this place, are representatives of those who have to lead the way to Liberty--to keep the faith that love, not force, finally shall triumph. In defense of our America, our leader is to speak tonight.

Please, God, protect and guide him. For all our people, hold his hand steady as world Liberty trembles. Please, God, let all within sound of my voice bow in reverence to you, and in faith, that America in its soul and in its leadership may carry on.

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He returned to the White House in the late afternoon. He had before him the news of another day of Hitler advance, with German parachute-ists dropping almost within the outskirts of Paris.

As the sun set on this Lord's day, our President began to write a message to the American people.

I do not know what that message contains. He will stand and deliver at Charlottesville, where Jefferson, the friend of France and Liberty, so often walked among the elms.

There

~~XX~~ is before this Senate a resolution calling for all moral support to the President of the United States on behalf of this Senate in our leader's effort to keep the war in Europe away from American shores.

When one arises to address his fellow Senators, it is customary for a Senator to speak, and following speech, to yield the floor. Unless otherwise interrupted, and in the absence of the Chaplain of this Senate, I shall bow before the Ruler of All: Almighty God, as one among the legions of your followers on this earth, I ask that this, a simple prayer, be heard. In this room, in this place, are representatives of those who have to lead the way to Liberty--to keep the faith that love, not force, finally shall triumph. In defense of our America, our leader is to speak tonight.

Please, God, protect and guide him. For all our people, hold his hand steady as world Liberty trembles. Please, God, let all within sound of my voice bow in reverence to you, and in faith, that America in its soul and in its leadership may carry on.

If I were to criticize Pepper, I would say a man of tremendous courage, energy, sincerity, and spirituality, who had not yet learned simplicity on the carrying through of a simple idea.

An all time low on you and myself was last week when the detailed shooting began.

The assembly of like minds in the service in a group had not been done. Work had not been apportioned, so when the tax bill came in, there was no clarity in the placing of effective ammendments. The best minds in the Senate boted for a political fake without protest.

Pepper's seven points had a wonderful, honest opportunity here, if seven men of courage had been found to talk honest taxation even briefly, putting in a concrete simple ammendment.

We all know Roosevelt. He is going to shoot tax bills July. Why is not the Senate leading the country in speed and honesty?

Handwritten signatures and scribbles, including the name "Hans" and "Law".

Have gone
slow car

the Senate passed the bill in 1917 and passed
the bill known as the Espionage Act. It is not
concerned with the Espionage Act. It is not
of course had been found to be a violation of the
law, a violation of the law, a violation of the law.
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law, a violation of the law, a violation of the law.

I want Pepper if he can to:

Make a speech in Chicago.

Get a place on the resolutions committee, coming out with a minority report if necessary--that he should not politically stir one step toward the Vice Presidency because his motives, and his work, will be challenged and he will be accused of selfishness. As a candidate he would be under Roosevelt's wraps, and he is not sure that Roosevelt is his ultimate leader, but he is a Senator for four years, and Hitler still will be an issue in '44 if we are a free people. Keep your free right to talk on the Senate floor, your commission from Florida, and your right as such to talk anywhere at any time, and not as Roosevelt's boy friend. Roosevelt is passing and you are coming.

Brains to Hopkins, Pepper should be transmitting brains to Roosevelt, but I believe practically most suggestions should best be sold Hopkins first, and from Hopkins go to the President, probably unmarked. Remember Hopkins probably never again will be ambitious for the Presidency, but might well be a President-maker in 1944. The man who is modest and helps Hopkins to help Roosevelt has help and confidence in his Senate work, should Roosevelt go in and the pressure change seniority value. It is easy to see Pepper as a master Senator, and one of an inner policy cabinet of four or five, which will precede a routine cabinet very shortly. It will consist of Hopkins, one House, and one Senate member, and the best Army and the best Navy brains. This Cabinet largely will be a telephone cabinet, but may easily become a devoted Sunday morning religious rite in the defense of simplicity as others handle routine. I would like to be the publicity and public myself.

I have spoken of a lack of the qualities of assembly and a lack of the qualities of assigning labor.

Some men cannot function with others because of their egotism and greed for fame and for petty power. Josh Lee would be one of these. The elder La Follet was one, and also Borah. You at forty have demonstrated your sincerity and courage will make you a great Senate orator. A cool brain after the oratory and before the oratory will produce a master statesman. At the present time I would sell Byrnes and have Hopkins sell Byrnes, and by being around would be sold myself, as the mouth piece of the defense of America--the bell ringer, while the actual detailed program and supporting oratory was assigned by Byrnes.

The weaker move is that you have had to be ahead of the President and you have not had any support from the band wagon.

Right now while there is a low and a lull waiting for Wilkie to be nominated, I believe you can and should get Byrnes and Hopkins into a Sunday morning breakfast--this Sunday. (Note: the man who does not want a Vice Presidency can afford to tell others that they have a healthy ambition without necessarily work time. But Byrnes can be excited into wanting Hopkins talk with you, because of his V. P. ambitions, and because he must see strategy of meeting Wilkie must begin in Senate cloakrooms next Monday.

I foresee that men around the President are telling him that Wilkie is vulnerable on utilities and Wall Street. I do not think so. I think every time that line opens the answer is, "Yes, thank God." That a man of big business vision, who knows and has succeeded on pure American business lines, who is young, and believes the same things that Roosevelt believes, is the best answer to carrying on, and settles the dictator business by killing a third term.

Wilkie should not be attacked because of his connections with Wall Street or Utilities; neither is bad in itself. Capital and utilities are both necessary. Any one who attempts to attack him as a tool of Wall Street and an anti-social being because he runs a lighting company is going to be burned. The best Roosevelt defense is a Roosevelt offense, and not a Wilkie attack.

Roosevelt offensive means a direct and positive record of performance in the

job of leadership. That is the only thing that is being attacked. Wilkie must attack Roosevelt as a man who hasn't done his job, and has left America unprepared. If Wilkie attacks Army unpreparedness, laying the charge to Roosevelt, Roosevelt should not defend the Army, for the simple fact that the figures show that the Army cannot be defended. The weakest speech he ever made was that sort of defense made on Sunday night about six weeks ago. On the Senate and House floors all of the bickering as to who and what caused our unpreparedness can go on with Roosevelt supporters well prepared to show that Republican Nyes and Democratic Clarks--the present isolationists--are the people to blame.

Wilkie will say: "Roosevelt did not get us ready. I will get you ready over here."

Roosevelt should say little. He can't fight for a third term with Wilkie. Roosevelt's campaign must be a campaign of acts as President, while Wilkie attacks him as responsible for neglect.

The people's minds are in the now and in the near future, and not in the past.

If Roosevelt attacks Wilkie as a past bad man, and the tool of American bad men, I think he will lose, because of American resentment to a man who has been crying for unity and who talks dis-unity.

I see Republican orators (and I hope Republican candidates and press) attacking Roosevelt violently. I believe the common danger and the love of Roosevelt will solidify in the face of such unfairness, and that Wilkie will be about as badly off as other presidential candidates who have been defeated by the violence and lowness of their personal attacks--Landon in '36, Smith after he shrivelled, Lewis this week, Hoover in his late writings, campaign manager Hamilton.

I have much admiration for the Wilkie strategy, and believe he is well advised. I see him kissing Roosevelt to death by faint praise while Rooseveltians build Wilkie through attacking his past and his playmates.

Some one, possibly Pepper, but I think Josh Lee, can take the assignment of covering the country with a speech which points out intelligently who Wilkie is and how he got to be a candidate. I will be glad to help on such a speech.

Pepper should cover the nation on a speech pointing out that a failure of America to continue Roosevelt answers England and the world that we will fight alone--an island of frightened people--and will tell Hitler and Mussolini that we have repudiated the man who for three years has carried the flag against them in order to put an unknown person--to them a small insignificant person--into the seat of the opposition.

It will serve notice to the whites races everywhere that we stay in America no matter what happens to whites being smashed by yellows under Hitler's orders. It serves notice to South America that there truly is no world wide fight of the spirit of liberty against slavery--that it is merely, "Save himself who can," that is suggested by Roosevelt enemies. Hitler picks them off one at the time. America will be last with South America ahead, while the Japs kill whites south in Australia and move toward this side of the Pacific to the south, while Hitler's trade and troupes move across the Atlantic below the equator. I believe the only way the American message to the dictators and to others believing in American leadership, is the final answer, the final hope,^{is} that the President by his acts in the next 90 days proves world leadership. If America does not follow, it will be because this leadership is weak, badly timed, or bad publicity through fear of November 15. With Roosevelt the candidate also President, it will be impossible for his Democratic opponents in the Senate and the House not to go along the next 90 days. That puts the isolationists in Wilkie's lap. I believe the spirit of the country can be bravely behind Roosevelt as against fear behind Roosevelt.

I would like to help out on a temperate, logical, plain statement of Wilkie and his backers. I would like to help with the Pepper campaign speech on what the meaning of Roosevelt retirement is. I think Byrnes should be hitting the ball Monday morning, pitching the Senate ~~and~~ cloakroom into position as Wilkie is named,

I think the President should make no statement. If he ever starts seeking the nomination, he is gone, because the dictator and the seeker of power are one.

McKinley became president in a rocking chair while Bryan, the great orator, attacked his lazy stupidity. Roosevelt is safer leading in action his people than he is in defending his administration and seeking a third term.

What I saw in the Senate already this afternoon with Italy going into war and the President speaking tonight, I think the hour has come for you, before the Senate adjourns today, to announce in a very brief, plain statement that you will call your resolution from the table tomorrow.

I believe the President's speech tonight opens the door to continuous debate your resolution, and in order to keep the front line picture for yourself, you must do this. Let Lee, Guffey, and others drop in resolutions, giving your resolution on German decorations to Guffey, and including Italian decorations. Guffey can't talk, but Lee can decorate his speech.

You use high spiritual tone. Maybe that matter on the inside of your coat pocket has something without the prayer business.

Think time has come to see Corcoran, as I feel his brain and knowledge on President's mind and Chicago should be checked, with Italy and ourselves almost in. Believe Jimmy Byrnes will slip out, and wither Hull or a young man will go in. The man who makes medicine now for the people on a broad front has a chance, especially if he makes good on a Chicago speaking spot--probably resolutions.

Make an outline: Present youth. Kind of world and kind of country that has come to be, and their future.

Some regard this country as something they wish to serve, others as something to serve them. Whether business Buccaneer is to be brought back as the dominant motive in this country, or whether opportunity to advance the common interest is to continue to be the motive of life. Want to challenge them to belong to those who see opportunity to serve through their businesses and professions or whatever their aptitude may happen to select. Sober them with conscience and consciousness that after all the time of the Buccaneer has passed.

Pepper

To you people of the Southwest, I may be unknown. So you will pardon me if, at the time your great radio Governor generally speaks to you, I speak to make myself better acquainted with you folks.

May I first get rid of a little promise I made to my own conscience? I have always said that, if I ever talked personally to the folks of Oklahoma, I wanted to tell them of my very warm regard for the fighting qualities of my senatorial associate, Josh Lee. For the past two years Lee and I have fought the Lindberghs, and the Wheelers, and the Vandenburgs, and the Clarks, and the Nyes on radio and in the Senate.

The issue has been a very simple one. We must, if we believe in Democracy, call all men patriots until they are found to be Quislings or worse. So remember the Wheelers, and the Clarks, the Vandenburgs, and the Nyes, whom Lee and I are fighting daily as we support the Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, in the battles of the Senate--these men you must believe are as patriotic as Josh Lee and I think they are. There is a simple difference of judgement. Wheeler leads a block of Senators, mostly Republicans, but with many Democrats, who apparently would destroy Roosevelt first and Hitler second. They believe that Roosevelt is leading us into a catastrophe by aiding England. Lee and I, and, of course, a bare majority of the Senate, support the President. The Wheelers, the Clarks, the Vandenburgs, and the Nyes, believe we should make war material and train men to defend America over here only. Your President and I believe that Hitler should be kept as far away from American shores as possible by the force of our arms and aid to Britain.

It is not a question of whether a Wheeler hates Roosevelt or hates Britain. It is fair to say that Wheeler honestly believes that we should stay at home and meet Hitler here if he comes.

To me this is unthinkable bad judgement. I think that when a forrest fire or a grass fire moves toward my home and yours that we should start a fire of our own to fight the fire coming our way. That is good fire fighting, all of us know.

England is the "cross" fire. If England falls--and she must not fall--the fire started by Hitler will be at our shores too soon for us to be comfortable even in our shirt sleeves.

It is a splendid tradition that Texas has--your Alamo and your San Jacinto, your Sam Houston. Valley Forge and Lexington in national tradition showed no more dramatic bravery. But the days of Lexington and Concord and Valley Forge and the Alamo are the days of yesteryear. Today it is tanks and bombers and submarines and a war of the world that we face. The issue of the future is as simple as the duty of today. If we keep Hitler over there, we remain in this Western world a land of peace. The Jap alone will stay away. But, if England falls, Wheeler and Vandenburg and Mye and Clark will have Hitler very much closer--so close, in fact, that they may have to talk to him in person, as the Jap and the beast of Berlin close in.

I cannot take the road of fear. Fear breeds indecision and death to the liberty for which we fight. I know that my God, this Sunday morning, is seeing all that this earth contains, and here in this Texas sun I feel refreshed. As you and I hear God today in church and in the great miles of space in a state as large as Hitler's Germany before the beast broke out with red jaws over Europe and Africa--in this peaceful commonwealth--I cannot fear today.

The Wheelers may say that the road to freedom and safety lies in sending nothing anywhere, and having everything here when Hitler comes. I believe, and you have voiced your belief behind Roosevelt at the ballot box and by your voices in the Senate and in the House, that you believe with your President that all out aid everywhere in this world where free men fight Hitler is the best way to keep Hitler away from us.

Your great Sheppard, your Tom Connally fighting with the President on this great issue, your Sam Rayburn, and your Texas delegation, has been a solid support in these tragic few months that have brought the danger of the devil incarnate closer and closer to this new world.

But God, in that faith which prepares you for the serenity so necessary to courage, tells you that God will be with those who fight for the right, no matter how dark the day may seem.

So we in unity must fight for defense through all out preparation as Hitler moves this way. The delays of a Democracy are tragic, but remember all that we are fighting to save is democracy. We cannot stop the voices of Wheeler and Vandenburg and Nye and Clark in the Senate, for should we do so, democracy itself would be denied. By our votes in the Senate thus far have we denied that shameful thing for which they stand. Since Roosevelt saw this awful thing over two years ago, he has fought the fight of freedom. Passionately has he also fought to save democracy as a governmental process which serves the liberty of the individual and the liberty of the family and the liberty of the communion with God. He has lost many a skirmish, and he has lost some very big battles with the Wheelers and the Nyes and the Clarks and the Vandenburgs.

I remember a very dark day of my own life. Roosevelt, denied the Neutrality Bill, had his hands tied. I sought in the Senate last May to untie his hands, raising a single voice there before France fell, I asked that the Senate instruct the President to assume command of the armed forces of America in a positive move to save France. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 19 to 2 against my proposal. From that day on my voice and my vote has been cast on the simple proposition of keeping Hitler over there.

The months have passed. All propositions to keep Hitler over there offered by the Oklahoma Senator Lee and myself have been fought. We asked that labor not strike on defense work, and attempted to bring about a real authority in Roosevelt so that labor would work without dropping the tools of defense except as permitted by the government itself.

One of our group, seeing eye to eye with Roosevelt, Senator Russell, got through Congress a bill to prevent factory owners from making a peacetime thing for profit when the government needed the factory for war work. This was in

the days of the Ford issue, and before Knudsen took over factory production.

And then came the fight for adequate finances behind Roosevelt. And then the Lend-Lease Bill. And now, and in the days to come, as the clock ticks and the daily news grows more deadly, we will have the fight in the Senate to back the brain and the heart of the Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt. May those of us who need you so much have your prayers today. May your Commander-in-Chief have your letters and your wires today. For, with shame, I must tell you that millions of your fellow citizens see this thing as do Wheller, and Clark, and Eye, and Vandenburg, and Lindbergh. And the people who see with these men are writing Roosevelt, telling him to stay his hand as there is no danger over here from Hitler over there.

They say in effect, "Don't fight a mad dog; stay away from him." This is very fine if the mad dog is chained. But his mad dog Hitler, and his slant-eyed friend across the Pacific, are actually moving without chains across two oceans, with submarines and drifting legions ready to turn this way. The mad dog of Europe moves on Dakar, twice as close to this hemisphere as we are to Brazil. The Jap, drifting toward Singapore, may turn so very slightly when the phone between Tokyo and Berlin would have it so; their jaws hungry and cruel would crunch South America first, perhaps, but is there any safety for us over here in that sort of thing?

So tell your President this Sunday morning. He needs your letters and your voice so very, very much.

I shall be in Texas for a week getting acquainted with as many of you as I may. I come here because your Texas legislature has asked me Tuesday at eleven-thirty to tell them what I think about the state of this nation at this moment. So I am not being discourteous in talking to you in any detail. I hope that you may be on the radio Tuesday at eleven-thirty, as I understand you will have the opportunity to listen in, as I talk at your state Capitol.

I hope you have a pencil, and I wish you would take it in your hand and write down the dates that I hope to keep. The American Legion has been

very kind to encourage me to make this introduction today. And wherever I may speak through the American Legion, as a body of men who have seen Hitler coming this way, I shall be very glad to speak. Having just arrived in Texas, all I can say now is that I am to speak at Houston-----; at Amarillo-----; at Dallas-----
----- . If you listening would have me come where you are, will you please wire me in care of-----the Commander-in-Chief of the American Legion, Dallas, Texas, who may make it possible for me to reach you in person during the week.

Note: M. L. says a little more Connally, and a little less Lee, and a little more Sheppard, perhaps.

If you can say that you are on a Southwestern tour, and that you have an Oklahoma, or Arkansas, or Louisiana date, it will help much. You can say that you expect to speak, if asked, in Oklahoma, Arkansas, or Louisiana, should Washington duties give you the time.



OVERLOOKING LAKE MICHIGAN

JOSEPH P. BINNS
GENERAL MANAGER

STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO

MICHIGAN BOULEVARD
AT CALSO DRIVE
WABASH 4400

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Where I may help, let me know.

Pepper to Royburn

STEVENS HOTEL
CHICAGO



PEPPER TO RAYBURN

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Thank you very much for the information.

Pepper to Rayburn

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, ⁱⁿthe 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 Mooser, but from the South, I say. . . .

I revert to the theory of political economy as
this theory. The only constant effort since then is the social equality
and economic equality which has been brought to this country by the
Boswell, after the theory has been extended by Thomas Boswell. And
now for seven years we have had Franklin Boswell and William Boswell
of the party. Fighting for economy in production, and economy in
The theory is an exact equal right to all, not only in government but in
economy. In maintenance. In maintenance. This was, then, was
so held about six and the rights of a man after Boswell's
five or ten-year term of labor and the production of these rights.

ADJOURNMENT

Bill Boswell, but from the South, I say. . .

Cable Mayflower



Telephone District 3000

The Mayflower
CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
Washington, D. C.

Jiggs:

Pick up page 9 Washington Post, calling Senator's attention to Walter Lippmann and Sullivan. Tell him too important for Senator to miss, especially Lippmann.

I want Pepper if he can to:

Make a speech in Chicago.

Get a place on the resolutions committee, coming out with a minority report if necessary--that he should not politically stir one step toward the Vice Presidency because his motives, and his work, will be challenged and he will be accused of selfishness. As a candidate he would be under Roosevelt's wraps, and he is not sure that Roosevelt is his ultimate leader, but he is a Senator for four years, and Hitler still will be an issue in '44 if we are a free people. Keep your free right to talk on the Senate floor, your commission from Florida, and your right as such to talk anywhere at any time, and not as Roosevelt's boy friend. Roosevelt is passing and you are coming.

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An all time low on you and myself was last week when the detailed shooting began.

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Pepper's seven points had a wonderful, honest opportunity here, if seven men of courage had been found to talk honest taxation even briefly, putting in a concrete simple amendment.

We all know Roosevelt. He is going to shoot tax bills July. Why is not the Senate leading the country in speed and honesty?

Memorandum for speakers:

This is an extemporaneous speech,
which has not been published anywhere,
made before a business group. It may
have some phrases and statements which you
might adapt in your speaking.

Senator Penper:

This means that France is to be another Holland. No fortifications, pacified and economically controlled on the continent by Italy and Germany, with her colonial empire divided by Germany, Italy, and Japan, with surrender of the fleet a "must".

Note bottom of page: Uruguay blazes with Nazis as two United States warships are on job.

Also first bulletin: Churchill on air at 3 p.m.

C. E. M.

Memo for Pepper:

If you can get your people constructive, they won't have time to be destructive. False leaders will not grab them.

I think it very fine, what you have done in leading the country, but you have done nothing in leading the individual activity of the energetic Floridians.

You are attempting to save the national house; the letters and the telegrams pour in.

But the greatest statesman is he who puts people's minds to work individually and not merely as applauders of the great man.

You are saving the house; how about the farm?

And, then you have another job--to get back into circulation in Florida some of the gigantic sums which the Federal defense effort will take from Florida citizens.

After all, Florida is your farm. I am not talking pork-barrel. I am talking the deadly reality.

Pittsburgh, Detroit, Los Angeles, all can go on twenty-four hour factory basis with Knudsen and Stettinius driving. There will be plenty of prosperity and high wages at these points and in shipyards.

But the bill is paid by all. Where there is no war activity, there must be increasing poverty. Get yours for Florida. But get what is good for defense of America--nothing else.

It is easier to get something that is needed than to yell for something that isn't needed.

Pittman's horrible example is before me. A brilliant man without vision and without morals--which comes out a clever fool. Connally the same.

But you have vision. You have sincerity. You are on the up drive. You are young.

I, merely as an oldster sitting around in his slippers, say: "Put the practical, the cunning, the clever, the egotistical, the selfish, and the low-visioned people to work for their state under an intelligent plan, headed by what is called a 'go getter.'" You have not time for this. You have no stomach for it. I know of no one in your state who has the sense to do it, and who also has the color and the drive and the position of leadership. Your senior Senator and your Governor are not possible.

My answer is, "Team up with Governor Rivers, of Georgia, at once."

Therefore, call him today with an intelligent idea. I will go down to see him tonight with the plan, if you need that done.

There are no factories worthy of the war defense name, and there are no labor units in Georgia and Florida which mean anything to Stettinius, Knudsen, General Marshall, President Roosevelt, or Harry Hopkins.

Savannah, Brunswick, Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, Fort Meyers will be yelling for shipyards. The petty Chamber of Commerce secretaries will be waiting you to death.

Fifteen Florida Chambers of Commerce will be on your neck. Set up a machine at once to save yourself.

If I had to examine every loan, and meet every prospective borrower at a little bank I am supposed to own, I would do nothing else. I haven't been in the bank for eighteen months.

You can't load Johnson with this inquiry tripe from every two-bit town.

But you must get going for Florida--a not over-rich state which is going to be sucked dry through taxation.

I say Rivers because I saw him for two minutes standing in a hallway last night. He is Happy Chandler plus. He certainly will know how to make a noise. The combination of Rivers and Pepper is a natural, because you two young men have an economy defense necessity to save Florida and Georgia against army bureaucracy, which sees only its own problem.

This problem already is being solved, because San Antonio has been decided upon, with its Randolph Field and its army post and its Corpus Christi sea base project, as the center of war training.

I am a Texan, and I am telling you. The man telling you is from the north end of the San Antonio district.

I am not certain that by taking the obvious advantages of Mobile and Birmingham into the group you haven't an all round Southern economic bloc with steel and shipbuilding and training grounds. And, I believe, there is a very important Senator from Alabama.

To the President:

Since money is made only by material, and men, and time, all money spent in the defense of America comes from there.

This country has square miles, with material scattered over it.

It is not forty-eight states. It is one hundred and thirty blocks of one million people, working on top of the ground with material.

If and as Washington collects the money-honey from the bee activity everywhere, it must redistribute more or less evenly, or dry rot, poverty, and famine spot the surface of the country, as feverish prosperity spots elsewhere.

Your specialists in spending unerringly will select the best, most immediate places for defense of America activity. Your specialists in humanitarianism unerringly will spot inactivity and tax-drained areas for giving taxes to save the idle and the starving.

The great specialist is a President over the specialist.

Stettinius and Knudsen are productive experts, spending for defense.

Around you are the giving specialists, emphasizing Wallace and Hopkins, whom to know is to love.

Fords, yes. An example: Fore River, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Los Angeles--centers of ships, steel, airship making, war training.

The leader of leaders must watch for the idle spots. For example: Another regional unit is Birmingham, steel; Mobile and Jacksonville, ships; Georgia and Florida, training.

Another region--plane manufacture, Wichita, Kansas, which is bomb-proof where Los Angeles, and Seattle are not.

Feverish activity, yes. Now, where the men and machines are.

Second line and expansion where it now is not.

The negroes went North during the last war. Where possible, take the activity to the labor.

Politically the advantages are self-evident; economically, equally sound; as immediate war measures, I don't know.

(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.

t 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 must 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 doctored. All ~~exit~~ 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.

Tipper

Little

To you people of the Southwest, I may be unknown. So you will pardon me if, at the time your great radio Governor generally speaks to you, I speak to make myself better acquainted with you folks.

May I first get rid of a little promise I made to my own conscience? I have always said that, if I ever talked personally to the folks of Oklahoma, I wanted to tell them of my very warm regard for the fighting qualities of my senatorial associate, Josh Lee. For the past two years Lee and I have fought the Lindberghs, and the Wheelers, and the Vandenburgs, and the Clarks, and the Nyes on radio and in the Senate.

The issue has been a very simple one. We must, if we believe in Democracy, call all men patriots until they are found to be Quislings or worse.

So remember the Wheelers, and the Clarks, the Vandenburgs, and the Nyes, whom ~~some~~ ^{of us} are fighting daily as we support the Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, in the battles of the Senate--these men you must believe are as patriotic as Josh Lee and ~~I think they are~~ ^{those of us who believe in all-out aid for freedom-fighters pay what}. There is a simple difference of judgement. Wheeler leads a black of Senators, mostly Republicans, but with many Democrats, who apparently would destroy Roosevelt first and Hitler second. ~~Some~~ ^{Wheeler leads senators who} believe that Roosevelt is leading us into a catastrophe by aiding England. ~~Lee and I, and, of course, a~~ ^{majority of the Senate,} support the President. The Wheelers, the Clarks, the Vandenburgs, and the Nyes, believe we should make war material and train men to defend America over here only. Your President and I believe that Hitler should be kept as far away from American shores as possible by the force of our arms and ~~aid~~ ^{all-out} aid to Britain.

It is not a question of whether a Wheeler hates Roosevelt or hates Britain. It is fair to say that Wheeler honestly believes that we should stay at home and meet Hitler here if he comes.

To me this is unthinkably bad judgement. I ~~think~~ ^{know} that when a forest fire or a grass fire moves toward my home and yours that we should start a fire of our own to fight the fire coming our way. That is good fire fighting, ~~all of us~~ ^{know}. Fighting slavery moving this way calls for a freeman's fire. So Britain must not fall.

England is the "cross" fire. If England falls--and she must not fall--the fire started by Hitler will be at our shores too soon for us to be comfortable even in our shirt sleeves.

It is a splendid tradition that Texas has--your Alamo and your San Jacinto, your Sam Houston. Valley Forge and Lexington in national tradition showed no more dramatic bravery. But the days of Lexington and Concord and Valley Forge and the Alamo are the days of yesteryear. Today it is tanks and bombers and submarines and a war of the world that we face. The issue of the future is as simple as the duty of today. If we keep Hitler over there, we remain in this Western world a land of peace. The Jap alone *yellow and no courage at heart* will stay away.

But, if England falls, Wheeler and Vandenburg and ~~W~~ye and Clark will have Hitler very much closer--so close, in fact, that they may have to talk to him in person, *So not let even for Wheeler's and Lindbergs souls and bodies we must* the Jap and the beast of Berlin close in.

I cannot take the road of fear. Fear breeds indecision and death to the liberty for which ~~we~~ *we* fight. I know that my God, this Sunday morning, is seeing all that this earth contains, ~~here~~ here in this Texas sun I feel refreshed. As you and I hear God today in church and in the great miles of space in a state as large as Hitler's Germany before the beast broke out with red jaws over Europe and Africa--in this peaceful commonwealth--I cannot fear today.

The Wheelers may say that the road to freedom and safety lies in sending nothing anywhere, and having everything here when Hitler comes. I believe, and you have voiced your belief behind Roosevelt at the ballot box and by your voices in the Senate and in the House, that you believe with your President that all out aid everywhere in this world where free men fight Hitler is the best way to keep Hitler away from us.

Your great Sheppard, your Tom Connally fighting with the President on this great issue, your Sam Rayburn, and your Texas delegation, has been a solid support in these tragic few months that have brought the danger of the devil incarnate closer and closer to this new world.

But God, in that faith which prepares you for the serenity so necessary to courage, tells you that God will be with those who fight for the right, no matter how dark the day may seem.

So we in unity must fight for defense through all-out preparation as Hitler moves this way. The delays of a Democracy are tragic, but remember all that we are fighting to save is democracy. We cannot stop the voices of Wheeler and Vandenburg and Nye and Clark in the Senate, for should we do so, democracy itself would be denied. By our votes in the Senate thus far have we denied that shameful thing for which they stand. Since Roosevelt saw this awful thing over two years ago, he has fought the fight of freedom. Passionately has he also fought to save democracy as a governmental process which serves the liberty of the individual and the liberty of the family and the liberty of ~~the~~ communion with God. He has lost many a skirmish, and he has lost some very big battles with the Wheelers and the Nyes and the Clarks and the Vandenburgs.

I remember a very dark day of my own life. Roosevelt, denied the Neutrality Bill, had his hands tied. I sought in the Senate last May to untie his hands, raising a single voice there before France fell, I asked that the Senate instruct the President to assume command of the armed forces of America in a positive move to save France. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 19 to 2 against my proposal. From that day on my voice and my vote has been cast on the simple proposition of keeping Hitler over there.

The months have passed. All propositions to keep Hitler over there offered by the Oklahoma Senator Lee and myself have been fought. We asked that labor not strike on defense work, and attempted to bring about a real authority in Roosevelt so that labor would work without dropping the tools of defense except as permitted by the government itself.

One of our group, seeing eye to eye with Roosevelt, Senator Russell, got through Congress a bill to prevent factory owners from making a peacetime thing for profit when the government needed the factory for war work. This was in

the days of the Ford issue, and before Knudsen took over factory production.

And then came the fight for adequate finances behind Roosevelt. And then the Lend-Lease Bill. And now, and in the days to come, as the clock ticks and the daily news grows more deadly, we will have the fight in the Senate to back the brain and the heart of the Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt. May those of us who need you so much have your prayers today. May your Commander-in-Chief have your letters and your wires today. For, with shame, I must tell you that millions of your fellow citizens see this thing as do Wheller, and Clark, and Nye, and Vandenburg, and Lindbergh. And the people who see with these men are writing Roosevelt, telling him to stay his hand as there is no danger over here from Hitler over there.

They say in effect, "Don't fight a mad dog; stay away from him ."

This is very fine if the mad dog is chained. But his mad dog Hitler, and his slant-eyed friend across the Pacific, are actually moving without chains across two oceans, with submarines and drifting legions ready to turn this way. The mad dog of Europe moves on Dakar, twice as close to this hemisphere as we are to Brazil. The Jap, drifting toward Singapore, may turn so very slightly when the phone between Tokyo and Berlin would have it so; their jaws hungry and cruel would crunch South America first, perhaps, but is there any safety for us over here in that sort of thing?

So tell your President this Sunday morning. He needs your letters and your voice so very, very much.

I shall be in Texas for a week getting acquainted with as many of you as I may. I come here because your Texas legislature has asked me Tuesday at eleven-thirty to tell them what I think about the state of this nation at this moment. So I am not being discourteous in talking to you in any detail. I hope that you may be on the radio Tuesday at eleven-thirty, as I understand you will have the opportunity to listen in, as I talk at your state Capitol.

I hope you have a pencil, and I wish you would take it in your hand and write down the dates that I hope to keep. The American Legion has been

very kind to encourage me to make this introduction today. And wherever I may speak through the American Legion, as a body of men who have seen Hitler coming this way, I shall be very glad to speak. Having just arrived in Texas, all I can say now is that I am to speak at Houston-----; at Amarillo-----; at Dallas-----
----- . If you listening would have me come where you are, will you please wire me in care of-----the Commander-in-Chief of the American Legion, Dallas, Texas, who may make it possible for me to reach you in person during the week.

Note: M. L. says a little more Connally, and a little less Lee, and a little more Sheppard, perhaps.

If you can say that you are on a Southwestern tour, and that you have an Oklahoma, or Arkansas, or Louisiana date, it will help much. You can say that you expect to speak, if asked, in Oklahoma, Arkansas, or Louisiana, should Washington duties give you the time.

For 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 size name.

This 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 U. S. and the hundreds of thousands in the executive machine, and for the Congress.