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THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

HENRY A. WALLACE

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

Wallace's Address Text, Call

Des Moines, Iowa, Aug. 29.—The following is the text of the speech tonight by Henry A. Wallace accepting the Democratic Vice Presidential nomination and entitled "The New Fight for Freedom."

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen:

You are officially conferring upon me tonight the greatest honor of my life. The office of Vice President under the Constitution serves in a unique way as a link between the Executive and Legislative branches of our Government.

And it is an unusually great honor to be the running mate of the one man who, more than any other, represents security for democracy in the modern world.

For nearly eight years President Roosevelt has battled for democracy and freedom, for their preservation at home and abroad.

Both Germany and the United States were shaken to the depths by the crisis of 1932. Germany met that crisis with dictatorship and Hitler. The United States met it with democracy and Roosevelt.

Hitler believed in government by a band of Nazi overlords, with Hitler himself as the dictator at

the top. Roosevelt believed in government by the people and for the people.

Hitler believed in reducing the status of working men and women to that of serfs. Roosevelt believed in putting the common man first—improving his wages and working conditions and upholding in law the right of collective bargaining.

Hitler believed in dominating both individuals and nations by force. Roosevelt believed in the good neighbor policy, among individuals and among nations.

Hitler believed in war through preparedness. Roosevelt believed in peace through preparedness.

Hitler believed in barter deals, so as to fight his economic war preliminary to military war. Roosevelt believed in freer world trade and a higher standard of living for all nations.

Hitler believed that all freedom must be crushed. Roosevelt believed in freedom of speech, press and religion—which we in America hold dearer than life itself.

Adolf Hitler was the implacable enemy of all democracy. Franklin Roosevelt was its eager servant and faithful defender before the whole world.

Tens of millions of Americans shared the Roosevelt belief in 1933. But not one in a million saw so early and so clearly as he the world-shaking significance of the Hitler doctrine.

Only Roosevelt had the unusual combination of many months spent as a boy in European countries, a comprehensive knowledge of history, experience as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the First World War, access to the day-by-day information brought in by the trained observers in the State Department, and wisdom to relate that information to its significance for America.

Thus it was that Roosevelt, earlier than almost anyone else, saw that the dominating world issue was freedom and a higher standard of living versus slavery and a lower standard of living for all except the Nazi governing class. Week after week and year after year I have sat in Cabinet meetings and heard the complete accord between the President and Secretary Hull on this issue when most Americans were not aware of the terrible storm cloud on the horizon.

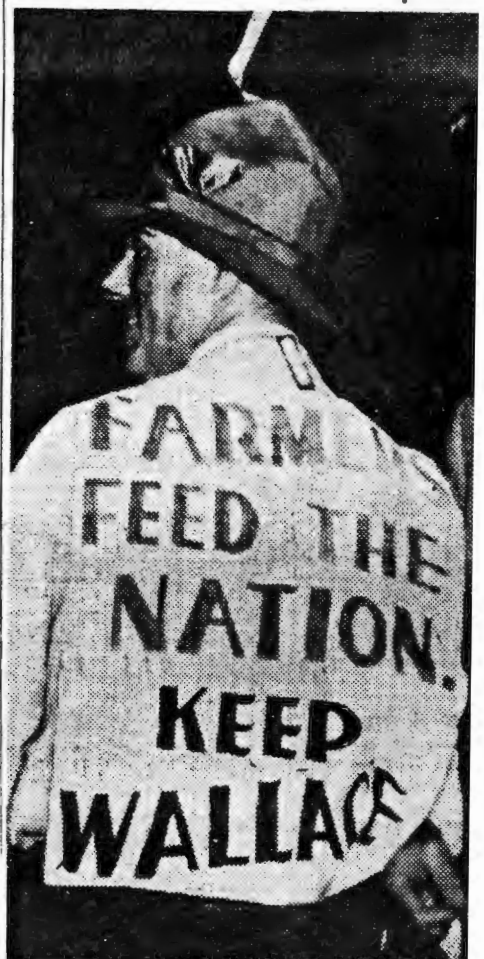
Time after time the President voiced the broadest possible warnings to the public in an effort to stir our people from their slumber. For these efforts he was charged with being a war-monger. But the President kept on telling the truth as he saw it, and events have proved both the sincerity of his warnings and the accuracy of his judgment.

Roosevelt has striven with greater vigor than any other President to build international good will, international trade, and a higher standard of living. In these efforts Adolf Hitler was stumbling block No. 1.

Roosevelt's task was rendered difficult enough by the opposition of Hitler abroad. But his handicaps were multiplied by a continuous and bitter partisan opposition at home.

The dominant leadership of this Republican opposition has never understood, and has apparently been unwilling to find out, what the rise of Hitler meant to farmers, workers and businessmen in the United States. This blind leadership believed that the United States could be prosperous, no matter what happened to Europe.

Literally Backs I



POLITICAL PICKET—Farmer C. C. his politics on his back yesterday. Presidential Candidate Wallace's no Des Moines, Iowa. Candidate Wall proval

Wallace Calls For Third Term

WALLACE, from Page 1.

sition will, if the Republicans come into power, force us to make one economic concession after another to the totalitarian countries.

"These appeasers will have their way if the Republicans win, because they have contributed largely, both politically and financially, to the Republican cause. These people believe the Republicans in power would give them profitable business with a German-controlled Europe at the earliest possible moment."

"Those who stand for business appeasement with Germany," he continued, "are the backbone, even though unwittingly, of the most dangerous of all Fifth Columns."

"For the sake of a profit in 1941 they would sell out their own future and their children's freedom."

Wallace linked the economic destinies of nations in the Western Hemisphere with the outcome of the present European conflict.

"It is a war," he said, "to prevent the people of North and South America from developing their resources without paying tribute to Europe, and without being victims of European secret police serving a self-appointed master race."

The Vice Presidential nominee characterized President Roosevelt as a symbol of democracy, particularly to the Western nations.

"He has proved his friendship for them by more than seven years of fair dealing as a good neighbor," the speaker said. "Hitler must not be permitted to break the solidarity of the Americas."

"If the Americas present to the Axis powers the same divided front as the democracies of Europe presented them, we shall assuredly walk the same path of destruction and lost freedom."

Both Germany and the United States were shaken in 1932 by the depression, he continued, but "Germany met that crisis with dictatorship. The United States met it with democracy and Roosevelt."

President Roosevelt "earlier than almost anyone else," Wallace said, perceived that the resultant dominating world issue was "freedom and a higher standard of living versus slavery and a lower standard of living for all except the Nazi governing class."

"Time after time the President voiced the broadest possible warnings to the public in an effort to stir our people from their slumber. For these efforts he was charged with being a warmonger. But the President kept on telling the truth as he saw it, and events have proved

no matter what happened to Asia, no matter what might be our relationship to Latin America. When Roosevelt tried to adjust the internal affairs of the United States to a sick world, they fought him at home as Hitler fought him abroad.

Some of the bitter attacks on Roosevelt's program were directly inspired by the agents of Hitler in this country. Others were merely blindly partisan. But, whatever the motive, the effect was the same—these attacks on Roosevelt and his program played into the hands of Hitler. Every evidence of opposition to Roosevelt within the United States has been reason for rejoicing in Berlin.

For more than seven years, Roosevelt has been working steadily to help the American people build an up-to-date democracy capable of bringing security to the families of this nation. Farm income and factory pay rolls, the two strong legs of recovery, have both been more than doubled. Business profits have been restored and increased.

The danger to democracy from within, which threatened us in 1932, has been safely met. The Roosevelt remedy was not a resort to dictatorship, which so many conservatives were demanding in 1933, but merely simply more democracy. The Roosevelt programs gave more power to the people.

Now we have launched a great national effort to build up our defenses against the threat from abroad. Under the leadership of

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Ringside Table

NEW NIGHT CLUBS: Mme. Rumor, the pretty trick, is spreading talk about a flock of new night spots due to open this fall. . . . But it's sure that one new place with a big show and orchestra will

step out in the middle of Mayfair and really go to town with his clowning.

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Turning to the farm issue the candidate said the G. O. P. has selected "a campaign manager who in 15 years in Congress has never voted for one vital and constructive farm law."

Wallace also said the Republicans voted, 106 to 38, against appropriations for commodity loans on farm crops "four weeks ago in Congress."

"Mind you," he observed, "this attempt to deal a mortal blow to the farm program was made only five weeks after the Republican Party in solemn convention had pledged itself to help the farmer, including in such help commodity loans. . . . The Republican leaders say nice things about the farm program to get votes from the farmer. But when it comes to voting for the farmer, they don't deliver the goods."

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NEW NIGHT CLUBS: Mme. Rumor, the pretty trick, is spreading talk about a flock of new night spots due to open this fall. . . . But it's sure that one new place with full floor show and orchestra will blossom in the downtown sector. . . . And if certain director's meetings now being held in New York have a happy ending, there'll be a new topflight luxury spot right in the heart of the financial district. . . . And the owner of one of Chicago's biggest night spots is now shopping around Washington for a good location. . . . And there is more or less well-based talk about a new setup in the closed Flagship and a "Beachcombers' Club." . . . It looks as if the answer to that old query, "What's new?" is going to be "Plenty."

Matt Windsor will be back making music in the Anchor Room next week after his month's vacation. . . . Frank Meyer, who's subbed elegantly for Matt, will take his new accordion to Mayfair and join "Mousey" Garner's crew. With Frank at the piano, "Mousey" can

step out in the middle of Mayfair and really go to town with his clowning.

"THREE STARS" BACK IN NEPTUNE. "Curly," "Smiley" and "Reds" are again stirring up rhythm in Neptune. Meaning that our town's pet combination of "Curly" Fox, Jimmy Smiley and the one-and-only Evelyn Tyner has been again ensconced in Neptune at the customers' insistence. They'll remain for a couple of weeks, at least. . . . That paddle-wheel gadget on top of Jimmy Smiley's electric organ is his own invention. It intensifies tremolo effects.

HOMETOWN GIRL MAKES GOOD. Lee Loyes, dancing star at Casino Royal, is known to thousands of Washingtonians. Four years ago she was head check girl at the Wardman Park Hotel, studied dancing on the side. Then she married her young dance instructor, Hughie O'Donnell. Now they're O'Donnell and Loyes' ballroom dancers, with loads of bookings all around the country, thank you. Their act is swell, especially

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Text, Calling G. O. P. 'Appeasemen'

Literally Backs Wallace



Associated Press WIREPHOTO.

POLITICAL PICKET—Farmer C. C. Armstrong displayed his politics on his back yesterday as he "picketed" Vice Presidential Candidate Wallace's notification ceremonies at Des Moines, Iowa. Candidate Wallace (right) smiled approval

no matter what happened to Asia, no matter what might be our relationship to Latin America. When Roosevelt tried to adjust the internal affairs of the United States to a sick world, they fought him at home as Hitler fought him abroad.

Some of the bitter attacks on Roosevelt's program were directly inspired by the agents of Hitler in this country. Others were merely blindly partisan. But, whatever the motive, the effect was the same—these attacks on Roosevelt and his program played into the hands of Hitler. Every evidence of opposition to Roosevelt within the United States has been reason for rejoicing in Berlin.

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The danger to democracy from within, which threatened us in 1932, has been safely met. The Roosevelt remedy was not a resort to dictatorship, which so many conservatives were demanding in 1933, but merely simply more democracy. The Roosevelt programs gave more power to the people.

Now we have launched a great national effort to build up our defenses against the threat from abroad. Under the leadership of

Roosevelt, this effort was begun several years ago. We now have nearly twice as many airplanes as in 1933 and double the tonnage of fighting ships afloat or under construction. We have more than doubled our Army. This is a splendid start, but it is only a start. It will be pushed until America is fully prepared to defend herself against any emergency.

Like the measures of economic adjustment, defense preparation also met with short-sighted obstructionist tactics. Why build so many airplanes? Why build another set of locks at the Panama Canal? Why spend Government money to store up strategic war materials? Why create a Tennessee Valley Authority to harness the power and water and soil resources of a great region, against a day of military need?

To some extent those interests obstructing the national defense did have their way. They caused appropriations to be whittled down, and brought needless delays. The TVA was fought in Congress, in the courts and in the press. Even a few weeks ago this opposition was still trying to block the building of one more TVA dam, the power from which is needed in producing aluminum that is indispensable for our airplanes. Fortunately that particular opposition has been overcome. But of the 93 votes cast against this measure in the House on July 30, every one was a Republican vote. Such resistance to our mili-

tary progress was encouraging to Hitler, but it was definitely injurious to our own welfare.

Now, at last, some of the Republicans are beginning to see that the Nation really is in danger. National defense is going ahead, and the whole country can give thanks that the program is in such wise and experienced hands.

The total defense of modern war requires thousands of officers and men skilled in the mechanics of the gas engine, the airplane and the tank. We must not only construct a great air force but know how to operate and service it. We must protect the Panama Canal. We must enforce the Monroe Doctrine with an increased Navy, with air bases and through cooperation with Canada and the rest of the Americas. By preparing completely now, we shall have the best chance of keeping out of war.

But we must face the fact that the dictators have definite designs against this hemisphere. Their tactics here as in Europe are to divide and conquer. They hope by propaganda and bartering agreements to set one nation against another. They hope to set each class against another class. They inspire a multitude of angry voices in every democratic nation. Out of the confusion which they have created they hope to build political power and eventually military power.

The fact that our Presidential campaign and election come now is most welcome to the dictators. They hope to get rid of the unyielding Roosevelt. They know that a political campaign is distracting to our people. And they know that in the many months that would elapse before a new administration could act effectively, they might have their chance.

I do not wish to imply that the Republican leaders are willfully and consciously giving aid and comfort to Hitler. But I want to emphasize that replacement of Roosevelt, even if it were by the most patriotic leadership that could be found, would cause Hitler to rejoice. I do not believe the American people will turn their backs on the man that Hitler wants to see defeated.

In the opinion of the world—in the eyes of the Nazis and of the stricken nations under their heel—Roosevelt has become the symbol of democracy. And more important, he is the symbol of democracy to all the nations of this hemisphere. He has proved his friendship for them by more than seven years of fair dealing as a good neighbor. Hitler must not be permitted to break the solidarity of the Americas.

If the Americas present to the axis powers the same divided front as the democracies of Europe presented to them, we shall assuredly walk the same path of destruction and lost freedom. In the United States, as well as in the other Americas, we find certain men who for purposes of their own profit want England to give up her fight against Hitler and who are strong for economic appeasement between the Americas and a German-controlled Europe. In that direction lies slavery, even though it is sugar-coated with promises of prosperity. Those who stand for business appeasement with Germany are the backbone, even though unwittingly, of the most dangerous of all fifth columns. For the sake of a profit in 1941 they would sell out their own future and their children's freedom. The business men of

Western Europe followed this path to their sorrow. If we of the Americas are not made of sterner stuff, we shall go down as they have gone down. Our weapons are unity for total defense and a determination not to engage in economic appeasement.

Here in this country we are developing preparedness on all fronts.

On the agricultural front we have stored in the ever normal granary tremendous reserve supplies, while at the same time by commodity loans we have protected farm prices and the purchasing power of farmers for city goods. We have increased our soil fertility. In every county and every township there are farmer committees which are prepared to meet any defense need involving agriculture.

The farm program has been such a success that Republican leaders are now commending it in the hope of getting farm votes next November. But the real attitude of the Republicans, which for many years has been against farmers' interests, has been revealed anew by two things that have happened in the last few weeks, since the Republicans adopted their platform and nominated their candidate.

One is the selection of a Republican campaign manager who in 15 years in Congress has never voted for one vital and constructive farm law. The other is the vote in Congress four weeks ago on funds for commodity loans—the loans on corn, on wheat, on cotton, which bring about the storage of reserve supplies and protect farmers' prices and income. Democrats voted 100 per cent for these loans. Republicans, led by the personally-selected Republican campaign manager, voted 106 to 38 against them. Mind you, this attempt to deal a mortal blow to the farm program was made only five weeks after the Republican Party in convention had solemnly pledged itself to help the farmer, including in such help commodity loans. And it was made only four days before the farmers were given assurances by the Republican standard bearer right here in Des Moines that their program would not be harmed. The Republican leaders say nice things about the farm program to get votes from the farmer. But when it comes to voting for the farmer, they don't deliver the goods.

There are now enough Democrats in Congress to protect the farmers against attempts like this to hamstring their program. Those Democrats will be needed again and again after the November election.

On the social security preparedness front the Administration has started the job of taking care of our aged and unemployed. Continually we have put human values first. We believe that no one who is willing to work should be allowed to starve. We have improved the health of millions by means of food stamp and school lunch programs.

We have stood at all times for national unity. To aid in our national defense we have called in the best men regardless of party. In terms of action, the National Defense Commission represents splendid cooperation between agriculture, labor, industry and government. We are obtaining national unity on the fifth column front by enlisting in a common-sense way the cooperation of local and State authorities. We are

Table

With Mary Harris

step out in the middle of Mayfair and really go to town with his clowning.

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Bolger and Jimmy Durante . . . Singer Harriet Derck has a new "up" hair-do. Pretty . . . There's

cordial owner of the Rustic Cabin. All the regular patrons are his friends and all the casual customers

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the "Rhythm in a Top Hat" ... Another current and choice Casino Royal star is Len Lenihan, acro- tap dancer.

SATURDAYS SUPERB. Both the big Palm Room and the cocktail lounge at Maryland Gardens are always jam-packed on week-ends. The folks who come to M. G. on one Saturday are always back the next—with more friends. The "Continental Revue," presented at 9:30 and midnight, is a diller with a hula-dancing chorus, emcee Sidney Boyd doing resonant baritone solos and comedienne Yvonne Logan in a bouncing version of "Ferdinand" ... Nadine's Co-Eds will remain. Their contract, due to expire on Labor Day, has been extended indefinitely. They've had offers from Florida, New York, New Jersey and Ohio. But like Maryland Gardens best.

Arthur Todd, of the King Cole Room, will organize his own band this fall and open in a prominent Washington spot. Later in the winter he expects to take his new orchestra to New York's Rainbow Grill.

MUSICIANS' MOVES. The Rain- bow Room orchestra will shortly be enriched by accordionist Davy Crocker and drummer-singer Ralph Cannon. ... Mayflower's impresario, Maurice Kafka, tells us that Frank Coviello will leave the Mayflower Lounge next week to piano at the Earle Theater, that Ralph Hawkins (former Madrillon, Artie Shaw and Harry James) will join N. B. C. and the Sidney-Kafka organization, that Toby Tyler (former Krupa and Woody Harman) will join the Cap- itol Theater orchestra.

RIVIERA LOUNGING. News commentator H. R. Baukhage apparently enjoying "Two in a Taxi," hit tune from "Keep Off the Grass" that recently nose-dived with Ray

Bolger and Jimmy Durante ... Singer Harriet Derck has a new "up" hair-do. Pretty ... There's talk of the Riviera being enlarged this fall.

The "Cocoanut Grove Revue," straight from Boston's Cocoanut Grove, will open in the Lotus next Monday. This is another Tom Ball show, meaning that it's big, glossy and spectacular.

GAY 90'S WEEK-ENDS are something scrumptious. Tonight and tomorrow there'll be floor re- vues headed by Teddy Buccolo with the Wasteland Boys, recently starred at the Atlas Theater, and Felice and Jimmy Page, harmoniz- ing brother and sister. Sweet but dynamic dance music by Al Oddone and his band. The floor shows start at 11:30.

CONFIDENTIALLY — ABOUT GLEN ECHO MUSICOS. Trumpet- er Jack Torry used to be a travel- ing salesman for ladies' underwear. ... Woodcarving is the hobby of drummer Sammy Ferro. His masterpieces leave his friends speechless ... Trombonist George Smith is the son of a Northwest mountie, was born in the Canadian woods ... Pianist Ken Foy cuts his own hair.

Flash! Flash! Name of the Carl- ton's Shar-Zad was changed to the Sapphire Room five minutes before this was written. Be ready for the gr-grand opening of the Sapphire Room on September 13. The new decorations are astronomical— really. Particulars in our next.

POPULAR PEOPLE. Andy Mil- ler, chef and part owner of the New Bavarian. Andy's a great one for circulating around at lunch time and chatting with his favorite cus- tomers. ... Owner Louis Rosenfeld,

cordial owner of the Rustic ... All the regular patrons ar friends and all the casual cust soon become regular customer Oscar of the Hi Hat, whose be smile has been so much misse ing his vacation. ... Owner Ashby of Dick's Grill, who every musician in the city. Herbie Sachs, Del Rio's har head man who mysterious mains a bachelor. ... Suav McLaughlin, manager at O'Do Farms, who looks out so w everyone's comfort.

EGYPTIAN BALLET will Shoreham Terrace next we will be done by Harriet Five Lovely Ladies who r completed four years at Ch Edgewater Beach Hotel. Also revue will be Comedian Rich and dancers St. Clair an



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O. P. 'Appeasement Party'

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On the agricultural front we have stored in the ever normal granary tremendous reserve supplies, while at the same time by commodity loans we have protected farm prices and the purchasing power of farmers for city goods. We have increased our soil fertility. In every county and every township there are farmer committees which are prepared to meet any defense need involving agriculture.

The farm program has been such a success that Republican leaders are now commending it in the hope of getting farm votes next November. But the real attitude of the Republicans, which for many years has been against farmers' interests, has been revealed anew by two things that have happened in the last few weeks, since the Republicans adopted their platform and nominated their candidate.

One is the selection of a Republican campaign manager who in 15 years in Congress has never voted for one vital and constructive farm law. The other is the vote in Congress four weeks ago on funds for commodity loans—the loans on corn, on wheat, on cotton, which bring about the storage of reserve supplies and protect farmers' prices and income. Democrats voted 100 per cent for these loans. Republicans, led by the personally-selected Republican campaign manager, voted 106 to 38 against them. Mind you, this attempt to deal a mortal blow to the farm program was made only five weeks after the Republican Party in convention had solemnly pledged itself to help the farmer, including in such help commodity loans. And it was made only four days before the farmers were given assurances by the Republican standard bearer right here in Des Moines that their program would not be harmed. The Republican leaders say nice things about the farm program to get votes from the farmer. But when it comes to voting for the farmer, they don't deliver the goods.

There are now enough Democrats in Congress to protect the farmers against attempts like this to hamstring their program. Those Democrats will be needed again and again after the November election.

On the social security preparedness front the Administration has started the job of taking care of our aged and unemployed. Continually we have put human values first. We believe that no one who is willing to work should be allowed to starve. We have improved the health of millions by means of food stamp and school lunch programs.

We have stood at all times for national unity. To aid in our national defense we have called in the best men regardless of party. In terms of action, the National Defense Commission represents splendid cooperation between agriculture, labor, industry and government. We are obtaining national unity on the fifth column front by enlisting in a common-sense way the cooperation of local and State authorities. We are

determined to break up the gigantic international conspiracy through which the Nazis are trying to subjugate our country.

A materialistic religion of darkness, based on force and lies and led by prophets of evil, is striding across the world. This war is more than a clash of rival imperialisms. It is a war to destroy freedom and democracy. It is a war to prevent the people of North and South America from developing their resources without paying tribute to Europe and without being victims of European secret police serving a self-appointed master race. There is no denying the strength and fanatical zeal of this satanic doctrine. It transcends economics and politics to invade the personal life. It proclaims might as the supreme god and the new Nazi master race as the mightiest of all, with a special destiny to direct and exploit and enslave every people in the world.

Against this dark and bloody faith we of the New World set the faith of Americanism, of Protestantism, of Catholicism, of Judaism. Our faith is based on belief that the possibilities in an individual are not determined by race, social background or wealth. We believe in the maximum of freedom which can be obtained without anarchy or intolerance. Democracy is the very heart of the religions which have the largest following in the United States. Democracy and Americanism are identical. Both are utterly opposed to totalitarianism with its exaltation of might, its suppression of freedom, and its claims to racial supremacy.


I am happy to respond to the notification ceremonies this evening with an acceptance, because I believe the Democratic Party under the leadership of President Roosevelt is far better equipped than the opposition to preserve the freedom of the Americas. He has understood the Hitler menace from the start. Powerful elements in our opposition will, if the Republicans come into power, force us to make one economic concession after another to the totalitarian countries. These appeasers will have their way if the Republicans win, because they will have contributed so largely, both politically and financially, to the Republican cause. These people believe the Republicans in power would give them profitable business with a German-controlled Europe at the earliest possible moment. Most Republicans may not realize it, but their party is the party of appeasement in the United States today. It is the party which the totalitarian powers will back in every way possible. Of all men in the United States, Roosevelt best knows the danger of making economic concessions to the dictators.

Between now and November, I propose to do everything I can to arouse the American people to the need for peace through preparedness, to the importance of the solidarity of the Americas and to the duty of business men, workers and farmers to cooperate together for full employment and for the national defense. For I sincerely believe the Democratic Party under Roosevelt will best give us a higher standard of living, unity within our own country, safety from external aggression and freedom on this hemisphere for ourselves and our children.

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Don't be embarrassed by loose false teeth slipping, dropping or wobbling when you eat, talk or laugh. Just sprinkle a little FASTEETH on your plates. This pleasant powder gives a remarkable sense of added comfort and security by holding plates more firmly. No gummy, gooey, pasty taste or feeling. It's alkaline (non-acid). Get FASTEETH at any drug store. Adv.

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COOL BALLROOM PLAYING SOME "HOT AND SWEET"
ALSO TO REMAIN IS ADELE VAN

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A WHALE OF A SPOT
THE AIR-SCOLED ANCHOR ROOM
EILEEN GEORGE And Her Sophisticated Songs
COCKTAILS FROM 25c

With Mary Harris

Bolger and Jimmy Durante . . . Singer Harriet Derck has a new "up" hair-do. Pretty . . . There's talk of the Riviera being enlarged this fall.

cordial owner of the Rustic Cabin. All the regular patrons are his friends and all the casual customers soon become regular customers. . . . Oscar of the Hi Hat, whose beaming

... even though unwittingly, of the most dangerous of all fifth columns. For the sake of a profit in 1941 they would sell out their own future and their children's freedom. The business men of

agriculture, labor, industry and government. We are obtaining national unity on the fifth column front by enlisting in a common-sense way the cooperation of local and State authorities. We are

within our own country, safety from external aggression and freedom on this hemisphere for ourselves and our children.

With Mary Harris

Bolger and Jimmy Durante . . . Singer Harriet Derck has a new "up" hair-do. Pretty . . . There's talk of the Riviera being enlarged this fall.

The "Cocoanut Grove Revue," straight from Boston's Cocoanut Grove, will open in the Lotus next Monday. This is another Tom Ball show, meaning that it's big, glossy and spectacular.

GAY 90'S WEEK-ENDS are something scrumptious. Tonight and tomorrow there'll be floor revues headed by Teddy Buccolo with the Wasteland Boys, recently starred at the Atlas Theater, and Felice and Jimmy Page, harmonizing brother and sister. Sweet but dynamic dance music by Al Oddone and his band. The floor shows start at 11:30.

CONFIDENTIALLY — ABOUT GLEN ECHO MUSICOS. Trumpeter Jack Torry used to be a traveling salesman for ladies' underwear. . . . Woodcarving is the hobby of drummer Sammy Ferro. His masterpieces leave his friends speechless. . . . Trombonist George Smith is the son of a Northwest mountie, was born in the Canadian woods. . . . Pianist Ken Foy cuts his own hair.

Flash! Flash! Name of the Carlton's Shar-Zad was changed to the Sapphire Room five minutes before this was written. Be ready for the grand opening of the Sapphire Room on September 13. The new decorations are astronomical—really. Particulars in our next.

POPULAR PEOPLE. Andy Miller, chef and part owner of the New Bavarian. Andy's a great one for circulating around at lunch time and chatting with his favorite customers. . . . Owner Louis Rosenfeld,

cordial owner of the Rustic Cabin. All the regular patrons are his friends and all the casual customers soon become regular customers. . . . Oscar of the Hi Hat, whose beaming smile has been so much missed during his vacation. . . . Owner Dick Ashby of Dick's Grill, who knows every musician in the city. . . . Herbie Sachs, Del Rio's handsome head man who mysteriously remains a bachelor. . . . Suave Bob McLaughlin, manager at O'Donnell's Farms, who looks out so well for everyone's comfort.

EGYPTIAN BALLET will dazzle Shoreham Terrace next week. It will be done by Harriet Smith's Five Lovely Ladies who recently completed four years at Chicago's Edgewater Beach Hotel. Also in the revue will be Comedian Stanley Rich and dancers St. Clair and Day.

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ENTERTAINMENT for COCKTAILS and Evening till 2 A.M.
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BETTE DAVIS
Music By
BOB BREWER
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ON BROS.
UTURE
S.E. Lin. 0556
Rear of Building
TIA, D. C.

Wallace

OCT 1940

Since Willkie joined you last night, ~~as~~ he joined Roosevelt on foreign policy, perhaps this may suggest a line for you.

Willkie says: "1."

"2."

"3."

"4."

(These should not be more than one sentence long. Certainly not more than 15 words to the sentence, because people will get very tired. Sixty words all told on the above, each item paragraphed, each item labeled by number.)

It is true that Willkie said there is a difference between a plan and a program.

The country waited for him to explain the difference, but ~~presume~~ *the country* he will do so later. It is true that Willkie said if what has been done for the farmer is not enough, he will do more on all fronts. *The nation* ~~presume~~ later he will tell what more he will do.

Also it is true that Willkie wants England to beat Hitler. *The nation* ~~vs~~ waiting for Willkie to say just how he would go about putting his ideas into effect. Finally it is true that Willkie is for every major thing ~~that is constructive~~ that Roosevelt has put into effect for the protection and for the prosperity of this country.

And so, as the campaign progresses, may it not be true that Willkie will tell ~~us~~ *the nation* in detail ~~what~~ *just* he intends to do inside and outside this country. ~~So that when Mr. Roosevelt is maintained as the leader of this country he may have the benefit of the research and specific suggestions of his opponent in the true democratic way.~~

Millions of Americans have considered it unfortunate that 1940 found America preparing for defense ~~and~~ *while* making a major political decision as to leadership. I do not think the matter unfortunate if a very large and active group of successful men--successful in a monetary sense--have

pooled their brains behind Willkie for the purpose of crystalizing their opinions. I do not consider ~~it~~ ^{the} unfortunate ~~that~~ if from such major effort certain clear values in protecting the health and safety of America arise.

I confess ~~merely~~ ^{the hope} that within the next five weeks ~~the~~ ^{the Willkie} ~~may~~ ^{proposals} become clear.

Also do I confess that at the present moment I am puzzled over the delay in presenting clear constructive ideas ~~which may guide our~~ ^{and} President ~~has~~ ^{The nation shall} of their truth and value during the years to come. ^{is listening}

~~The nation has~~ sympathy for Willkie. ~~It is truly fortunate that he will not be President of the United States. Even if he presented, or could present, such a clear picture of wisdom for the years to come that the American people could see him as a leader, this would be regardless of whether Willkie himself, or whether his writing and thinking group conceived. The reason for this sympathy is that Willkie must know now by the events since Philadelphia that he has not behind him that spirit within his own party which makes leadership a possibility in the ideas~~ ^{had} sterling merit.

In the very high income brackets of America Willkie is a favorite candidate. ^{He has the support of these brains and hearts. Out of this much good might come}

In the minority party in the Congress, Willkie has a group of men who give him lip service in his support of Roosevelt, ~~lip service~~ ^{By their action in Congress} to Willkie by these men is denied today, was denied yesterday, was denied last year. For these men who would ride with Willkie in November have spent their time in denying the wisdom of and in blocking the efforts of Roosevelt both at home and abroad. ^{a majority} These men--these Republican Senators and Congressmen--have:

1. Neutrality Act ^{which would have asked England to}
2. Majority ~~has~~ ^{the} opposed farm ~~program~~ ^{program} ^(Theodore)
3. These ~~have~~ ^{have} said, "Peace at any price"--have opposed the selective service--~~have opposed~~ ^{have delayed} ^{Roosevelt's} ^{work for peace}

So it is not strange that the American people already have indicated

a red light for Willkie, and a green light for Roosevelt.

The go ahead sign already is certain for Roosevelt, and so ~~is~~
~~there has not been any real delay as the result of the campaign.~~ America

as usual is both wise and fortunate in its progress toward safety through peace and preparedness. *By leaders moves forward*

Unity desired by Roosevelt and by Willkie is on the way.

America, ~~marches~~--130 million strong--~~toward~~ the task ahead.

America ~~of 60~~ millions workers strong -
 means the assembly line - 130 million
 strong - for the defense of this, our country

Uniontown, Pennsylvania
October 22, 1940

Honorable Henry A. Wallace
952 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wallace:

As a Democratic editor here, I have been asking the people what the Democrats haven't done. These are typical replies from this basic industry and mining section where people understand that raw material is the basis of making things.

One said: "Some of the gold in the Kentucky hills had better be spent buying tin mines in the Bolivian hills."

Another: "Is the \$500,000,000 for South America going to be tied up for a year to buy wheat and cattle we don't need, or is it going to be used now to buy South American minerals we do need?"

Another: "If we had bases off Mexico, we would get something for our money instead of giving it away."

Another: "Did Knox get the Galapagos Islands? If the Japs get fresh around Hawaii there might be a southern route to the East Indies to get rubber and tin."

Another: "If we send any money to South America, why don't we get something? If the Germans and the British own mines and railroads, there ought to be a swap somehow."

Another: "Any money we send to Europe won't come back. Any mines we buy in South America, our Navy will protect, and we are going to need a lot of minerals if it is a long war."

I suppose these questions will be answered as time passes, but if the folks up here could be told in plain English right now, the Democratic majority in Union County, Pennsylvania, would be bigger than the 27,000 the President got in '36.

Sincerely yours,

O'Neil Kennedy

November 5, 1940

Wallace: Ingleking, City Editor of the Herald Tribune, New York.
Honest, worked for Marsh. Probably is getting too much money. Would
probably do anything Marsh asked. His brother is on the American
Statesman, in Austin, and is a good second. Also Fulcher, at Wichita
Falls.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
HENRY A. WALLACE

November 12, 1940

Mr. Charles Marsh
1410 Norwood Building
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Marsh:

You and Mr. Bickel are certainly
experts in predicting a final situation on the
basis of a few straws blowing in the wind. I
greatly
~~certainly~~ appreciate your note dictated at 6:00
p.m., November 5th.

You are quite right. The job
ahead is bigger than most of us now anticipate.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



H. A. Wallace

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
HENRY A. WALLACE

November 19, 1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
1410 Norwood Building,
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Mr. LeCron, Mrs. LeCron, Mrs. Wallace and myself are driving by automobile. After we return from Mexico, it will be a great pleasure to meet with you and check over our views with regard to Mexico.

In view of the fact that we are traveling by automobile our schedule is a little uncertain and I had best postpone meeting Mr. Ben Belt until some time when he is in Washington.

Our automobile trip calls for our going through Houston rather than San Antonio. We are leaving Washington Thursday morning and are trying to avoid newspaper publicity.

I am delighted that the Wilkie-ites have recovered and have returned to their normal status of being good Americans.

My guess is we shall reach Houston about the evening of November 24, but as I have said before, I hope we can travel as nearly as possible incognito. Of course, after we reach the border, things will change.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Wallace

H. A. Wallace

*You can reach us
Care of American Embassy
Mexico, D. F.*

Marsh:

November 23, 1940

Roosevelt picks Wallace over all regulars in ^{the} party opposing him.

~~Roosevelt gives him the "fat act" by putting arms around the Western World.~~

Roosevelt knows that Wallace has no bad spots such as McNutt has with McHale and people like that around him. Roosevelt knows that there was an Ohio gang, and that there is an Indiana gang, and he knows that any group around any presidential candidate other than Wallace will throw Roosevelt himself on the ash heap. So, if Wallace doesn't develop any gang at all, if he refuses to have an Iowa gang, if he leans at all times on the President and becomes the President's political heir and is in spiritual agreement with him, Roosevelt will become the creator of the unfolding Wallace press and reputation. Roosevelt is a political genius and if he gets seriously excited about Wallace, he will pull the strings so that Wallace gets the breaks for four years as an individual and as a principal instead of as a shadow of Roosevelt himself. Wallace is smart enough for this, and is a natural in his own gentle character.

The opposition to Wallace in 1944 will come from ambitious men and their groups who wish the 1944 Democratic nomination. They will start at once to cut him down. Such efforts will help Wallace if Wallace does not oppose them, because in four years the people will understand the selfishness of those who try to destroy Wallace, and therefore will give him the gentle color of a martyr facing evil and selfish opposition within the party. If it is true that people vote against rather than for something in the early stages of their decisions. There will be two major forces stopping Wallace: the forces inside the party ganging together who would gain nothing through Wallace, and the Republican Party which naturally will shoot at all leaders under Roosevelt so they may cover the entire waterfront and make leadership in the Democratic Party impossible in 1944. If Roosevelt is a true statesman, he will slowly minimize his

own color, building Wallace not too rapidly so that Wallace's top color comes about one year before nominations when the state leaders are coming to a decision. The Democratic Party still, probably, will be controlled by the Irish Catholic city cliques. The Irish Catholics cannot name a President. They have to name a protestant. They have to name the most available protestant from his vote standpoint. That protestant should come from north of the Ohio, west of the Alleghanies, and east of the Rockies. Off hand there would be a Lucas, a McNutt, and a Wallace all available as to age, personal decency, and location. McNutt will suffer because he probably will not have a job bigger than an administrative one in the cabinet unless Roosevelt directs his mind toward building McNutt. It is hardly probable because McNutt would really be a McNutt president, and Roosevelt wants a Roosevelt president. Roosevelt will go slowly because four years is a long time. But today there is no reason why Roosevelt should not be inclined to give Wallace the preliminary breaks. It can hurt nothing, and might help his ultimate ambition to protect what he calls the "New Deal."

Just how Wallace should play this is yet to be told, but Wallace is a natural simply by doing the job well which Roosevelt wants done. Without any form of whispering comment or even mental concern about his personal ambition, Wallace said a few days ago something which is sense and which, if he sticks to, puts him into first place. He said, "The job ahead is the thing, and any ambition must be second or a by-product." He also said, "There is something of the divine in every man, and we should work on that principle in using every man possible toward the healthy objective regardless of our personal feelings." He continued, "I did play with Baruch on cotton because we felt alike. I took nothing from Baruch, but as long as we two were moving the same way, I was more than willing to work with him, knowing he could control Byrnes and cause the cotton program to pass the Senate." This merely indicates that Wallace may not be a smart politician, but also that when dealing with the ultimate

ambition of Roosevelt he is a natural because he is not really a selfish man. Every rival of Wallace probably will be a selfish man, and Roosevelt will want as he passes out to shoot the works for the country as a whole.

Young:

Wallace's chief difficulty through the next four years will be in finding enough work to do--that is constructive work. Running the Senate *is not difficult* ~~does not amount to anything~~ because the President Pro Tem and the Majority Leader ~~of the Senate~~ *attend to many of the details* ~~will~~ *He* will, of course, devote a ~~large~~ *the* time to ~~the~~ *necessary* ~~to~~ *to* presiding. The Central and South American job can be made a big one, and probably will be.

Wallace should sponsor, and probably have most of the credit for at least one additional highway into Mexico and South America in addition to the other Pan American work he will do. Wallace should make at least one speech at the New York State Fair, at the Illinois State Fair, at the Texas State Fair, and other State Fairs, including Iowa and Ohio. ~~These~~ ~~sounds rather silly~~ but Woodrow Wilson captured state delegations ~~and~~ ~~usually~~ by making speeches on the big days at State Fairs.

Marsh:

Roosevelt assistant Howe as a letter writer shot good will into small state leaders for years by watching the newspapers and sending letters of congratulations as different persons did something to commend.

Young:

These speeches at State Fairs should not be general or innocuous, but should be well thought out and carry a wallop. They should be nationally commented upon. Wallace should not get into the papers on every controversial subject, but when very important matters arise he should be as active as he possibly can, but at the same time keep the good will of President Roosevelt.

Marsh:

His best program in Washington should be by his attitude man to man toward Senators and Congressmen. Wallace will carry good will everywhere because of his personality, providing enough men see him intimately across the desk. This cannot be done by having a complicated secretariat. Wallace should initiate most of the intimate talks himself by inviting individuals to talk things over in general just as he would if he were talking seed corn improvement with the man from Iowa.

Young:

It is highly important that Wallace become intimately acquainted with Catholic Cardinals and Bishops throughout the United States. Father Sheey will be very glad to help him on this.

~~Marsh:~~

~~A strong Catholic executive, such as Kennedy, should be given as much encouragement as possible, because Kennedy does represent the highest form of the thing which is the best part of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Probably Walker in a lesser way could be understood.~~

Young:

As unobtrusively as possible he should address the directors of large protestant bodies, because Wallace comes as nearly as anybody to looking and talking like the protestant ideal.

Marsh:

He should also add to his farm reputation by addressing when possible the A. & M. Colleges--that is the agricultural college groups throughout the Middle West

He should also keep as closely in touch as possible with the politicians controlling the various farm co-operative movements, especially giving attention to California and Florida fruit co-operatives, as well as the Grange, where the leaders of corn and wheat are mostly Republican minded but may be moved toward a farm-minded Democratic candidate in 1944, if Republicans name a city person.

Wallace will be accused by the so-called money class and money press of being a dreamy and an impractical person. And a way to meet this accusation is with sincerity. Should a general financial policy pertaining to South America be worked out which has the general approval of the country, including the bankers, it is possible this plan may be called the Wallace Plan. That would make him a financial person with success in the bag as a doer of constructive financial things.

His natural leadership in the cultural field, exchanging students and the like will cause him to be in close touch with college presidents. Should he be able to control the appropriation of five to fifteen million dollars for the cultural campaign, he will have the firm support of the professor class through the enlargement of the activities of many universities.

Young:

Wallace should see as many bona-fide callers as possible
~~One of Wallace's greatest weaknesses at this time is his shyness.~~
~~Another is his inability to see and make happy a great number of people~~
~~in one day. Although it is hard to make a man over, it would seem that~~
~~if he can rebuild his personality to some extent so that he can greet~~
~~people a little more heartily, speak to them with sincerity as he now~~
~~does, and see them more briefly, he would be a great asset.~~

Miss Mary Huns is an expert in spotting pests and will be very helpful in preventing callers from remaining too long

Marsh:

This will be helped if he can leave a majority of his callers and contacts with some small constructive thing which they will do at his

at his request to please him. Most men like to do favors for others and then talk about what they have done. This adds to the reputation of both because it is also favorably reported.

Many men seek people in power with requests which cannot be granted. Rather than deny a request, the request should be referred to someone else and when possible a constructive request should accompany a reason to a person who may have to be refused the proposition presented.

Young:

There now exists a small body of men who meet about once a week for the purpose of discussing ways and means to make Wallace president. If Wallace will keep a list of all people who express admiration for him, and keep in touch with most of them during the next four years, he should have a fine working organization, because many of these people are leaders in their communities.

Marsh:

The danger that comes from one's friends precludes Wallace from close contact with such groups. He should always speak frankly with Roosevelt, and it is hoped that Roosevelt will encourage him to make as many personal contacts as possible, as many persons will go to Roosevelt with the statement that Wallace is trying to make himself president, quoting many people as so saying.

Young:

He must not ever be running for president at all.

It is possible that within the next administration by death or resignation some new cabinet member will be a very strong man and a potential president. Wallace should make it part of his job to co-operate very fully at all times with all members of the cabinet on such objectives as he believes in, remaining silent when he is not in approval.

Marsh:

It is obvious that natural leadership develops itself. The unknown person may not be discussed, but Jackson and Douglas are two who have good general records nationally. It may be true that Douglas is unavailable because of the statement that he has not voted in his life. Jackson seems too colorless, but is ^{truly} respectable and might be a natural Roosevelt choice through Roosevelt's appreciation of his ability. He should be respected and approved of by Wallace and no sincere friend of Wallace should ever disapprove of any potential respectable possibility for nomination within the Democratic Party. These men reach the convention, and with friends who sometimes move according to past prejudices. People wanting the nomination have cliques quarreling and knifing their rivals. This is bad sportsmanship and especially bad politics.

Young:

Wallace should be very careful not to be a professional Iowan.

Marsh:

It is obvious that he would have the delegation from Iowa in 1944, so, other things being equal, his working cliques should be selected from other states.

Young:

La Guardia and men of his type should not be over-looked. ~~But~~ If the presidency were the sole consideration, such men should be cultivated because many of them are thinking of the vice presidency.

Young:

Wallace should write a few articles on important questions, which ~~articles~~ should be carefully checked before they are printed, for the Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, ~~and~~ the New Republic, *and similar magazines.*

Marsh:

The large circulation magazines should be carefully handled. If the Saturday Evening Post, for instance, has asked for an article, it might be bad to write one, ^{but} ~~and~~ it would not be bad to have someone else write the picture of Wallace's intents and plans with photographs of the objectives rather than of the Wallace family. Too much personal family color too soon is premature, as people really want to know what a man thinks and does rather than the smaller details of his personal life.

The syndicated newspaper publicity would be best handled, not by the columnists who will do about what they please, but by articles on objectives by feature writers such as work for the North American Newspaper Alliance, which has several million circulation; and Newspaper Enterprise Association, which covers about five hundred newspapers with feature material; the Western Newspaper Union covers several thousand weekly newspapers with similar material. The persons operating these syndicates are known and wish ideas constantly. They can and should be contacted so that they may assign their feature writers to the proper subjects. The radio and the newsreels are delicate and dangerous publicity items, but have their use under intelligent and constant watchfulness as news breaks favorably. An intelligent person wishing to enlarge the usefulness of Henry Wallace would spend much time with the men who comment on radio news and who direct these feature service activities. They are busy men and need ideas.

There are certain youth magazines and certain women's magazines which are available for articles on general subjects of patriotism, motherhood, and the future of youth. Too many such articles, of course, would be worse than none, but perhaps one such article in each medium of largest circulation in the four years ahead would be worth consideration.

It will be very hard to keep the personalities of the Wallace family from special attention, because they photograph well, and because an unusual item such as the son of a Vice President working on a farm cer-

tainly is a good feature story for a farm magazine. This is a legitimate and natural feature story, and undoubtedly will be carried by somebody. But lesser and weaker stories will be sought which will make the Wallace family too conspicuous too soon and give somewhat of the Hollywood flavor where it should not be. The average man reacts badly to too much publicity in the vicinity of a prominent man unless the publicity has to do with acts of an official nature.

Marsh:

The real reason for an intelligent, consistent, and rapid attention to the national and inter-national reputation of Wallace is, of course, the possibility of an unscheduled elevation to the presidency. This, however, is not to be thought of as a motive, because the resentment of Roosevelt would be acute, even if subconscious. The resentment of Roosevelt when he heard of the jollification premature in Garner's vicinity when he was shot at in Florida is well known.

The healthy, solid motive of building up Wallace^{is} for 1944 and the leadership that must come to the Democratic Party then. Any discussion of Roosevelt's health by Wallace's friends is indelicate.

Marsh:

Roosevelt the First picked Taft in a clumsy manner, put a burden on Taft, although he was nominated and elected. If Roosevelt picks Wallace now as the best possibility for 1944 leadership, he will, of course, indicate nothing in his manner that this is so, but will merely give Wallace the opportunity as a principal to show by Wallace's acts that he has the full confidence of the administration as an executive and thinker. Of course, the by-product is the public reception which will follow the work done. A nomination is never an election.

Notes:

November 23, 1940

Marsh: There is a great voting strength in the small communities such as Marlin, or up to towns like Waco in size and character. The essence of resentment is that of small business fighting the chain store, the mail order, and other forms of distribution which are antagonistic to its welfare. It is not practical for the clock to be turned back, and it is silly to attack the chain store, or the mail order house, or any other large merchandiser who is rendering a service to the consumer by selling a better thing for less. At the same time the law of survival and the health of the small communities, slowly losing their health through good roads and large scale merchandising, make any friendly constructive activity which seeks to save the smaller community and its activity a most desirable effort. The small jobber and the independent merchant is shrinking everywhere. He is still, however, a very great political and economic factor. An economy of national health could protect him by throwing fat when possible toward the improvement of these units. If the independent retail grocer of the country in a national meeting should hear the Vice President not attack chain store merchandising but discuss the value of the individual home-conscious activity of the average American in business, in church, and in citizenship. The battle is between the merchants of the chain type business who is moved around constantly and who cannot add to the community betterment from his salary and is refused by his company the ability to co-operate in community welfare by the financial policy of the chains to take their profit and give the benefits to their customers with little regard for the general communal welfare. The attitude here stated has been attacked by such as Putnam by a careful appreciation of the importance and value of the small man running his own business and leaving the healthy community existence.

Young: Wallace is given the credit by the chain stores for having done very effective work in stopping the ~~Patterson~~ Bill. He furnished some information regarding produce bought by chain stores greatly in excess of products bought by the independents from farmers. To some extent Wallace had the support of independent merchants because of ^{the} Stamp plan and the almost unanimous support of chain stores except for the Hartford A. and P. stores. It should not be forgotten that chain stores contributed very heavily to the Democratic Party National campaign fund in 1940, and if Wallace does not get their ~~amity~~, they can be counted upon in 1944.

Memo of work:

November 23, 1940

There is a possibility of a loose association around Wallace of men of a type such as Bickel and Ben Belt. They are men who won't work in salaried jobs at Washington because ~~of~~ independent wealth^{and} perhaps a disposition and over-maturity, but ~~that~~ ^{who} possibly in some instances have supreme thought value and will be associated in special government work in the next four years. These men are the highest type of patriots.

If Wallace ^{sees} them occasionally they will feed ideas which will be valuable in cabinet discussions and will be available through Wallace's suggestion when ways and means of getting particular work accomplished is under discussion in its personnel phases by the President.

Wallace should use his home at Washington to have such guests in singles and doubles for general after-dinner conversation. Their opinions are not often expressed, but when expressed are quoted and believed by lesser figures in the various activities of professions and business. If, as an example, there were a friendship between Wallace and Ben Belt, the country's leading oil geologist; and Karl Bickel, now working with the Rockefeller group in a major capacity as a news and good will information distributor south of the Rio Grande, these men fanning out through Washington life will build respect outside of the purely political, such as Congressmen and Senators and executive officials. Also their fund of information and their ability to acquire it from others is a source which probably has not been tapped by the men who are ^amore actively driving New Deal type which have been around the President in recent years. It is possible this new personnel group coming in because of national danger has many such men. Take Bickel. He probably knows more intimately the detailed picture south of the Rio Grande through personal travel in the business of selling news service to all of the publishers in the twenty-one countries south of us than

Memo for Work - Page two

any other American in or out of the State Department. An evening with Bickel would give more meat than a month of less accurate State Department files.

These exceptional mines are not too rare, but must be asked into the home and mind of the Vice President, as they will not seek him.

A Charles Wolff, of Elizabethton, Tennessee, would tell the Vice President more about cotton and rayon manufacturing and distribution than any Commerce Department bureaucratic group that could be called in. The point is to go to the source of these minds which have made actual success in clean business and are available as patriots without axes to grind, not for immediate questioning, but for general association.

The suckers of Wallace's time will be lesser minds with special problems seeking influence, and those distorting consciously or unconsciously the importance or accuracy of their information.

Notes:

November 23, 1940

Marsh: There is a great voting strength in the small communities such as Marlin, or up to towns like Waco in size and character. The essence of resentment is that of small business fighting the chain store, the mail order, and other forms of distribution which are antagonistic to its welfare. It is not practical for the clock to be turned back, and it is silly to attack the chain store, or the mail order house, or any other large merchandiser who is rendering a service to the consumer by selling a better thing for less. At the same time the law of survival and the health of the small communities, slowly losing their health through good roads and large scale merchandising, make any friendly constructive activity which seeks to save the smaller community and its activity a most desirable effort. The small jobber and the independent merchant is shrinking everywhere. He is still, however, a very great political and economic factor. An economy of national health could protect him by throwing fat when possible toward the improvement of these units. If the independent retail grocer of the country in a national meeting should hear the Vice President not attack chain store merchandising but discuss the value of the individual home-conscious activity of the average American in business, in church, and in citizenship. The battle is between the merchants of the chain type business who is moved around constantly and who cannot add to the community betterment from his salary and is refused by his company the ability to co-operate in community welfare by the financial policy of the chains to take their profit and give the benefits to their customers with little regard for the general communal welfare. The attitude here stated has been attacked by such as Fattman by a careful appreciation of the importance and value of the small man running his own business and leaving the healthy community existence.

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January 16, 1941

This is an addition to what is enclosed, and was written yesterday. Since both Young and Marsh had the same thoughts exactly, only the summary is necessary:

There is no escape for Mr. Wallace from being Vice President. The form of the Constitution, the habits of the American people, and all the textbooks are to the effect that the Vice President shall be the presiding officer of the Senate. Any extra job that the Vice President takes on must not destroy this fact and act. The result of a withdrawal, even in the highest public service, from the job to which Mr. Wallace has officially been elected will be considered by our people as:

A. Either an incapacity for the job to which he is elected, or

B. An allocation by himself, or the President, from the official to an unofficial status as a special assistant to the presidency.

It would be splendid if a Vice President were constitutionally and officially to be named Executive Vice President or Assistant to the President, but that may never be done in four years. An unofficial doing of it would cloud the Vice Presidential office.

.Any Vice President starting the first day of his job has a certain proportion of the voters decreasing his stature, and this proportion runs into millions. The surface half-wit says a Vice President must be little because he is littler than the President.

Another group says a Vice President must be little because they--the people of this group--want him to be little, for he is officially the Number Two constitutional official and the men seeking to demote him deory him. This means that everyone officially lower than the Vice President who seeks the presidency, or who seeks to protect his own ego in reaching as close to the President in importance as possible bears false witness and attempts to reduce the person and the mind occupying the Vice Presidency.

It is not necessary to go back in history except to say that in 1932 the leading argument against the Democratic ticket was the horror of this country would feel if Garner were to achieve the presidency.

Fortunately, Mr. Wallace did meet the people as a principal in this last campaign. He starts a way ahead of the average Vice President on January 20. He must maintain this leadership.

So, taking it for granted that Mr. Wallace has seen this official necessity of remaining actively the presiding officer of the Senate in spirit and in fact, the questions are:

1. How does one do this work with the least expenditure of time and energy?
2. How does he delegate detail without losing prestige?
3. How does he accomplish his work with tact and smoothness inside the Senate itself?
4. How does he keep his position effectively as one who presides over the Senate and has the presidential friendship, as irritation gathers around the presidency during the conflicts between the legislative and executive branches?
5. How does he obtain a fair appraisal of 130,000,000 people in the face of the adverse attack of unthinking or selfish people?

These questions are left unanswered, except that all may be answered in the spirit of Mr. Wallace. The two men who think alike as this is written so definitely believe that Mr. Wallace has the master key to this series of questions that they have only put them down so that they may be observed and rationalized. The key that Mr. Wallace has is a humble, an intelligent, and a timely awareness of the truth that service serves all, and that no attack upon service will triumph over a four-year viewpoint of the American people.

The concrete performance beginning January 20 will, of course, be practical in the line of the above questions, and in itself constitutes somewhat of a detail job requiring organization and many hours of work by Mr. Wallace himself. The word "work" is hardly it--"attention" is better. The practical framework is that 96 Senators exist, no one of whom has not thought of himself within his own privacy as other than President of the United States. So there are only two approaches for the friendship of these men. One is the Garner approach--whiskey, smut stories, clever practical maneuvering. The other is the Wallace approach,

which is that of an average American citizen--average in his thinking, devoted to the average aspirations of 130,000,000 people, and qualifying as a leader of thought and action by his attentiveness and intelligence to the business of the whole--that is, all the people.

About 100 of these people are in the Senate. They have secretaries, satellites, and machines reaching out into 48 states. If Wallace is never bigger than any Senator in his personal conception of his job, he will be one of the 96 in the spirit of service. But his service, being continuous and un-bragged about, will within six months react to his effectiveness and stature everywhere that Senators reach.

If this were to be called a symphony of politics, the overture would mean that Mr. Wallace would visit often and unannounced his fellow members of the Senate. It is obvious that two men meet with more sincerity than three. It is certain that an unannounced visit is a more natural visit than one where the Vice President's secretary has telephoned that he is on his way. The greatest thrill that any person gets in this life is when somebody visits him, unexpectedly and unannounced, whom he regards as his superior officer. This is particularly true when nothing is to be asked, and only service is to be offered. The service offered is the contact itself, with the broad general statement, "What can I do for you at any time, any where?" Such a statement is made, of course, with the proper silent reservation that nothing will be done against the people. This statement is equally good for a janitor, or a secretary to a Senator. It is the statement of any man, anywhere, seeing humanity. It is the statement of a man in Peru talking to a dictator, or in Peru talking to the dictator's mortal enemy. The saving consideration is the self conviction that no request asked which is anti-social and against the thing itself, which is humanity itself in action and in progress, is a request at all. It is a discord in the symphony, and, therefore, does not exist. It need never be refused.

These discords should be referred to the man who takes care of discords. It is conceivable that Mr. Wallace can go through four years of meeting 96 Senators without ever saying "no" to anyone, and still maintain his dignity. He merely needs

a "no" man. Jesse Jones carries 48 in 48 states, and has never been known to say "no" except for advertising purposes. He refers. Speaking of Jones, it is fair to say parenthetically that he is a very great asset to this country, and also fair to say that he may have the strongest position in the Senate and in the House of any person other than the President. Such power has been built up over a period of seven years by an intelligent man. Also parenthetically, Byrnes has been fixed in tradition and in fact as the uncrowned king of the Senate, whose word on doubtful issues can block or make effective the President. Byrnes and Jones together are a force which must add Baruch to both Jones and Byrnes and reaches out to Knudsen and literally hundreds of others. Roughly, this personal excursion is directed at a fact that the line of democracy ahead either widens or narrows as time and events move.

Certain men will believe that the best movement toward happiness for all comes in an orderly arrangement of real things, property, and money. Certain others will believe that things and property and money must be always the servant of individuals and mass humans seeking happiness. There never is an end to this battle. Mr. Wallace by instinct, and Mr. Roosevelt by instinct, are the leaders of the human concept. Most of the 96 Senators are emotionally devoted to the human concept, but in thrall to the property concept. Most of the 96 are very poor men. They have never achieved riches. But any man who has from scratch achieved riches, or who has been a mercenary of the risk seeking riches, has been through habit sincerely sold on the necessity of ordered property and conservative slowness of change as the basis of progress. Some times these men deny this. When they do, they merely are saying that they desire the driver's seat in the control of things and power over things through some form of state wholesaling. These men may be known always by their cleverness, and also by their fundamental lack of enthusiasm for the individual man they meet and speak of. They are connivers.

The great mind which is Roosevelt rides three horses at a time--Capital, Labor, and Politics. But in doing so, thank God, it is for the middle horse of politics, which in his case reaches the dignity of a statesman-like approach to the welfare of man. Mr. Wallace may best assist Mr. Roosevelt by not riding

three horses on the rump or on the neck. In the turning of the curves ahead, two horses may stumble. The middle horse, Politics through statesmanship to humanity, is enough for any one man who has not the business of Number One. These men talking believe that Democracy, which they have named the middle horse, is to win; that the middle horse should win; that the four years ahead need a man riding the middle horse; and that all who believe in Mr. Wallace should see to it that the center and passionate belief in work for the right of the individual cell in this 130,000,000 people to come through against all minorities seeking his harm and their gain.

The questions listed above may be reserved for a later meeting on call of Mr. Wallace to any of his friends. The press, the radio, the reception room of the Vice President, the man who takes his telephone calls, the man who makes his appointments are all in the service of Mr. Average American. This does not mean a narrow nationalism; it is merely a statement that America in leadership must lead the world through the health of itself and its cells. This leadership will not be a passing or a demanding thing, but definitely it must be a strong and protective thing. It may reach from Singapore to Lisbon, from Ottawa to Buenos Aires, but essentially it will never be more healthy than the average of 130,000,000 Americans who assemble to produce it.

January 5, 1943

You men of Britain -- you men of the U.S.A. have cooperated to play your part in winning the Battle of Production. In the peace to come you men and the boys in the armed services want a chance to cooperate to make the miracle of production work in peace as well as in war. You will never rest until there is peace-time full use of all manpower, of all resources, and of all skills for the benefit of all of us. Thus and only thus shall we do our part to make the slogan "Democracy first" come true over the entire world.

(Above statement made by VP when he greeted the British and American warworkers on the steps of the Capitol January 5th at the request of OWI -- movie made of the meeting)

For release in papers appearing on
the street after 10:15 p.m., Friday, March 17

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace,
Vice President of the United States,
before the American Business Congress
at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York
City, Friday evening, March 17, 1944,
broadcast over local stations.

It was part of the American tradition for more than one hundred years that every man could make a living and prosper if he worked hard and was honest. In 1930, however, innumerable businessmen found themselves bankrupt and millions of men who were anxious to work could find no jobs. There were 10 million unemployed people in the United States in 1932. The savings of millions had been wiped out and countless thousands had lost their homes.

Action was needed if we were to escape disaster. We got action. A bank holiday was declared which gave us an opportunity to separate the sound banks from the unsound banks. Bank deposits up to five thousand dollars were guaranteed and depositors took their money back to the banks. Appropriations were made for unemployment relief, and the hungry were fed. The government of the United States carried out a program of public works, flood control and the prevention of soil erosion, which gave us a better land in which to live. Crop loans stopped farm bankruptcy in the South and West. Farm mortgages were refinanced and interest rates were reduced. Hundreds of thousands of farmers saved their farms, and the loan companies and insurance companies were paid money, which they needed, and gave up farms, which they could not use. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed, which gave the farmers an even break. We provided for an ever-normal granary, which aided agriculture, and which has helped us feed our people and our allies during the war. The food stamp plan was adopted, which handled surpluses sensibly. The Securities and Exchange Act was passed protecting investors and outlawing Blue Sky schemes. The Tennessee Valley Authority and a series of great dam projects were started, without which we could not have produced the electric power we are using so effectively in wartime. *un* Employment compensation, old-age pensions and social security passed from the realm of dreams into reality. America met the challenge.

In 1937 the President, realizing that aggressor nations were threatening the peace and well-being of the rest of the world, made his famous speech in Chicago in which he called upon us to quarantine the aggressors.

Long before Pearl Harbor we shipped arms and destroyers to Britain, increased our army and navy and began to convert our civilian plants into war plants.

Since Pearl Harbor we have trained and equipped more than 10 million men who are fighting on many fronts, and who are winning this

war. We are winning the battle of production. It is the biggest war production effort ever undertaken.

I mention this record of great accomplishments because I am sure that a nation which courageously faced a great depression at the beginning of the New Deal Administration and which courageously prepared for a war can also face the challenge of the peace.

The people of the United States are united in their determination to win this war. American industry, American business and American agriculture can look forward to a bright future if the markets of peace are expanded to take the place of the markets of war. We cannot have free enterprise unless the world is at peace.

We must maintain the peace. The Teheran Conference has laid the groundwork. All peace-loving nations will be given an opportunity to cooperate in rebuilding the shattered world and perfecting a permanent organization for peace.

During the war we have seen that it is possible to produce a national income of 150 billion dollars a year -- the largest in our history. Large industry as well as small businesses have profited from selling their maximum production. The profits accruing from this maximum output have been enormous compared to profits from restricted production. Farmers are prosperous because they have been able to sell at fair prices all that they could produce, and workers in our factories have had steady incomes from full employment. The benefits of a full-production economy have been demonstrated. The evils of a scarcity economy we know only too well.

From our tremendous wartime production we have learned many things that should stand us in good stead when we reconvert to a peacetime economy. Last month I visited several airplane plants where nearly half of the workers were women, and where many of the men workers would not have been allowed to work three years ago because of physical handicaps. Nevertheless, these women and the so-called rejects are turning out bombers in one-half the man hours that so-called superior labor used three years ago. I am mentioning this merely to demonstrate that an abundance economy can give employment to all. And prosperity for small and large business alike depends on full employment.

When this war has been won, we want every man and woman in America who has ambition and a willingness to work hard to have the opportunity to prove, in a market free from unfair restrictions, that he has something to contribute to the productivity and happiness of this nation.

I believe in free enterprise. I believe that an economy of abundance and full employment can be best achieved through our American system of free enterprise. Free enterprise is not privileged enterprise which confers benefits on a few at the expense of the majority. Free enterprise does not mean artificial controls of production and distribution of goods. Free enterprise is inconsistent with monopolies and cartel domination of world markets. Free enterprise means equal opportunity for investors and businessmen, for farmers and workers to produce the goods and services which truly constitute our national wealth.

Free enterprise means that each and every industry is open to new capital and new firms -- that all business has free access to raw materials, to labor, to technologies -- that producers have free access to the markets in which they buy and sell -- that all individuals, in accordance with their varying abilities and irrespective of color, race and creed, have equal opportunities to work at their chosen jobs.

In the tasks assigned to them during the war small businessmen have done a magnificent job. It will be even more important that small business continues to function when reconversion begins -- that adequate resources are available to permit them to participate in this great task. Small businessmen have always been the foundation of our American economic system -- it is vitally important that they continue as producers and distributors in our American system.

In the building of our postwar national economy, particular attention must be given to the opportunities for small business enterprises. Small business provides an outlet for new ideas and products, a training ground for new leaders and an effective competitive check on big business, which might otherwise confuse mere size with efficiency. The greatest contribution which government can make to the progress of small business is the creation and preservation of genuine free enterprise. Given access to the necessary technologies and to the capital markets, small enterprise in industry and trade will flourish. And such small business, by reason of its inherent resilience and flexibility, can become the mainstay of our regional economies, the balance wheel of the national economy. Men of small vision after World War I believed the way out of the depression was to stop both production and consumption. Before we were plunged into World War II, there were many in strategic places in business and industry who were still afraid of production -- afraid that increased productive capacity for defense would be ruinous to business profits --, and the result was that we entered the war with disastrously critical shortages of capacity in aluminum, in steel, in magnesium and in other industries. We must conquer this fear of production in industry as well as in agriculture -- we must recognize that in peace as in war our national security and well being lies in full production, that only full use of all resources can give full employment to individuals and business firms, create a large national income and enable us to carry the national debt safely.

Specifically there are a number of steps to be taken to make this possible.

First, the greatest opportunity lies in the war plants built with government funds. In the manner of their postwar use lies the acid test of whether we are sincere in our determination to reestablish genuine free enterprise. We must not regard such plants as liabilities to be disposed of hastily; we must not allow the disposition of these plants to add to the concentration of control in industries which are already monopolistic. The plants must be kept in full production to create the enlarged national income required to support a new American standard of living. As a final sale of these war plants would probably result in their being acquired sooner or later by a few large concerns, I have suggested that title should

remain in a federal agency, and that these plants should be leased to independent producers who will create new competition and new production.

Second, there must be adequate financing machinery to supply small business enterprises with the capital which they need for the purchase of equipment or plants. It is, of course, my hope that private banking institutions throughout the United States will recognize that Small Business Is Good Business. But if concentration of investment financing in a few large cities becomes the order of the day and if financing activities are limited to a few large firms, government agencies will, of necessity, furnish financing services to the small businessman. I hope very much that this will not be necessary.

Third, raw materials in government stockpiles, when offered for sale, should be equally accessible to all -- so that small concerns can buy their fair share. Precautions should be taken to prevent speculation in and cornering of surplus goods. There should be the widest possible distribution of such surpluses.

Fourth, the basic technologies of modern industry must be restored to and remain a part of the public domain. This is not an attack on the patent system; it is a necessary measure to make the patent system conform to its constitutional purpose -- to promote the progress of science and useful arts. It must become impossible to use patents to monopolize entire industries. The solution is simple -- all patents should be subject to open licensing at a reasonable fee -- one which affords a reasonable return to the inventor and promotes the wider and wider use of the patent. And no license should be permitted to stipulate how much the licensee shall produce, what he shall charge or where he shall sell.

Fifth, the government's tax policies have an important influence on business activity. In a peacetime economy, the tax program should have a double objective -- to bring in the necessary revenue and to encourage the production of the largest possible national income. Taxes which impair the ability of consumers to purchase the products of agriculture and industry, or which discourage the investment of risk capital in new undertakings, must be avoided in our drive for all-out production. The tax program can and should be framed with attention to the larger objectives of the economy -- full use of all of our resources.

No statement of general principles or policy, no matter how lofty or well intentioned, will be of any use unless such policy is put into practice. Hence, it is vital that our leaders in industry, agriculture and labor understand their own responsibilities and the responsibilities of the government in their common effort to assure continued full use of all resources. Business policies must be framed with this long-range objective in view. Forward-looking businessmen will welcome the cooperation of the government in maintaining full employment and will work with government agencies toward that end. Business and government must cooperate in the enforcement of the anti-trust laws to assure free enterprise. Cooperation will further be necessary in the creation of a public works program which can be used by the government during periods of business recession, and curtailed by the government when business

can provide full employment and maximum use of productive capacity. Individual businessmen and individual industries, as well as our whole economy, can be greatly helped by the stabilizing effect of public works programs carried out by competent administrative machinery. This machinery should be operated by government officials, responsible to the people of our country. Decisions should be made by officials who can be held to account. But the administrative government agency should have the benefit of advice from industry advisory committees, which are representative of their respective industries -- of both large and small units within them.

Business can discharge its public responsibilities and preserve itself only by maintaining conditions of genuine free enterprise. Whether or not we have free enterprise and the full use of all productive resources will depend on our understanding that our way of life is at stake -- and the determination of all of us to test every private and public policy by whether it contributes to the full use of all of our resources. The price of survival and progress is the wholehearted acceptance of healthy, unrestrained competition -- competition in price as well as in quality and service.

We shall win the military victory. We must have a peaceful world thereafter. We must preserve America as a land of economic opportunity for all of our people. This must be the century of opportunity for the plain folks in all lands.

* * *

Greetings from the Vice-President of the U.S.A.
to the Soviet People
January 1, 194~~5~~.

Deep in the hearts of the Russian people during more than 100 years has existed the consciousness of the people's power, which will establish justice for the common man. This is proved by the old Russian song "Dubynushka", which says:

"But the time will come
When the people will awake,
Will straighten his mighty back,
And in his native forests
Against his enemies
He will raise his ~~dear~~ big stick."

This song foretells the time when the Russian peasant, retaining his own great physical power, will also take over the power of the machine, and using both powers effectively will attain his goal.

Just as he straightened his mighty back against his oppressors at home, so he now has straightened his back against those who have desecrated his soil in the name of the so called "master race."

The Russian armies have exemplified the spirit of this song in the year 1943 as never before. The year 1944 will see the coordinated effort of the Allies which will bring complete victory and will open new opportunities for the common man in all lands.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address by the Honorable Henry A. Wallace,
Vice President of the United States, on
Greek Independence Day at meeting sponsored
by the American Friends of Greece and the
Federation of Greek Communities and Societies
of Greater Boston, at Boston Symphony Hall,
Boston, Massachusetts, Sunday, March 26, 1944,
4:30 p.m., broadcast over local stations.

On Annunciation Day, March 25, 1821, Archbishop Germanos of Patras and a little band of Greeks kindled the spark that started a revolution against tyranny. That is why we celebrate the anniversary of the independence of Greece, a day worthy of remembrance everywhere in the world.

The road to freedom is a long road and a rocky one. The pledge solemnly given by Archbishop Germanos and those who stood beside him to fight until Greece was free was the outgrowth of the relentless efforts of Greeks to regain their independence. They revolted eighteen times before freedom was won. When men under the Nazi yoke wonder whether the struggle is worthwhile, they remember that Greeks throughout two thousand five hundred years of history have always believed that there is no life worth having except a life of freedom. Sooner or later throughout all history they have thrown off tyrannies of whatever nature by whomsoever imposed.

We will never forget that Greece which wished to live in peace resisted a treacherous attack by the Fascist empire of Italy in 1940. With her ideas and with her arms she astonished the world and crushed the attack. Fascist Italy never recovered and Mussolini's dream of empire came to an inglorious end.

To save themselves from utter destruction the Fascists betrayed the glorious memories of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour and put the Italian people in bondage to the Nazis. Hitler then started his blitzkrieg against Greece.

We shall always remember that Greece met the assault of the Nazi army with impassioned skill. Greece again lighted a flame as bright as that which lit freedom's skies over Thermopylae. She delayed the German attack on Russia for several precious weeks and gave Britain time to defend the Mediterranean. Greece aided in the winning of this war and gained our everlasting gratitude. She went down under the power of overwhelming numbers and modern mechanical devices. But the darkness into which Hitler plunged her now promises soon to be lifted. Greece cannot be permanently enslaved.

Even as I speak women and children are dying of hunger in Athens, in Epirus and in Thrace. They are dying because they would not yield. These dead shall not be forgotten. The men who are responsible for their deaths shall face the bar of justice. They

shall be judged by free people -- by the free people of Greece.

The invaders are seeking to break the spirit of the Greeks by enforcing a policy of terrorism and systematic extermination, but up in the mountains brave men carry on a warfare with whatever arms they can find. The whole population of Greece has refused to come to any terms with the oppressors.

You are the kinsmen of the Greeks. You are Americans. It is my understanding that as a part of the celebration of Greek Independence Day each American of Greek descent is purchasing an extra American war bond. Your fellow Americans and your sons who are in the armed forces of the United States will recognize your accomplishment as further proof that you remember the heroism of your own soldiers and those of all our Allies.

Democracy is not a finished job. Less than one hundred years ago part of our population were slaves. Years ago signs in taverns read "No Irishmen Allowed." Today there are still inequalities and injustices but we have been moving and we will continue to move toward real democracy.

We believe in and we fight for the dignity and freedom of man. We know in America that each race has something of value to contribute to democracy. We must give to the minority groups among us the best that we have and they must show their appreciation by helping wholeheartedly to preserve for America the best that is in the minority groups.

As Americans we believe that all people have a right to enjoy the blessings of democracy. Let us teach our children that racial and religious minorities are part of the very life blood of this country. There are people here whose parents lived in Greece, in Africa, in Russia, in England, in Germany, in Ireland, in Italy and in many other lands. They are a strength and not a weakness to our nation. No racial or religious group is inferior because of its heredity. Members of a race may be inferior for many years because they have not had economic opportunities or proper food or because they have not been educated but these inferiorities can be overcome in America. We believe not only in political and economic democracy but also in the education and opportunity which will make genetic democracy a reality.

The Nazis hate genetic democracy. They believe that every race in the world except their own is genetically inferior. They believe that every American belongs to an inferior race and that every racial and religious group except their own should be enslaved. We believe that the New World is a chosen land, not for one race, but a chosen land in which all of us living together can preserve a democracy free from bigotry and oppression. We believe this chosen land should become an example which the whole world will want to imitate.

The other day a German immigrant wrote a letter to the NEW YORK TIMES. He said, "Thanks, Uncle Sam. Today I became an American citizen. Every immigrant from Germany knows what despotism means because he has personally experienced the loss of liberty. He fights

against the Hitler mind, against the schemer and the psuedo-intellectual who is a path-finder for Hitler, and whose idiom he knows from bitter first-hand knowledge. By his experiences he can accurately forecast what would have happened if America had not girded itself to resist and destroy Hitler and what he stands for. Every American would have been compelled to bow to the commandments of Hitler. A 'Gauleiter', taking his orders from Berlin, would decide whether he belonged to the master race. Every step in the process of living and dying would be fully ordered under the watchful eye of the Gestapo. Yes, it could have happened here."

That is the end of the new citizen's letter. That which he feared must never happen here. Demagogues in Germany inflamed majority groups against all minority groups. There are demagogues here. When we hear them say "America for Americans," we reply, "We, too, believe in America for Americans -- America for all Americans of every race and every creed." This is the miracle of America -- her capacity to make Europeans into patriotic citizens by the compelling power of her freedom-loving ideals. Sometimes I think first and second generation Americans know and appreciate America better than those of us who have lived here for seven generations.

Some people say that democracy is impossible because part of our population is shiftless, lazy and incapable of self-government. They point to the slum-dwellers and the share-croppers as proof that many people cannot rise out of their misery. I have seen the Ida B. Wells Homes where families from the slums have become self-supporting, healthy and proud of themselves and of our country. Let me give you another example of the ability of people to advance in America. In 1937 one hundred share-cropper families in one community, sixty white and forty negro families, lived in abject poverty. Their average net worth was \$28. Some of these people could not read and write and they were all, judging from their records of achievement, shiftless and no-account. The Farm Security Administration bought the land, helped them build decent homes, made them loans for tools, and aided them in marketing their crops. At the end of seven years, the average net worth of each family was not \$28, but \$2,170. They had purchased their farms, loan payments were up to date and the United States Government will get back every dollar it risked on these so-called shiftless people. They are tax payers now. This also is the spirit of America. Seventh generation Americans are not past redemption, no matter how low they sink.

"We shall fight until the people of Greece, France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Norway, Poland, Belgium, China and all the other countries which are under the tyrant's heel are free. Citizens of every land will again be able to say openly and proudly, "I am a Greek," or "I am a Frenchman," or "I am a Dane," or "I am a Jew." They will be able to do more than that. They will be able to say, "I am a Person -- I am a free man."

Every man and woman has the right to earn a living, to live in good surroundings, to live in freedom, to live without fear. No man should be persecuted because he belongs to a minority race or a minority creed. We look forward in confidence and hope to the day

when every child as he grows up will be proud that he and his parents are Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox or Jews. Every child has the right to grow up feeling that he is a person, a unique and worthwhile part of America and, therefore, part of a decent world.

* * *

Release on delivery

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address by the Honorable Henry A. Wallace,
Vice President of the United States, on the
Opera Victory Rally of the Metropolitan
Opera Series, Saturday, April 1, 1944,
4:00 p.m. EWT, Washington, D. C., broadcast
over Blue Network.

When music lovers think of a lasting peace in war-torn Europe their minds are likely to turn toward Vienna and the Danube, toward Bavaria and the Rhineland, toward the calm of Bach and the revolutionary tendencies of Beethoven. Again they think of the great musicians of France, Italy and Russia. It seems to us that much of our great music has come from the areas which are suffering most from the madness and devastation of the dictators. We long for the day when these great peoples sing again in joy and peace, without any covert desire to destroy their neighbors and without any necessity to defend themselves against aggression.

Again our minds turn to the boys in our own armed forces who love music, who used to listen in on these Saturday afternoon performances with the keenest interest and enjoyment, who either played instruments themselves or purchased records so that they could familiarize themselves with every passage of the works of the masters.

An important question for us is, "What do the boys in the armed forces want?" The world of tomorrow is their world,

I believe that they want to get the fighting over with as soon as possible. They wish to win and they expect to win, but they want no half-way peace this time. They want a peace which not only means the destruction of the dictators but also the destruction of the ideas and systems which created dictators.

Some people say that the boys are not interested in visionary things like postwar planning. This is not true. Next to winning a lasting peace as soon as possible they are interested in coming home to jobs and a higher standard of living than they had when they left home. They are thinking about a job, a house, a garden, a car, or about a farm and a tractor, or about a little business manufacturing or selling products to their neighbors. They have seen how the stimulus of war lets loose every productive energy for the purpose of destruction. They ask that peace be given the same hard, driving energy.

If we think now with all of our might about hitting the peace hard, it will help our boys to fight hard. They want to feel that we are working to lay the foundation of a world which will give them an opportunity to produce when they get back home. It is neither visionary nor does it interfere with the war effort to begin

precise planning right now for a postwar world. On the contrary the war effort can be greatly helped by letting the young men in the armed forces know that the Senate and House Committees on Post-War Planning are busily at work, that business and labor are working on postwar plans, and that all of this work will be coordinated in a practical way.

All of this postwar planning is, of course, useless unless we can have a lasting peace in the world. The people of the United States are overwhelmingly for a peace which can be enforced under international law which has definite authority behind it. I do not believe that our people will bear any resentment against the German people after we have won the war, provided the Germans demonstrate by their actions that all desire for aggression has been eliminated from their political, economic and educational set-up.

It will be a difficult problem to work out international organizations which are acceptable to all of the peoples of the world and which will at the same time serve the welfare of all the peoples. I am sure that we should all be interested in the meeting of the International Labor Organization which will be held in Philadelphia on April 20, where representatives of 36 nations will meet. Labor, business and government from the 36 nations will deal with the Number One problem in the postwar world, which is jobs, first, for the returning soldiers, second, for displaced war workers, and, third, for those working where they have always worked.

The world is now so interlocked that salvation for any single nation can come only by world-wide full employment, world-wide expansion of production and world-wide raising of the standard of living. If the International Labor Organization is able to lay the groundwork in meeting this problem it will make a great contribution to the United States and to the world.

I put so much emphasis on this International Labor Organization meeting not only because the I.L.O. was the one outstanding part of the League of Nations in which the United States participated but also because its history enables it to furnish the framework on which so much can be built for the future. The people of the world are hungry as never before for a just, practical and enduring peace.

The plain people are seeking work without robbery, peace without the ever present fear of war and freedom to travel and enjoy without restraint the world-wide culture of personal contact, literature, painting and music.

* * *

2136 R Street, N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
June 27, 1944

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

I am sending your note, with money enclosed,
on to Alice.

This is because I feel that you want to
operate in your own way.

I also heard from the Thomas address. From
my understanding, he thought it was a Wallace
meeting. There are a million other auto
workers who feel about as he does, so you
ought to be proud of the man who does not
know he has a grandchild.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P.S. I feel as if I were entirely a male
blank as far as you are concerned--no flowers,
no breakfast, no shopping, and a wife indis-
posed--simply nothing.

Mrs. Henry A. Wallace,
The Wardman Park,
Washington, D.C.

July 8, 1944

Dear Mr. Vice President:

You are the one leader in the English speaking world to whom the confused and anxious people turn in hope of evidence and support.

If you accept the Vice Presidential nomination that fact will help to restore the people's waning faith in the New Deal and the Democratic Party. If your acceptance and pre-election speeches strike - as they will - the note of flaming progress and of Christian revolution, the people will come back strongly in support of the Democratic Party which they rightfully can claim, has let them down.

You can do much for the Democratic Party. But the Democratic Party can't do much for you. By this I mean that in the people's mind your stature is not built upon your office in the State but upon your achievements as a man, a prophet, a pioneer, a loyal comrade to the fellow lower down.

Therefore if you do not accept the Vice Presidential nomination, nevertheless the people will be waiting and anxious for word from you. More than ever, in the circumstances, will they turn eagerly to you for explanation and advice, for they will know instinctively that it has been the arid toryism of the Democratic Party which has forced you to renounce it.

If by the fact of your renunciation it is made clear that the Democratic Party no longer serves the people, then the people will call on you to set up the instrument of their emancipation from the greed and treachery of special privilege. For it will be a fact that if you cannot stay with the Party it is because Special Privilege has dominion over it.

This instrument which you will be called upon to set up will be a third - a Progressive - a People's Party. Labour, the small farmer, the humble white collar worker, the common man, all will range themselves behind this party until it builds into the invincible champion of the American way of life: the only answer to the threatening Fascism of the right and the Communism of the left.

If the decisions of the next few days stamp out this pattern of the future and make it plain that you and the Democratic Party must part, then I hope that you will go to the convention at Chicago and at that time and place will, by your declaration of faith and purpose, divide this country, right and left. For only in this way can you make sure that freedom will survive. Today, with all the forward roads blocked up, the people have no place to go. So your national society will surely go to pieces. The Fascism of special privilege will speed it on its way.

Having said all this I must conclude with an expression of my ardent hope that the Democratic Party will make it possible for you to use

it as an instrument of America's regeneration. But if it fails to do so, then I believe that you must be on hand at Chicago so that when the Party turns backward, you will have place and opportunity to point the other way, the forward way.

May it be that what I see before me is only a mirage. But as I write I seem to see a conflict forming between you and your duty to the people, on the one hand, and the Democratic Party and its control by special privilege, on the other.

God bless you

Your friend

Bill Herridge

PS Surely it must be plain to even the most cynical politician, that while the Toryism of the Democratic Party - uncondemned by you - might win over the Toryism of Republicanism, your denunciation of the Democratic Party as the Party which broke faith, would hand the election to Mr. Dewey. And you would be compelled to denounce the Democratic Party as a condition precedent to the formation of a new one/

B.H.

Dr. Morris La.

July 28th 1944

Dear Mr. Marsh

The Plaza in New York has just sent me a statement for my room July 21st when I went up to the Russian meeting -

I am mailing them my check for \$11.89 and if it is a mistake they will return it -

Before leaving the hotel I was told by the cashier that it had been taken care of - so I will give them this information in my letter -

We are having a cool, restful week in Dr. Morris - Mr. Wallace looks much better already -

Sincerely yours -

P.S. The sentiment here as well as all our country seems very understanding

2136 R Street, N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
August 1, 1944

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

Enclosed carbon explains itself.

I am glad you are having a little cool weather in Iowa. I thought it hardly possible at this time of year.

I saw your husband yesterday morning. He arrived off the train in good spirits and howling for exercise. I imagine he will get rid of his "thank you" letters from the Chicago Convention and then get the exercise.

Will be glad to see you upon your return.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mrs. Henry A. Wallace,
3821 John Lynde Road,
Des Moines, Iowa.

August 14, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO THE VICE PRESIDENT -

Over a month ago on your arrival at Seattle, I sent you an analysis of the Democratic-Republican balance as of July 1. This was a state-by-state interpretation of what the Gallup poll showing a national average of 51% Democratic meant in terms of electoral votes. In addition to that national average, I had the benefit of the Gallup poll for half a dozen states. The latter gave me a clue as to the possible regional discrepancies that might prevail in this year's election.

The Gallup poll has now covered 32 states, and you may be interested in comparing his present results with those that I sent you over a month ago. The comparison is shown in the attached tabulation. In all cases, Gallup corroborates my estimates. He finds the same states Democratic, and the same states Republican, that I do. My percentages for the South, however, run somewhat higher than Gallup's. In the other states the outstanding difference is in Montana, the Gallup figure being 57, and mine 51.

You may want to bear in mind the following observations with regard to my figures of a month ago. My analysis rests on the assumption that Gallup's figure of 51% for the nation as a whole is conservative. That figure doesn't contain an allowance for the soldier's vote. It is lower than the Fortune poll, and on the basis of 1936 and 1940 may be low early in the campaign. You may also want to bear in mind that Gallup's figures for the 32 states as published on August 13 do not represent sentiment in each of the states as of the same date. The polls cover a period of six weeks and therefore do not clearly reflect the change in sentiment since the Democratic Convention, if any.

Attachment -

WHS

August 15, 1944

Dear Miss Tully:

I would appreciate it if you were to get this bit of information to the President.

I am leaving tonight for Atlanta and will stop briefly at Birmingham on my way to Austin, Texas and then back probably through Louisville.

My office will be able to reach me at any time should the President want me in any twenty-four hour period. I shall not be over twelve hours from Washington.

In any event I shall be back Thursday morning, August twenty-fifth.

Sincerely,

P.S. Attached is a copy of my seconding speech at Chicago in case the President has not read it.

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Aug 16, 1944

Mrs. Haines:

When you get around to it --
Mr. Marsh's part of the railroad fare
was \$47.01, divided as follows:

\$24.23 one-way railroad ticket
16.68 Drawing Room reservation
6.10 one-fourth of railroad
ticket extra on acct.
of drawing room

\$47.01

MME

Mildred Eaton

*What about COBMs share
in tipping the Porter?
Gatta*

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1944

Mrs. Claudia Haines
Secretary to Mr. Charles Marsh
2136 "R" Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Haines:

The cost of Mr. Marsh's plane ticket to Portland, Maine, was \$31.80, one way. I don't know yet whether we will get return tickets in this office or whether somebody in Portland will take care of them. If we buy them, I'll let you know the cost.

There's no hurry about this — I just thought you'd want to know. You can send the check at the same time that you send the one for the Atlanta trip — that was \$47.01, I believe.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Eaton

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Release on Delivery

THE NEW LIBERALISM

Address by the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, under the auspices of The Independent Voters' Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt, Madison Square Garden, New York City, Thursday Evening, September 21, 1944; ~~Broadcast over the Blue Network,~~
~~10:15 - 10:30 p.m., EDT~~

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.

Norris is dead but another liberal equally close to Roosevelt and even closer to the heart of labor, lives. I refer to Senator Wagner. No man ever has or ever will sponsor so much vital labor legislation. No man has fought more continuously for a square deal for labor, regardless of color or race. No Senator has more constantly pled the cause of the Jew seeking a haven of safety.

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.

* * *

November 4, 1944

SUGGESTED PRESS RELEASE:

Roosevelt until 1948 means a country confident, moving with full steam ahead. The vote constitutes a mandate to Congress to prepare the way for 60 million jobs. Corner apple selling disappeared under Roosevelt. The people have determined to lick the dole. Full employment means prosperity to farm and city alike. Plans will now go ahead for a permanent, enforceable, peace.

SUGGESTED TELEGRAMS:

I AM ASHAMED OF HAVING BEEN CONSERVATIVE. FORGIVE ME.

or

FORGIVE ME FOR HAVING BEEN CONSERVATIVE FOR ONCE IN MY LIFE.

or

YOUR SMASHING VICTORY MAKES ME A PIKER AS A PREDICTOR.

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

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLD = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

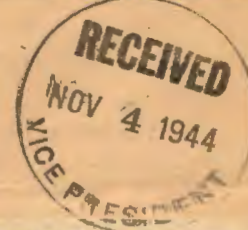
1944 NOV 3

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JA481 NL PD=TDNU YELLOWSPRINGS OHIO 3

HENRY WALLACE VICE PRESIDENT=

SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASH DC=



ATTEMPT TO DISFRANCHISE AMERICAN WAR WORKERS GREENE COUNTY OHIO
PROTEST HAS BEEN FIELD BY KARLA BULL EDITOR OF CEDARVILLE OHIO
HEAROLD CHAIRMAN OF GREENE COUNTY REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE, CHALLENGING RIGHT OF CITIZENS LIVING IN FEDERAL
HOUSING PROJECT TO VOTE IN COMING ELECTION THROUGH LOOSE AND
PARTISAN INTERPRETATION OF A CLAUSE IN OHIO STATE CONSITUTION
RIGHTS OF CITIZENS LIVING IN FEDERAL HOUSING PROJECTS ALL OVER
COUNTRY BEING THREATENED.

9 POINT IN QUESTION IS. ARE THE PEOPLE LEGAL RESIDENTS OF
STATE OF OHIO IF THEY LIVE ON GOVERNMENT OWNED PROPERTY ROGER
BLADWIN DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES CHARACTERIZED
PROTEST AS DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO KEEP CITIZENS FROM VOTING AND
CALLED ALLEGED REASONING BEHIND IT FARCICAL BOTH PROTEST FILED
WITH GREENE COUNTY BOARD HOMES FAIRFIELD OHIO BOTH FILED
PROTESTS ON GROUNDS THAT HEBBLE HOMES ARE GOVERNMENT OWNED AND
UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL HE ADVANCED ARGUMENT THAT STATE OF OHIO
HAS NO JURISDICTION THERE AOTHER PROTEST BEEN FILED INVOLVING
TWO THOUSAND VOTERS SKYWAR PARK ANOTHER FEDERAL HOUSING
PROJECT IN COUNTY MARCUS SHOUP LEGAL ADVISOR TO BOARD OF
ELECTION A PROSECUTING ATTORNEY GREENE COUNTY RULED PREVIOUS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SERVICE

full-rate
Cable-
its de-
fecter is in-
a suitable
above or pre-
ceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

1944 NOV 3

DL =
ND =
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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

JA481/2.

TO MAY PRIMARY THAT RESIDENTS IN DISPUTED AREAS WOULD HAVE
RIGHT TO VOTE SHOUP ASKS ATTORNEY GENERAL OF OHIO THOMAS HERBERT
TO RENDER OPINION ON DECISION HERBERTS DECISION WILL NOT BE
HANDED DOWN UNTIL MONDAY NIGHT., NIGHT BEFORE ELECTION, BOARD
WILL MEET TONIGHT TO RECONSIDER PROTEST SIX INDIGNANT RESIDENTS
OF HEBBLE HOMES HAVE CALLED UPON GEORGE SMITH XENIA OHIO
ATTORNEY TO FILE WRIT OF MANDAMUS DEMANDING RIGHT TO VOTE
EARLIER SIMILAR ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO RESTRICT VOTING IN AREA
IN FAIRFIELD PRECINCT RIGHTS DENIED TO REGISTRANTS ONLY THREE
PEOPLE ONE JUDGE TWO CLERKS, HAVE BEEN HIRED TO TAKE CARE OF
ESTIMATED OF TWO THOUSAND VOTERS AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES
UNION HAS OFFERED AID OF ITS ATTORNEYS IN ITS CASE
JUDITH JAFFE CHAIRMAN CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
YELLOWSPRINGS OHIO.

November 10, 1944

NOTE:

This man, Gordon, put on the Detroit overflow show meeting. He is a returned Pacific war wound case and has important connections with both CIO and the regulars in Michigan. A fine organizer. You should write him personally about the 1946 business. He is getting up a one page for me on "How Michigan went for Wilkie in '40 and against Dewey in '44. Only state to reverse.

Harold

927 David Stott Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan
November 10, 1944

Dear Mr. Wallace:

Attached is the Electoral vote which shows your Flint, Michigan, national radio prediction on the nose. You told the folks to get out their pencils. I did.

You said Roosevelt would carry thirty-six states. He did.

You said he would have more than one hundred Electoral vote majority. You won this one too.

You said he would have a majority of forty or more in the lower House. That is confusing, but the lower House has fifty more Democratic than Republican votes so I guess you win here.

So the boys with the pencils may now tear up the paper.

But you, yourself, helped quite a bit in making your own predictions come true. Here in Michigan, certainly, your work was the difference. The Republican press in Detroit agrees that your Olympia appearance did the trick. I have checked Ohio pretty carefully and there they say Ohio would have been in the Roosevelt column and they might have beaten Taft if you had been on the ticket. My Pittsburgh friends tell me you saved Pennsylvania for Roosevelt by your state tour.

You came out of the election with an awful lot of friends, Henry. I am sorry you did not spend more time in Iowa. I know you would have been good for a thirty thousand turn over if you had been on the ticket. And that is all we needed to take that one.

What about 1946? Is it time to get busy?

Sincerely,

Louis J. Gordon
Director, Michigan Citizens' Committee
for Roosevelt

P.S. In the language of the sportsman, you hit the Jack Pot on a three way parlay.

DRAFT

This night we meet to count the score.

The war is doing well for our side. The peace is in doubt.

But tonight we should put first things first and the first thing is to know that a democracy winning in war is also prepared to win in peace.

At the risk of being tiresome I feel that tonight we should count our assets and liabilities. We as a nation have grown to 130 million people. From the time previous to 1776 when a man had to have property to vote we have come into an enlarged voting population. Today women will vote. Today in favored places Negroes may vote and today in one most favorite spot of all -- in Georgia -- it is admitted that boys and girls of 18 who are old enough to fight have enough sense to love their country and to have the purity of spirit which may add their votes to those more tired and perhaps more confused.

But to the tiresome facts: If all persons over 21 voted in the United States there would be 90 million votes cast November 7. But the pollster George Gallup estimated a month ago that only 40 million votes would be cast November 7. When I read this forecast I was shocked and I believe that you were shocked. And I am certain all Americans should have been shocked.

So if we believe pollster Gallup, we now know that less than half of the people of America who should vote are going to determine the policies and the persons who are to win or lose the peace. And don't blame Hitler, if he is still alive, for laughing sardonically as he reads the estimates of pollster Gallup. Among the Nazi lowercrust, composed of Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and Goering, one can imagine the fun as they say, "Less than half of Americans bother to vote."

But, of course, this is not true. There are certain states where people cannot vote although they are entitled to do so. There are other states where people in war factories find it very hard to get a chance to vote. And there are perhaps 8 million men in camp and battleline who, if at home in peace, would

certainly vote.

While Hitler may laugh in hysteria during the closing days of his misspent life, you and I know that the situation is unusual and perhaps not permanent.

But the situation is definitely alarming. There is much work to be done. The work must be done rapidly and intelligently. It is not here in this meeting where I talk that the work is to be done. The work has to be done in every precinct, in every country, in every hamlet, in every town. The work is simply that every American register and vote.

I feel a bit sensitive tonight to urge that all Americans register and vote because I am for Roosevelt and maybe the folks will say that I am seeking votes for Roosevelt.

But, believe me, I would be speaking here tonight if there were no Roosevelt. I would be speaking here tonight if there were no Governor Dewey. I would be speaking here tonight as one of the common men. One of those who knows that this democracy -- this republic -- was born in the spirit that the majority should rule and that this republic cannot exist as a democracy unless a majority of the people vote.

And this year, 1944, is the first year that I know anything about when a majority of the qualified or potential voters of this republic will not vote. This is a uniqueness and this is a tragedy. This is a situation which rises above all persons. This is a situation of the common man himself to ponder and to fear, and to correct.

This nation was conceived and brought about by persons who left the continent of Europe in order to be free. And when freedom spoke no more their sons and grandsons spoke with guns at Lexington and Valley Forge and wrote their own documents -- the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Thirteen colonies of 3 million people did this thing. Today 48 states

of 130 million people must carry on. And if they fail, it is not the failure of the soldier fighting in China, in Normandy. If they fail, it is not the war worker dispossessed of his vote by clever politicians. But if America fails now the failure must be chalked up to the common man himself. Will he register? Will he vote?

Please believe me tonight when I say that we must all register and vote, regardless of for whom we vote. Naturally, I would not be frank nor would I be direct if I did not say that I intend personally to vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President. But I would not be frank either if I did not say that I want every American qualified to vote to vote for the good of his own soul and for the necessity of his own citizenship. It is the very essence of the thing that we love that a man have the duty and the choice of the place where his ballot is to go. I will respect and you will respect at least 20 million/^{people} who will vote for Governor Dewey for President. And certainly we shall respect 20 million people who will vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. That is what this thing is all about. We Americans are attempting to pick a leader whom we believe is the best that we Americans are every four years under contract with democracy, with freedom to give our vote where we believe the greatest good to the greatest number best shall be served.

Of course, there will be many red hearings thrown across the road. Some will say that Roosevelt is not indispensable and some will say that Dewey will make a better menu for the folks to eat. Personally, I do not think of it as a matter of potatoes being indispensable. I think the big thing is that there are no slackers among the folks that have a duty November 7.

Among those people that deal with figures, there has been much clever talk. At least a dozen of these people have told me that pollster Gallup has said that Dewey would become President if the total vote is less than 40 million and, of course, the same folks have told me that if the vote is over 50 million that President Roosevelt prob bly will continue as your wartime and your peacetime President. Personally, I don't believe all this stuff. But I do believe that the

more people who do register and who do vote, the better chance this country has of maintaining its democratic and republican vitality.

Another thing that pollster Gallup said was that 30 million voters out of the estimated 40 million had already made up their minds as to how they would vote November 7. And that the political battle ground rested entirely among 10 million voters who had not made up their minds. Well, in a way I think that there is another 10 million persons who should be added to the voting group. Among these persons are a great many soldiers who for one reason or another are going to be robbed of their vote. And then there are people of many races and many creeds who have had it made difficult for them to vote. To these persons I say: Tonight we meet! Tonight we meet to do what we can do about it. We propose to get every ^{possible} soldier a chance to vote. We will urge many to vote. We will send invitations to many to vote. We will fight every Governor who is attempting to keep him from voting.

It would be wrong not to give credit where credit is due. In Pennsylvania a Republican Governor appointed a non-partisan soldier voting commission. Rotary clubs, service organizations, veterans in former wars -- all of them enthusiastically cooperated. So in Pennsylvania with a simple law, a very great citizens' movement has swept the state. The results are amazing. Believe it or not, but over 93 percent of all Pennsylvania citizens entitled to a vote who are now fighting your battle in France, in Italy, and in the Pacific, are going to get a special invitation from the Governor of Pennsylvania to vote. It has taken the work of tens of thousands of housewives. It has been made possible by over a thousand meetings of citizens. It has occurred because the voting lists of every precinct in Pennsylvania has been combed for missing voters and their addresses. But the job has been done and done beautifully. So in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia it will be not be necessary for mothers, sweethearts and fathers and older brothers to go to the polls to vote as their soldier boys would vote. The soldier boys themselves -- at least these

Pennsylvania soldiers -- will be as close to their ballot boxes as the Governor of Pennsylvania can bring them.

And in New Jersey, there has been a terrific drive to see that the soldier is not neglected as a citizen. The figures to date are amazing. In Pennsylvania there are approximately 830,000 voters in the Army and Navy. Over 550,000 applications are now in for voting. In New Jersey almost 100 percent have had ballots applied for. And to you people here in New York, I can only say that less than 20 percent have applied for ballots. It is certain that this is not the fault of Governor Dewey. He has repeatedly stated that the New York soldier ballot law is a model. He has repeatedly stated that it is the most simple thing in the world for any New York soldier boy to vote and to register.

So perhaps there is something peculiar in New York of which I am ignorant. But certainly the citizens of New York -- the home bodies who are so close to their ballot boxes -- in cooperation with their Government will see that the soldiers and sailors of New York to the extent of over one million voters are invited to vote November 7.

Apparently just a simple little mistake has been made. It was one of these things which often happens. It is one of those things which cannot be explained except by the results obtained. It just happens that New Jersey and Pennsylvania sent requests to the soldiers that they vote. New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and their Republican Governors, really were serious about it. They were anxious to get all the soldiers votes into the ballot boxes that were possible under the difficult circumstances of 1944. Apparently the Governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania took seriously the request of Congress that the states and their governors do this job.

Well, three men may have the same job. Three men have the same duties. And three men may have the same honesty of intent. But by their work ye shall know.

The great common people hear so much these days by radio, by interview,

by prepared statement, that it is very hard for them to get at the truth. But fortunately on this matter of soldier voting the facts, and the truth is the fact. The New York soldiers and sailors to the tune of 800,000 are not going to vote this year. But apparently a great majority of New Jersey soldiers and sailors, also those of Pennsylvania, are going to vote because they were asked to vote by their Governors. So perhaps the only slight mistake made in New York was that New York soldiers and sailors were sent a notice that they could vote if they asked for the right to vote. It is just about the same thing as if somebody asked you to a party. If the invitation read, "Please come to my party," you might feel like going. But if the invitation read, "If you ask me, I will let you come to my party." you might forget to ask. And so apparently a million fighting soldiers and sailors, some very far away and some very busy might forget to ask and might be counted out and not attend the voting party at all.

So here in New York, in all seriousness, I ask this audience to find someone to vote for the soldiers. He may be your son. If so, try to vote for him, or at least for his future. If he is your sweetheart, make up your mind what is best for him when he comes back looking for a job. And if you are his wife, fighting a great fight of loneliness, do not fail to register to vote.

But if I were to stop here, speaking only of soldiers and sailors who may not be citizens November 7, I would fail you as one common man speaking to my fellow citizens. I am dedicated here tonight in the interest of all and that God at this moment in no sense in the interest of myself. I could not speak so freely were it otherwise. But I see ahead a very great and necessary business for us all. I shall not go back to the bugaboo and fears of the past. I shall not ask you to remember the apple sellers. I shall not bring up the picture of the boys and girls traveling hither and yonder wondering where to eat and where to sleep. I think the time is past when we review Franklin Delano Roosevelt of 1932, 1936 and 1940. I think the time has come to look ahead without confusion and in utter simplicity. I am sick of all talk of the indispensable man. There is

no such thing. I am sick of much of the talk of the need of change. I myself have been changed, you know, and it hasn't made very much difference to this country. But I can in greatest seriousness say that I believe that every citizen who registers and votes will be a better bulwark for the days to come in the democracy we love than one who does not vote, and who idly sits and perhaps complains and thinks of himself as a bit wiser than his own government in this time of stress.

IOWA SECONDS ROOSEVELT
NOMINATION
H. A. WALLACE

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 U.S. 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 U. S. Roosevelt is the only person in the U. S. 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 Wilkie 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 and 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 whole hearted 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.

—oO—

WHETHER

THIS

NATION

SHALL

ENDURE

—oO—

WHETHER THIS NATION SHALL ENDURE

Friends and Fellow-Countrymen:

Twenty-one years ago, in the palace of Versailles, the Allied and Central Powers terminated a World War. Everybody congratulated everyone else, before the ink on that insidious document was dry, that in one momentous stroke the world had been made safe for democracy, peace reigned, and there could be no more war.

Now almost the whole world is at war again. Japan and China have been chopping at each other's throats for more than three years. Spain lies exhausted, a minor fascist power, after a devastating civil war. One on the heels of another free peoples have lost their freedom, trampled beneath the totalitarian boot. Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Albania, Ethiopia, are gone. Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have been engulfed by the Soviets, sucked into the communistic nightmare. Sweden and Finland tremble on the brink. The glorious Third Republic of

France lies prostrate. Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark and Luxemburg have been wholly subjected. England has her back to the Wall and fights for her life. What will become of the world's greatest crowned republic is at the moment anybody's guess.

For a century and a half this American republic, champion of the rights of free and common men, has held its lamp high, an inspiration not only to its satelllites of the New World, but to all these present victims of rash conquest. It has been their leader in democracy, encouraging them time and again in dark hours to vindicate their faith in democratic principles while it has, itself, on innumerable occasions, vindicated that faith in a diversity of ways.

It does not seem necessary to remind anyone that the logical conclusion to be reached from the course of world events during the last two decades and especially since last September, is that we stand today, as a nation, almost alone.

Our light is a solitary beacon in the gloomy reaches of the whole world. As a matter of fact, we are down to the rock-bottom question whether we will not eventually have to fight out the death-struggle with the victory-flushed enemies of our principles, when they shall have defeated or lured away all our brothers in faith. It is not conceivable democracy shall perish from the earth after the wearisome centuries required to establish it. But it is conceivable

the sorrowful Armageddon, when it comes, may find us the principal and only bulwark of defense.

Perhaps it hasn't occurred to you yet, but you and I are already in the trenches. We have been there for years. This hall where we are gathered is a trench. The long and intricate trenches reach into your homes. When you are in your office, on your job, in your factory, behind your counter, all of you are already in the trenches. On the farm, in the air, under the sea and earth,—wherever Americans today go about their appointed tasks—all are in the trenches. It isn't a question of waiting for a draft, conscription, formal training. We are fighting our battle for democracy this minute, just as we have been fighting it all through the last ten years of world economic revolution.

While the dictators of the world have been rising, we have been rising, too, to meet them. Under the brilliant leadership of President Roosevelt, we have weathered the years which brought the tyrants into power and we have avoided the excesses to which they have resorted. What the future may bring in the way of new developments will rest upon what we have done under that leadership, what we do today, this month, this year, and in the decisions we make. Whether we shall be permitted to continue in the more or less even tenor of our way, or whether it shall become necessary for us, after we have fortified and prepared to defend ourselves, to shed our blood

for our liberties, will depend largely upon the decisions we make now in the light of our accomplishments in the past.

I doubt if we have thought about it as we should, but the election next November will probably be the most consequential this nation has ever celebrated. It will be an unique election on two counts.

FIRST, the United States on November the fifth will be the one nation in the world where free men and women, under no restraints and under no compulsion, may go unhampered to the polls to express their beliefs and convictions. No soldiers with fixed bayonets will watch them. No Gestapo will spy around to find out if they belong to the "wrong party" or why they do what they do. They will demonstrate to the world that their democracy has not grown stale and sterile. They will show the world it is new and fresh and virile. The world will learn this democracy was built to outlive and outshine the false glories of any and every tin-horn Napoleon who may lift himself on a paperhanger's ladder, above the blood of the murdered, to Olympian heights.

SECOND, the people of the United States will have the opportunity to express themselves as gratified with the safe and sane course they have been led to take through the world's most enervating eight years. Casting aside silly and hampering "traditions", they will be able to empower that leadership to go on in its constructive course. No such stupid thing as

unwritten law, the rule of Grandpay-didn't-do-it, will tie their hands. The generalship which has sustained America in years depleting to ruin and disaster every European democracy, is again within their grasp. President Roosevelt, who strengthened America in the hour of its weakness, who inspired it in the hour of its despair, who fortified it in the days of its anemia, who called it to express its best when defeatism rose at every hand, is again amenable to their call and demands. We may only believe they cannot be lured away from leadership they so strongly embraced in 1932, so overwhelmingly approved again in 1936, and have followed with such confidence and security in the last four years.

All of us, as Americans, may well thank the good fortune which has preserved for us two political parties. We need them both. The Republican party is fortunate that it has the opportunity to offer its standard to such men as Wendell Willkie and Senator Charles L. McNary. Both come from typically American sources, both are capable, both have been successful. Mr. Willkie has been the genius of a great and extending public utility empire. His prowess as a lawyer, corporate organizer and financier has attracted the attention and confidence of Wall Street's greatest financial powers. Senator McNary has long established his fame as a conscientious legislator. He has accomplished everything any man could achieve within the restricted and encumbered field the Republican Party has traditionally offered its emissaries.

It may well be said the Republicans have made the best choices they could have made.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, convinced that continued American welfare is more important than political expediency, has drafted to head its ticket President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace—the two men who, during seven years, have snatched this country off the Hoover and Republican rocks and set it afloat once more as a going concern.

In these critical times, there stand the opponents. No word of derogation can honestly lie against any of the four.

Yet the issue of the November election is not one of personalities. When this country needs every ounce of experience, training, preparation and information invested in its leadership, the question boils down to this: Is it not better to continue with a demonstrably workable administration, than to go adventuring off on the new and untried?

Without casting a single aspersion upon Mr. Willkie or Senator McNary, it may be truly said that, gifted though they may be, it will be impossible for them to take over the reins of this immense country next January and know which side is up and which side is down. In a year or two they may learn the ropes, they may be able to set up a new administration to satisfy the Republican satraps and bosses who will assuredly take them over the day they go into office, just as they have always taken in hand every G. O. P. President to the country's

cost. But what of the country, in the meantime? When President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace are inaugurated next January, the crisis will not have to be laid down while the boss learns to swim.

The future goes on from here—where we are standing now, and it is hurrying on at a dizzy speed. We stand where we stand in regard to it because we have had a President with vision and initiative. In the last few months we have been able to get to work on an unprecedented program of national defense, only because he has made our present secure by attending to our past.

When President Roosevelt took office in 1933 we were at our lowest ebb. During thirteen years of Republican administration the pillaging of America had been complete. The money barons, the monopolists, the shatterers of public and private trust, had mopped up. In the November election of 1932 they had fought with the hope another four years of mopping up would by some miracle be made accessible to them. They had been unable to concentrate on anything but their own skins and the approaching day of judgment. The Democratic party exposed them and pledged itself to extirpate the evil practices which had sapped the nation's blood. Although it roundly defeated them and all they stood for, it still was left with the mess to clean up.

Most of us remember the frightful March of 1933.

The American farmer was dead broke. Worse than that,

after Republican administrations which ignored his needs and strangled his cries for assistance, he had prospects neither of producing another crop or of keeping his land. Labor, the life of the world's greatest industrial nation, was idle. Skilled men in droves congregated in flophouses, moved down to slums, ate in the dreadful soup lines of inadequate private charity. Banks were closed. Business, apple of the Republican eye, had ossified and petrified. The whole industrial, financial and business structure of the country was shot through and through with fraud and chicanery, to the profit of a few cream-lickers on top. Investments of widows, orphans, schools, colleges, life insurance associations, churches, benevolent societies, as well as the savings of all who had labored years against old-age and unemployment, had been squandered by the Insulls and Whitneys. Weak-kneed Republican administrations could not curb and did not even think of chastising such pirates. White-collared workers, professional men and women, the whole great middle class, floundered in hopelessness. Hundreds of thousands of American homes were practically in the hands of the sheriffs. Millions of boys and girls were out of school and out of work. Our natural resources were being wasted and exploited at an appalling rate to feed the foxes of finance. Warehouses were jammed with foods and grains, wool and cotton, yet nakedness and hunger stalked the land.

Our army and navy—every arm of our defense in 1933,

when the world in perplexity was opening its heart to quacks like Adolph Hitler— were down to scratch. After a Republican disarmament conference which fooled no one about the intentions of European power-seekers except the Republican delegates, we had sunk our ships and scrapped our defense program born of the World war.

As a matter of fact, had we been called upon to defend ourselves in 1933, as we are likely to be any day now, it is doubtful if Americans would have figured what they had was worth fighting for at all. They demonstrated their belief the Republicans had given them little worth sacrificing for. They elected President Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt has justified that faith. We know that, by the way Americans still follow him today, by their universal manifestations of willingness, expressed time and again, to defend their homes, their rights under democracy, and their institutions, with their lives and fortunes, if the call comes.

From an undernourished, half-clad, demoralized, jobless nation, President Roosevelt has brought this country back to its proper status as a strong people. Not a branch of American life but has been touched with the magic of his genius. The recent Gallup and Fortune polls, bear overpowering testimony to this genius. Never in American history has a man reached the fourth year of his second term so enthroned in the hearts

of his people. That we have no rising parties of opposition, such as created the communistic furor in France on the eve of this tragic war, and no Socialist surge, such as we have witnessed in America in difficult times before, are further testimonies to America's belief in the Democratic program. Upstart Nazi bunds here can muster but a pitiable 20,000 paid members and the communists but a skimpy 50,000 or so contributors in a country of 140 million people.

There are issues in this campaign, of course. But the most notable feature of a study of these issues is found in the manner in which the Republicans are edging around to get shoulder-to-shoulder with the Democratic Party, while they take their pot-shots at national dragons.

It was the Democratic Party which mapped out and set into operation our long-time naval and military program, the foundation for the new defense campaign inaugurated this year. The Republicans now endorse all President Roosevelt has done for our army and navy during the last seven years, although they fought him every inch of the way, called him a war-monger and discredited him. It is the Democratic administration's gigantic defense program the Republicans are today rushing up to vote for and sending Mr. Willkie and Mr. McNary out to campaign for.

We may expect an assault to come along the fiscal front, any day now. Billions for defense cannot be attacked. The

big-shots must look into social and economic legislation for something to gripe about. This is but natural, when the world is out of joint.

Since the days when the Orient drained, through luxury-loving Rome, all the gold and silver western Europe had produced, there has never been such a concentration of wealth as there is today in the United States. Peace-time America has never known a public debt to equal that of the present United States debt. More than this, the concentration of gold and silver is likely to continue in the New World, and the public debt most likely will grow.

Let us look into these questions of the concentration of wealth, the unbalanced budget, and the public debt. We must all admit that more ignorance than knowledge is current on the subject. The enemies of democracy will keep matters that way as long as they can. Attempts are already being made in dark places to launch insinuations there has been something underhanded, perhaps downright immoral, in the policies of the last few years. The Democratic party faces this challenge four-square and without equivocation. It is proud that it has been its destiny to lead the American people through the most nerve-wracking decade in their economic and social history, and to make use of the tools and equipment those people through a century and a half of industry and progress, made ready for just such a rainy day.

We cannot get around the fact that the huge public obligation of today is, in tangible form, the faith the American people have in themselves, in their government, and in their administrators. The wealth they have garnered testifies to their sound business judgment over a long period of time. It is a sheet anchor.

It may be said to the credit of Herbert Hoover that, although his love for the Old Order verged upon a passion, in the flood-tide of the New Deal era, it was he who inaugurated the policy of an unbalanced budget and the public debt as a workable defense weapon. He was reluctant to bow to the inevitable, but when the sacred cows of the Republican monopolistic system began to fall dead in hordes about him, he realized the time had come for stringent measures, and he had to take them. He could not resist the Democratic logic that the government is for the people, after all, and that it is better throw a man-made budget out of gear than to contort and unbalance a nation-full of common folks. It is to the credit of the Democratic party that it has carried this policy, so feebly floated, to practical flower and fruition.

Every rational person knows that attempts to blow up our budgetary system into a bogey-man are merely endeavors to make political hay while the demagogue shines. Every effort to charge the Roosevelt administration has squandered the billions it had held in trust for Americans of high and low degree, all brothers

in distress, has already fallen of its own weight and for want of credibility. Although the Republican platform attempts to tell Wall Street, on the one hand, that "all this foolishness will be cut out," on the other it is trying to tell the people it seconds the democratic motion, only more so.

For all the fun the critics of the New Deal have made of the alphabetical organizations acting during the emergencies which have struck us, none has yet had the courage to insist that a single one of them should be destroyed root and branch. They never deny that they would have established similar agencies had they possessed the ingenuity and courage of the Roosevelt administration. They cannot.

Take for instance the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—the FDIC. Even Vermont and Maine Republicans like it. Nor would they tolerate its extermination. Remembering the black days of the Hoover regime, they bless those four little letters which mean that if their bank turns to wind and water under them, Uncle Sam will repay them up to \$5,000. And somebody will have to sweat for betraying a private trust which was also a public trust. Not a one would go back to the good old days when every season was open season for banks.

The Securities and Exchange Commission has been a favorite source of derision. But the critics of it as well as thrifty and industrious men and women, can today place their savings in stocks

and bonds and know they will not suddenly awake to find themselves the possessors of wide acres of blue sky and a cumbersome but unlocate-able pain.

There isn't much laughing about the National Youth Administration. Even the most rock-bound Republican knows that the hundreds of millions of dollars it has invested in two and one half million boys and girls has been a thoroughly sound investment and one worth going in debt to make. Had it not been for the NYA these thousands of America's choicest would have sat in idleness and despair to deteriorate, to be lost in futility and waste.

Because the Democratic party had the courage to prepare a budget measured by needs, and to gauge sensibly the ability of taxpayers to pay when they were fighting to get on top, these boys and girls have been educated and trained to face a complex world. Training, they have left permanent and enduring monuments from one end of the country to the other. Their parks, community buildings, schools and clubhouses— everything they have built or laid out — stand as proof of the wisdom and courage of the Democratic party in comprehending, cultivating and encouraging youth.

Who laughs at the CCC, which has preserved and cultivated the manhood of another two and a half million boys, which has taken them off the streets, made them wage-earners contributing to the support of their families, trained them in trades, and used

their talents to better and extend American resources?

When the Republican economic program went to pot, millions of Americans accustomed to working for wages, were left to their own devices, to starve or not, as they might. From the way the Republicans have laughed at the WPA and the PWA — both contributing to the strengthening of business, industry and labor — one would think that, had they been power, they would have left the unfortunates to eliminate themselves by starvation. But WPA and the PWA have kept millions of men and women at work, rebuilt their self-respect and morale, and endowed this country with construction and improvements required to keep pace with its progress. The stale old joke about ^{the} WPA worker leaning on his shovel-handle is what might be expected from a party which consoled the hungry, washed up along the shores of its economic folly, only with talk about rugged individualism.

An avalanche of complaint has gone up from Republican circles about the New Deal farm policy. Billions of dollars have been set aside and expended to help the farmer out of the slough, and every dime has been worth it. If he has been given something approaching a parity price for his products, then he has been receiving, only after too long a time, some of the encouragement and assistance which are due him. If science and knowledge have been applied to his problems, if natural resources such as water courses, forests and cheap public power, if subsidies for soil conservation, seed and feed loans, flood

control and reclamation, have been extended to serve his purposes, it is high time, indeed. Republican "business" never got around to help him.

It was too busy making him buy his manufactured goods in a tariff-protected market at famine prices, while he sold in a wide-open world market against all comers. It was too busy exploiting the natural resources to bother about what happened to the farmer. It was too busy making the way easy for its monopolies to haul their freight to worry about the price he paid. It was too busy getting eight percent on mortgages to bother about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 percent loans to hard-pressed tillers of the earth. It was too busy piling up utility holding companies to hold holding companies to worry about whether he had cheap public power to make his way easier and more profitable or not. It was scheming how it could get ahold of such national enterprises as Muscle Shoals, to wring more dollars out of them, and there was no time to think how both the farmer and all of business and industry might profit and progress from such developments. Where are Mr. Willkie's rural electrification lines? The Democratic party has built 220,000 miles of them.

And so on down the line. As for administration, all the Republicans can say is: "We want to do the same thing, only in a different way." That is lovely, but why do a different way, something which has worked well the way it has been done, and has proved itself? It simmers down to the fact that the boys

who were put out when they produced nothing, gave birth to no ideas, now want to reap the harvest after the ideas have burst from the soil and grown into strong and sturdy oaks.

Who can get the job we have to do done in the quickest, cheapest, most efficient way? President Roosevelt is the only answer. He not only has the vision, the power to create ideas and put them to work, but he has the faculty of recruiting co-operation. All the agencies of government work in harmony with him.

This is an indispensable equation in times of peril. For we are in times of peril.

Abraham Lincoln, at Gettysburg, defined this country as one "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." In the face of the greatest catastrophe to befall this country up to that time, he added that we were "testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived" could long endure.

Under Democratic leadership the United States has come through another severe test with its ideals unblemished. Under Roosevelt and Wallace we may enter the test which now is upon us with confidence and assurance. The people still rule. Roosevelt and Wallace will continue to see that they rule. And we may expect to emerge, come what may, stronger than we entered, no matter what we must enter.

H. A. W.:

The manufacture of a book takes a minimum of three months between printing and distribution.

Can we take these three western speeches and the Lincoln address into your publisher before you make the speeches? Otherwise, the distribution time would be over-late.

Notes on "What America Wants":

This miners' defense is too verbose, is vague, and is possibly false in part. It should be briefed and the controversial part left out, right or wrong, because of the practical fact that men did strike in war time, and that 90 per cent of the people on the sidelines are emotionally against strikes in war time to obtain rights and justice.

It slows up the broad stream of jobs for all postwar by pausing over-long. You are laying yourself open to controversial attack unnecessarily without gaining. You will be accused of seeking miners' votes---the very thing which your whole speech condemns--selfishness of anyone or any group.

COPY

H. A. W.:

After finishing Los Angeles and Frisco with Harold, we find ourselves very happy on the over-all.

Minor suggestions on the twenty-eighth, if the three of us sit down together, will roughly be along these lines:

First, an increase in the tempo of the Frisco speech. You have got all the meat in it. The sentences are often too long. About one-tenth of the material should be cut out because it slows the tempo. On the twenty-eighth the detailed sentence structure changes and eliminations which we have mutually agreed should be made will be available for your observation.

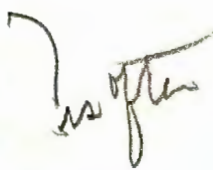
The Frisco speech particularly needs a stronger close. We have attempted to rewrite a bit of it. Particularly your plan of saying at the end of your Los Angeles speech, and again at the end of your Frisco speech, that you are going to another town to continue the series does not constitute a punch close. It is like a preacher saying he is going to talk next week---ending his sermon on that line. Announcements of this kind should be first, and not last.

AMERICA CAN GET IT

There once was a man by the name of Job. Job had a lot of hard luck, and worst of all had to listen to the false consolations of three so-called friends. After it was all over, the Lord was pleased with Job and gave him twice what he had had before.

The United States in some ways is like Job. We are now going through great adversity but after it is all over, we can have nearly twice what we had before. At any rate, we can have the things I described at San Francisco last Monday and most of the things I described at Los Angeles last week. Curiously enough, the problem with us, as with Job, will be largely a spiritual one. Once we get our minds clear and our hearts pure with regard to certain fundamentals, we shall make extraordinary progress. Heretofore we have never had to use our reserve of natural resources, manpower and technological skill to the limit. Now we have no choice. There is no halfway point. It is "Pike's Peak or bust." Curiously enough, the full utilization of our resources, manpower and skill is the formula both for our necessity and our blessing. Its application will require a great spiritual strength and in the process of developing that strength in a practical way we shall bless ourselves and the world.

The problem of full utilization of all resources is first economic and second political.

The economic explanation of how civilized nations got interested in goods scarcity is interesting. It began in a big way with the rise of the factory, the great corporation and banker control. A savage, fearing hunger, would use his resources and abilities to the maximum. But modern factory civilization is highly geared up and there is always danger of tremendous over-production unless there is as much imagination put into the art of consumption as into the science of production. Anyone who has tried to finance a business in Wall Street knows that scarcity economics is the very heart of the system. The Wall Street financing house will charge in the first place a very high rate of interest, in the second place will demand control of the most important type of stock issue, and in the third place will want to make sure that a loan to the new concern will not imperil, because of competition and new methods, the loans to older concerns. Wall Street calls this system the "profit motive." I deny that it is the profit motive and say that it is the dead hand of the past trying to control the future for the profit of the few. The day has now come when we must make the profit motive act through increased production for the benefit of the ~~few~~ many. *many* 

I have asked several friends who have visited Russia during the past 18 months what we could learn from Russia to make our system work better. Invariably the answer has come back, "Give our workers more incentive, more free enterprise, more initiative. Hold the profit motive out to them in the same way as the Russians." Don Nelson tells me that he visited a number of towns in eastern Russia and western Siberia which three years ago contained less than 200 thousand

people but which today number from 600 thousand to a million. There he saw steel furnaces as large and well-equipped as any we have in the United States. There he saw production goals scientifically set for different groups of workers. There he saw large cash prizes given to the men who went furthest beyond their quotas. The Russians can't understand how we can get along in the United States without giving our workers incentives of this kind. Nearly everyone in Russia feels he is directly working for the welfare of the whole nation. He has no fear whatever that he is being exploited for the sole profit of the management or stockholders.

Another friend, a Latin American who is living in Russia at the present time, wrote me under the date of last November, "What you in the United States preach on Sunday the Russians do here every day."

That the Russians could go so far in the past 20 years and evoke such an extraordinary response from the people in time of stress is the greatest indictment I know of the scarcity economics as practiced by those who believe that profit and free enterprise are only for the few.

We are not going to use the Russian system here in the United States. It was made for Russia and not for us. (Pause) The problem is whether we can modernize our present system so as to make it stand from top to bottom for full use of resources, full use of skills, full use of inventions, without the bottle-necks created by cartels, unfair banking control, unwise labor restrictions, or unenlightened farm leadership. As we face the

future, the leaders of the great pressure groups must ask themselves continually, "Is my pressure group in its demands helping the general good? Is my corporation in its program doing what it can to bring about full employment?"

The basis of modern scarcity economics is the belief that men will work only when they are hungry and that they will stop work when they have enough money to keep their bellies full for three or four days. This cynical attitude of exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few is justified only as long as the many are kept in ignorant darkness. The moment the many are taught to read and write, to build better homes, to eat better food, to see an occasional movie, to listen to the radio, desire is created and markets are enlarged.

as well as enlightened employers everywhere

The modern Russians have never believed in the "Keep them hungry--keep them in darkness" system of economics. When they evacuated workers by the hundreds of thousands from Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov and Stalingrad to cities like Magnitogorsk, Novosibirsk and Tashkent, they evacuated the artists along with the workers. As a result you find today the finest Russian drama and concerts in towns with names which not one of us in a hundred in the United States can pronounce or locate on the map. The Russian art is for the people, not merely for those who can afford to pay five dollars. The Russians know, and we know, that man cannot live by bread alone. Like the Russians, we in the United States must be prepared to give all men food, education and an opportunity to work and live in freedom. Once all of us wholeheartedly

adopt the doctrine of economic abundance instead of economic scarcity, we can have nearly twice as many of the good things of life as we had before. We ^{must} ~~shall~~ pull together for a glorious future. We must not pull at cross purposes into a time of dark despair.

~~The most~~ ^{one} serious danger of unemployment, ^{for example} I see in the ~~years immediately ahead~~ is in those industries producing machine tools and machinery for big construction jobs. These industries did a marvelous job preparing us for a magnificent war effort. Their services will be needed all over the world-- in China, Russia, India, all Latin America and Africa, and in the United States, building flood control, irrigation and power projects, building roads and equipping factories. At the end of the war we shall have a tremendous surplus of these goods and services. The whole world has a great hunger for them. The question is to discover some sound method by which the world can pay for them. Our young men shall open undreamed of frontiers which will unleash tremendous purchasing power to keep the world economy revolving for half a century. But these dreams will not come true unless the world can discover some practical method of paying the United States. My suggestion is to build up in the United States tremendous permanent stockpiles of those materials of which this country has been proved to be short in time of war.

Russia wants machine tools. All right, let Russia pay in terms of manganese and platinum, of which she has a surplus. China wants an irrigation system. Let her pay in terms of tungsten. Persia wants a power project. She can pay in terms of oil which we can store in underground reservoirs. Chile

wants to build some airports. Let her send us copper and nitrates. There are at least 50 strategic materials of which we are seriously short in the United States as a result of our tremendous war effort. One of the best ways to make sure that there will not be another war is to build up such large supplies of each of the materials of which we are short that no nation anywhere in the world will think of breaking the peace. The manganese, the copper, tungsten, platinum, oil, etc., will be worth infinitely more to us in terms of security and real wealth than extra billions of dollars of gold stored at Fort Know. (Pause) Our huge silver supplies have been worth something practical during this war because silver has practical industrial uses. Much silver has been used but very little gold. There are many ways in which the trade of these machine tools, equipment and construction services for a huge stockpile of strategic materials can be worked out to the benefit of the United States and the world. If this is properly done the result will be in 15 years to draw the world together by highway and airway so that every man in truth will be the brother of every other man. We shall appreciate economic interdependence as we never have before. We shall know that a prosperous Asia helps to make America prosperous. We shall know that the prosperity of the poorest is of great significance to the most well-to-do. It has to be that way in an economy of abundance. It is only in an economy of scarcity that the few can sit on top and scorn the misery of those below. (Pause)

After the last war several groups of hard-headed businessmen decided that they would make profits for themselves without

regard for ideals or the general welfare. One group sold goods and services to the world. They made money. Another group loaned money and sold bonds. They made money. The bonds sold by the second group furnished the money which paid for the goods sold by the first group. Europe got the goods and the services. The unsuspecting investor in the United States often got worthless bonds. The hard-headed businessmen made their profit but they ~~destroyed~~ ^{helped} the general welfare not only of the United States but of the entire world. In a ~~larger~~ ^{selfish} sense the so-called hard-headed businessmen of the Harding era were either ~~calious~~ cynics or small boys playing with matches which set the world on fire.

The same so-called hard-headed businessmen will exist after this world war as after the first world war. ~~The same so-called hard-headed businessmen will set up again at the same old stands. They will have the same phoney merchandise to sell. They shall not lead the world astray again.~~ ^{They} It is a problem of the people working together with the government to prevent Wall Street from again soaking the country and in the process creating such irritation in other parts of the world as to lead us headlong toward another worldwide depression and World War III. The trading of the United States goods and services for huge stockpiles which can be unlocked in times of national emergency is one way of soundly handling this situation.

The furnishing of our goods, services and men for the building of great construction jobs all over the world is only a small part of our task of furnishing full employment here

in the United States. The big job is furnishing a standard of living to the 135 million people in the United States which is at least 40 per cent higher than it ever was prior to the war. We must have no business booms ~~and~~ business busts.

We want efficient planning but without regimentation. All we need is the green and red light kind of regulation. We want carefully thought out rules of the road which all but the drunks will obey.

In order to get full employment, together with the maximum of free enterprise and profits for the many instead of the few, it will be necessary after the war to use our taxation system for economic objectives much more skilfully than we have in the past. There is just one basis for judgment of our taxation in the postwar period and that is, "Will this system of taxation over a period of years give us the full employment of people producing the kinds of things which the people of the United States most need and want?"

Undoubtedly we shall have to continue with heavy, steeply graduated taxes on personal incomes after the war. But in the case of corporations it would seem to be wise policy to tax in such a way as to force corporate reserves either into the building of plant and equipment or into distribution as dividends. Huge corporate reserves held out of use are subtracted from the purchasing power of the nation. In a time of unemployment each billion dollars stored up as savings means at least half a million men unemployed for a year. Unemployed men mean less goods produced and a smaller market. By our taxation system we must encourage the small and rapidly growing enterprise

because such enterprises are the seedbed of the employment of the future. All corporations which have lived far beyond the life of the founding father and which have huge corporate reserves and which no longer expand, represent the dead hand of the past. They should be prodded awake by the right kind of taxation system so that they will find incentive for putting their money to work instead of letting it lie idle.

To get full utilization of all resources for the benefit of all the people the most important single economic readjustment is to do away with internal trade barriers. I am referring to those monopolistic practices on the part of manufacturers, bankers, labor unions, doctors and farm organizations by which they try to increase their profit by reducing their output. I don't say that each member of each of these groups deliberately practices scarcity economics. But enough of them do it so there is continually sand in the bearings of the economic machine. There is enough sand so that ten million families are continually living in poor houses with inadequate clothing, without enough to eat. Except in time of war, ten million families, whether living on the land or in the city, are given an opportunity to produce only about one-tenth as much as their more fortunate fellows. The war has demonstrated what they can do for themselves, and for the entire nation, provided only these families are given an opportunity to work without the continuous imposition of bottlenecking controls by manufacturers, bankers, labor unions, farmers, etc.

It is not necessary to break up the big organizations which have deliverately produced bottlenecks. But it is

necessary that in time of peace there be created a moral climate, backed up by a big stick in the Department of Justice, to convince every monopoly group that in the future its welfare can be served only by serving the welfare of all. (Pause)

Everyone must recognize that it is sound government policy, even in terms of the large monopolistic groups themselves, for government to stimulate the economic activity of the weak on behalf of abundance economics while restraining the economic freedom of the strong to practice scarcity for temporary self profit.

The experience of Russia and Germany during the past ten years and in the United States during the past two years has demonstrated what a tremendous job of production can be done once the monopolistic bottlenecks are effectively broken. In the investment of money, in determining volume of output, in setting prices, in bargaining for wages and hours of labor, the one important thing from now on is the service of the general welfare. (Pause)

The leaders of the respective groups must become experts in determining how the activities of the particular group are affected by the public good and how they affect the public good. When the respective pressure groups are led by unselfish men, our fear of bread lines, soup kitchens and apple selling will be largely over. Then every worker in the United States will have the creative satisfaction of doing his part in helping the common cause.

In nearly all the other countries, in fact, there is a small land-owning military clique composing one per cent of

the population sitting on top of the pile, exploiting the rest of the population, part of whom are workers and part farmers. The task of the century of the common man is to bring these people into the market. As their productivity and consumptive power is gradually increased, they will within a few years create for us new frontiers of unimagined richness. It is up to us in the United States to demonstrate by our own example the tremendous productivity and happiness of a general welfare economy. Latin America will follow our example faster than we think, and as she follows ~~at~~ her economy will benefit ours and our economy will benefit hers. Speaking here in Seattle, I may say the same applies to our relations with China and Siberia. Here at the port which is the closest of all American ports to the Far East, it is important to mention that general welfare economics and modern technology will make the Far East a market of such vast proportions that eventually there will be more trade on the Pacific Ocean than on the Atlantic. Everything depends on our courage and insight in leading the way and our willingness at all times to remain true to the doctrine of the general welfare as the source of all ^{true} ~~genuine~~ prosperity.

The political aspect of getting full utilization of all our powers is more important in some ways even than the economic. By politics I mean the mechanism whereby the people, themselves, thinking in terms of the needs and the welfare of all of the people, force their will continually on the state legislatures and on Congress so that the law makers will serve the people more than they do the high pressure groups which are continually

selling the people down the river. The people, standing for just one thing, namely "the maximum use of all our resources in the service of the general welfare," must guide Congress to stand for that objective at all times and to resist all pressure groups except the one big pressure group, --the general welfare pressure group.

The general welfare pressure group must believe in democratic planning and must engage in it at the precinct level, the county level, the state level, the regional level. Wall Street and the Wall Street stooges say that democratic planning is un-American. I say that it is only by such planning that we can preserve the American way of life. It is only by such planning that we can prevent American fascists from taking us over. When I refer to American fascists I mean those who believe that the dollar comes first and the man second and who are willing to go to any length through press, radio and demagogue to keep the dollar safely sitting on top of the man. American fascists at this very moment are desperately striving to control the delegates to the county conventions so that they may in turn control the delegates to the state and national conventions of both parties.

Operating on the precinct level, the people thoroughly aroused can at any time they wish throw the American fascists out of control. They can put the man above the dollar and march straight up from the precinct to the county to the state and to the national convention. They can see that the right men are nominated for Congress and the Senate. They can see that the Congressmen and Senators after they reach Washington

are kept informed and eager to respond to human principles instead of dollar principles. Dollar principles are all right insofar as they serve human principles, but when they fail in such service they have no meaning except to American fascists.

The issue is very simple. The question is whether the people, keeping themselves fully informed, can operate through democratic government to put the man above the dollar. Or will the old-line politicians, financed from Wall Street, put the dollar above the man and again succeed in making Washington a way-station for Wall Street. (Pause)

The people can come out on top provided they remain continually awake and really believe they can have a higher standard of security and a higher standard of living and if they will not let up in their fight until they get what they want and must have. They must hold their Congressman responsible for getting that higher standard of living. They must make him feel responsible at all times to the general welfare and above everything to the principle of complete utilization of all resources, all manpower, all skills, in the service of the common man in his search for jobs for all. In this fight of the people it is quite possible for those who control the big corporations to gum up our system so that it cannot work. It is possible for American Fascism to precipitate a depression which will defeat all the desires of labor and government. Personally, I think ~~they~~ ^{Such ones} are too enlightened today to do a thing of that kind. Statements by the Presidents of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers indicate that they realize there has been

a great change in the moral climate. Thousands of businessmen give lip service to the principle of full utilization. And so I have faith that the managers controlling the great corporations will not deliberately produce a situation where there are 20 million men unemployed. If they do the people will smash their system.

We are in for a profound revolution, partly as a result of the aftermath of two great wars and partly as a result of 150 years of modern technology and democratic thinking about the rights and duties of man. Yes, we are in for revolution the world over. Those of us who realize the inevitability of revolution are anxious that it be gradual and bloodless instead of sudden and bloody. We believe it can be gradual and bloodless if the makers of public opinion, if the politicians, if the pressure group leaders will only influence their millions of followers on behalf of the public good instead of regional and class prejudices. It would be simple if light could come down from heaven, but God helps those who help themselves. The people themselves will have to educate their leaders on behalf of the general welfare, measuring every article in the press, every statement over the radio, every act of Congress by the one yardstick: "Does this help use all our resources, employ all our men, develop all our skills?" If the people everywhere hold these judgements up as a measure, we shall gradually find the principle of "goodness" permeating our national life like a leaven. We must fight with all our might to do this thing. Otherwise, we shall have a bloody revolution and slavery, for that is what dictatorship is. Surely we, the

free people of America will never put our necks in a yoke. Time is pressing. Victory will bring problems on us so thick and fast that we must be prepared to make instant and correct decisions.

Today we can take the necessary steps. Tomorrow will be too late. We have the resources, both material and human. We have the machines, the tools, and the skills. We have a hundred billion dollars of savings. All we need to do is to press forward in confidence, believing in the complete use of all resources.

Job, before he could enter into his period of abundance when he was to be twice as rich, had to go through his time of misery and then have a change of heart toward God. We are not yet through our misery but I have faith that we will have a sufficient change in heart in all sections of the country and in all groups of our people. We are eager to save ourselves. It was never easier, and it was never more urgent. We are the hope of the world. We must set our own house in order so that our light may shine as a comfort and a beacon to the whole world.

WHAT AMERICA CAN HAVE

At Los Angeles I sketched briefly what America wants. Here at San Francisco I propose to describe what we can get if we really want it badly enough to plan and work for it. We can't get everything we want, but there are other things we can get which we never dreamed were possible.

Before mentioning the many fine things we can have, I want to do what I may to kill the myth that the gigantic war debt will stand in our way. We can pay the interest on this debt and have a standard of living at least fifty per cent higher than in the decade of the thirties. The only way to have a high standard of living is to keep people fully employed. With a high standard of living and full employment we can have a national yearly income of 130 billion dollars. With such an income we can carry the interest on our war debt even easier than we did after World War I.

The surest way for everyone to go bankrupt after the war is for everyone to save his money and lower his standard of living. The war debt will prove to be an intolerable burden unless the consumers of the United States are willing and anxious to consume almost half again as much as they did in the last year before the war. If our people consume no more than they did in 1939, there would be at least 20 million men unemployed and a drop of more than 50 billion dollars a year in the national income. It wouldn't take many such years to make peace more expensive than war itself. (At this rate of collapse, peace may become more expensive than war.) Many boys who have been overseas, provided they come back free of

mental or physical harm, may find postwar unemployment a greater trial than army service.

If we allow the thought of the national debt to scare us, it will hang as a mill stone around our necks and we shall all be sunk in a sea of unimaginable difficulties. There is just one way to treat the war debt, and that is to remember that it can be carried easily if all of us are determined to work hard and to use our natural resources and human skills to the maximum. Fortunately, the goods produced by such hard work and full employment will make it absolutely essential that most of us raise our standard of living by fully 40 per cent. We can enjoy the things we have always wanted and carry the national debt easily or we can pinch and save and let the national debt crush us. Farmers, workers and businessmen can all prosper provided they are all willing to cooperate with each other and with government in furnishing the American people the things they ought to have.

The important thing now is to tell the American people about the things they can have two or three years after this war is over. We mustn't take "no" for an answer. The more we want the right kind of goods the easier it will be to carry the war debt. There is just one proviso. We can't want things that will hurt the welfare of the American consumers as a whole. Farmers, workers and businessmen can't cut each other's throats.

Now let's talk about these things we can have, things which it is our duty to have if this American civilization is

to be preserved. First, there is health. The people of the United States would be at least 30 per cent more efficient if they were in maximum good health. They would then be effective to a ripe old age, instead of often half effective only to middle life. Two generations ago in the United States every city dweller had to boil drinking water or run the risk of dysentery and typhoid. We cut down the death rate enormously when we made it possible for the people in the cities to get safe drinking water at a modest cost. At even less cost than for clean drinking water, we can see that liberal dosages of vitamins are added to the flour and cornmeal, thus wiping out at one stroke the vitamin deficiencies which undermine the health and vigor of so many millions of our citizens, especially those who are past 40 years of age. At a cost of \$2 per year per person, it would be possible to wipe out all vitamin deficiency diseases, extend the working life of the average individual ten years, and, of course, increase the vigor of at least half of our population. Any intelligent person operating the United States for profit would undoubtedly spend at least 250 million dollars a year for vitamins. By so doing he could get his money back in increased output ten times over the first year.

Second to good and plentiful food, I would put good and plentiful hospitals. With more hospitals adequately equipped and staffed, combined with a commonsense public health program, we can stamp out tuberculosis, syphilis and possibly malaria. Everyone in the United States ought to have an annual physical checkup and have the privilege of going to a hospital if a

competent doctor thinks it necessary. We ought to be spending four times as much on hospitals and doctors as we are now spending and we should be getting at least ten times as much good out of the medical profession as we are now getting.

After good health, and closely allied to it, I would put good housing. Most of the houses of the United States are out of date and seriously run down, especially on the farms. Governmental housing authorities, both in England and the United States, have learned a lot about cheap, good housing during the past five years. With money available at low rates and with various types of monopoly rackets eliminated, it is possible to build good houses at amazingly low cost. Prefabrication will play its part in bringing the cost down. As soon as we have settled down after the war we should build at least a million houses a year until such time as we have completely modernized ourselves. Ten years from now we shall find that struggling along with an old house is like tinkering with an old car, which every few weeks runs up an expensive garage bill. When the house of the future is perfected as it can be, it will be possible for the housewife to do her cooking, cleaning and marketing with one-third the labor which she now expends. ~~In the small, compact, gadget-equipped house of the future most housewives will prefer to get along without a maid.~~

Next after housing I would list rural electrification. We can furnish electricity to every house in the United States except in those areas where the population is thin and the distances are great. With electricity everywhere three-fourths

of the housewives should have not merely electric refrigerators but also quick-freeze or deep-freeze machines to carry garden stuff and meat over from the time of plenty to the time of scarcity. Little electric grinders for the kitchen will enable every family to grind wheat once a week into fresh breakfast food and wholewheat flour. Electricity widely spread, combined with good roads, cheap automobiles and small tractors, will result during the next ten or twenty years in millions of families relocating on five, ten or twenty acres within driving distance of the factory or business where the man of the house works. Fifty years ago the slogan "Ten acres and liberty" was a trap which made fools out of most of those who fell for it. But today, with all the conveniences which rural electrification and good roads make possible, five or ten acres can furnish an enjoyable and profitable outlet for the energies of a growing family. Sunshine and fresh air, combined with good milk and eggs and the vegetables and fruits which can be preserved the year around will make the small farm a joy forever to all of those who have any instinct for the soil and the living plants and animals which grow upon it. Rural electrification, and the inventions which will naturally accompany it, will hasten the march of the common man back to the country and nature. It will restore to the family much of the significance which it had a hundred years ago. A small farmer who works most of the time in town can with the help of his family produce more than half of the food which he eats. He can also have a little in the way of vegetables, eggs and milk to sell. The small, part-time farmer living near a city

has been growing in importance for the past 30 years. Postwar he and his children will not tolerate stick-in-the-mud conservatism nor wild progressivism.

So far as farmers generally are concerned, there are great things ahead provided we can avoid a serious slump by having full employment. The future farm economy will feed the 50 million undernourished people better. Heretofore these people except during a time of war, have never had enough to eat for the simple reason that they couldn't earn enough to pay for it. The biggest single marketing problem in American agriculture is to make sure that these people earn enough so that they can afford to buy the right kind of food. When Europe drops out of the market, as she inevitably will within two or three years after the war comes to an end, it is important that these undernourished people come into the market in a big way.

Technologically, the farmers will benefit from many new devices. In the West there must be more and more land brought under irrigation until all of the fertile land and all of the surplus water is utilized. Maximum water storage, both for irrigation and for power, will be needed if the Far West is to support the vast population which her manifest destiny so clearly foretells. Nothing must stand in the way of this destiny because it is the destiny of the United States itself to look as much toward the Far East as it now looks toward Europe. A New Zealander was saying to me the other day that some day San Francisco will contain as many people as New York City. I well remember in 1909 sitting with Charles A. Beard,

the historian, in Sacramento speculating as to what would have happened if the Pilgrim Fathers had landed in San Francisco instead of at Plymouth. I can hear the tramp of the future ^{millions} pilgrims coming now.

Perfected types of tractors and ground-tillers are certain to come into use after this war. New fertilizers, new varieties of crops, new methods of feeding and perfected methods of soil conservation will come into use after this war for the simple reason that the farmers using them will make more money. The revolution in agriculture which started with improved farm machinery three or four generations ago and with the discoveries of the Experiment Stations two generations ago, will proceed with accelerated pace. The ability of one farm family in the United States to ^{feed} support four families in town is the strength of our great nation both in war and in peace. This efficiency must and will be further improved. The only thing which can stand in the way of it, is unemployment long continued in the cities.

Next after improved health, universal electrification and improved agriculture, I would list as a sound business proposition better schools, especially in the rural ^{America} ~~sections of the~~ South. The children of America can grow up to improve and enrich this nation only if they have good food, good schools, and good direction. We need more and better schools, more and better teachers. We need and can have federal aid for those sections of the country where because of poverty the primary schooling is lagging. These poorer regions will produce a higher proportion of the youth of the next generation. The

prevention of youth erosion is more important than the prevention of soil erosion. It is even better business to halt youth waste than soil waste.

The ten million families at the bottom of the pile in the United States have demonstrated during the past two years that they can do good work, provided they have enough to ~~car~~^{eat} and the opportunity to get good training. The salvation or damnation of the United States depends in considerable measure on how efficiently we can keep these people at work. If they are kept at work efficiently they can furnish an annual market for at least 15 billion dollars worth of materials. If these people are at work they will add something like a million cars a year to the automobile market. The women folks of these families, if they have the money, will buy nearly two billion dollars worth of clothing and household furnishings. If they can be assured of steady jobs, these ten million poorest families will furnish a market for at least a hundred thousand new homes every year. Also we shall ^{have} instead of human waste and misery, and burdensome charity, ten million busy, hopeful, forward-looking families.

People talk about acres of diamonds or gold mines in the backyard. The real gold mine in our backyard is the ten million poorest families who before the war bought only about five billion dollars worth of stuff a year, but who can easily furnish a market for fifteen billion, if they are given opportunities in the postwar period.

When I talk at Seattle the day after tomorrow, I shall have something to say about how these people can be put to

work. My chief purpose tonight is merely to say that they can and must be given jobs. Their productivity, the size of the market which they can contribute to our businessmen, and the health and education of their children mean too much to the rest of us.

We can and must give our poorer people a chance to work productively if we are as serious about total peace as we have been about total war.

Every township, every county and every city in the United States should list the public works projects which it would like some day to have. Provided they have fundamental merit we can have them all eventually--good roads, airfields, flood control, parks, recreational projects, conservation of forests, conservation of wildlife, conservation of soil, regional T.V.A.s and all that vast multitude of things which the government can do and which no individual can. It will cost money merely to blueprint and plan these projects. But we have many millions of hours of skilled draftsmen's labor eager to do the job when the war is over. Of course we all hope that private industry will be so active and so confident that every employable person will have a job and that there will be no need of a big public works program. But we can't take chances. We must be ready to throw in a large volume of public works activity as soon as serious unemployment starts. It will give businessmen confidence if they know that government is prepared to step into the breach promptly with sound projects. The people of the United States must keep continually in mind the thousands of things which they can have if they are fully determined not to let human labor go to waste.

The greatest economic sin is waste of human labor. In the decade of the 30's waste of human labor cost this country 200 billion dollars, or more than the war has cost us to date.

The greatest threat to a balanced budget is unemployment. A fake statesman who in the name of budget-balancing costs a million people their jobs will cost the national income two billion dollars a year. The problem isn't one of budget-balancing but one of keeping people fully employed producing efficiently the things we want. We have the people and the resources and the technical "know-how" to produce more than we ever dreamed we could ~~have~~^{produce}. If we can develop the management "know-how" at the statesmen's level to keep these sources of wealth fully employed, the budget and the national debt will be in better shape at the end of ten years than could possibly be the case if policies leading to unemployment are followed. There is one test of statesmanship after the war, and that is: What method will give us the maximum useful employment over a long period of years without regimentation? I say to the people of America who make up the government that we will lose the peace unless we keep the people of our country at work-- in freedom, in permanence, and in promoting the public welfare.

to freedom, to independence, and to promoting the public welfare.
 These are the basic principles we keep the people of our country at work--
 people of industry who make up the Government that we will
 have better of than without legislation. I say to the
 great workers who will live as the maximum public employment plan is
 there is one fear of unemployment after the war, and that is:
 the fear of being laid off from employment as followed.
 to better serve at the end of ten years than could possibly
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 labor closed we could have. If we can develop the management
 resources and the technical "know-how" to produce more than we
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 resources but one of keeping people fully employed producing
 things for us and for the world. The problem is, if one of our
 workers people that job will cost the national income and
 a large percentage who in the name of our government costs a
 the greatest threat to a balanced budget is unemployment.
 things for us, of more than the war has cost us so far.
 decade of the 20's more of human labor cost than could 500
 the greatest economic aim is more of human labor. In the

WHAT AMERICA WANTS

On this trip to the West Coast, I propose to talk about America Tomorrow. No people anywhere in America have greater hope and confidence in the future than the citizens of Oregon, California and Washington. Here in Los Angeles, I shall talk about what America wants. In cities further north, I shall talk about what America can have and how she can go about getting it. There are many people in the United States who want many different things--some of which are in conflict with other things. If the businessmen get exactly what they want, the farmers and workers won't be happy. If the South gets lower freight rates, the railroads won't like it. If the old people get pensions really large enough to comfort their old age, younger people may feel that the burden is greater than they can bear. Every class, every region, every person, young and old, wants something he hasn't got.

Now before the war ends is a good time to take a look at those things which different Americans want, and then decide how many of them we can have and how we are to go about getting them.

More than half of the people of the United States are workers in offices, factories or stores. What these workers want more than anything else is the assurance that they can have jobs when eight million service men and ten million war workers begin looking for jobs. Perhaps half of the war workers are working today in the same towns where they have always

worked and these men and women have a fair assurance that reconversion will give them the same jobs back again that they had before conversion took place. But there are millions of others who have no such assurance. Nowhere in the United States are there so many of these workers as right here on the West Coast. The man who has moved away from his home town fears that when the war ends, others may have a prior claim. Above everything else, labor wants a plan that will solve the problem when workers get plentiful and jobs get scarce.

Union labor knows that in the day when there are three workers for every job, the bargaining power of labor gets weak and the union funds melt away. Therefore, union labor is beginning to think in larger terms than bargaining for higher wages and shorter hours and better working conditions. All workers are beginning to ask that decisions be made which will determine the future prosperity of the nation. Labor wishes to participate in the making of those decisions.

Labor wants better insurance against sickness, unemployment and old-age. It wants the Wagner Act. But labor doesn't want to take any type of Social Security or unemployment insurance as a substitute for the opportunity of working at least 2000 hours every year. When the post-war slump comes, American labor doesn't want a dole. It wants work. The Wagner Act can never be a substitute for jobs, but combined with jobs, it is admirable.

American labor is human. It wants high wages and low prices, especially for food. Labor doesn't want low food

prices to hurt the farmer but thinks that it can have low prices if the margin between the farmer and the grocery shelf is cut down.

American labor wants to be proud of American factories in the same way as Russian labor is proud of Russian factories. This doesn't mean government ownership but it does mean a closer working relationship between labor and management. Fortunately there are many American factories where the workers are just as proud of the establishments as the owners--where workers and management are proud partners.

Labor longs for the day when it will receive fair treatment by the press and sympathetic understanding by the public. Take, for example, the case of the coal miners. They wanted \$2 a day more without doing any extra work. The general public believes that the miners got \$20 a week more without doing any extra work. Actually the chief thing which the miners got from the War Labor Board was something which was already in their contract--the right to work 13 hours a week longer at time and a half. This increased their weekly earnings \$19.50. The increase came not from the War Labor Board but from the contract which was signed two years ago. In addition, the miners got some extra money as a result of a recent Federal Circuit Court decision allowing them portal to portal pay, or, in other words, travel pay, inside the mines whenever the total hours of work amount to more than 40 hours per week. This court decision adds another couple of dollars to the weekly payroll of the average coal miner. I mention all of this because many of the newspapers were so consumed with hatred of John L. Lewis, union labor and President Roosevelt that, being blinded by their hatred, they did not see the facts and rushed out to say that the President had given in to John L. Lewis by letting his men have \$20 a week extra as a reward for striking.

Most labor unions do not defend John L. Lewis or his methods in time of war but they do hope the day will come when the press will tell the truth about labor no matter how much the press may hate a particular labor leader or a particular political figure. Feeding the flames of hatred with falsehood is one of the surest ways of tearing down democracy. The rank and file of labor are just as happy as anyone else to see the racketeers and gangsters shown up in the press and elsewhere, but they don't like to see falsehoods used against labor leaders--even misguided ones. The truth by itself is powerful enough.

The farmers have even more fears than labor. Above everything else they want good crops and high prices. They want to maintain the present high net income. After subtracting all expenses, the farmers are now able to buy per capita with their net income about twice what they could before this war or before World War No. 1. Farmers would like to maintain this high net income and at the same time be able to get plenty of labor and up-to-date farm machinery at low cost. Furthermore, they want low freight rates with a low margin of profit on the part of middlemen who buy from them or sell to them. They want gambling in food stopped. They want to borrow money at low rates of interest and have the advantages of good roads and rural electrification at low cost. Most farmers love the soil and want to be able to buy enough fertilizer, lime, clover-seed and soil-terracing machinery to leave the soil to their children in better condition than when the farm was purchased.

The tenant farmer wants assurance that he can stay on the same farm year after year and that the rent will go up and down only with the cost of farm products. Tenants who rent for cash are afraid that a sudden post-war smash in farm prices may make them unable to pay. Most tenants want a chance to buy a farm at a reasonable price at low interest. Farm tenants want the opportunity to progress from farm laborer to farm owner on up the ladder to a peaceful old age at Long Beach, California. The tenant farmer is at the crossroads. Some of his children go to work as laborers in town. Some of them become businessmen and some farm owners. The farm tenant or a heavily mortgaged farm owner who has recently been a tenant is a typical American. He is dependent on his own efforts. He is modest. He is sympathetic both toward labor and business because he knows that he represents both in his own person. He is worried about the future. He is not altogether happy.

In recent years farmers have become more and more interested in getting legislation which will give them the equivalent of what the corporate form of organization and the tariff have given to industry--what labor union laws have given to labor. Thousands of farmers have learned to lobby with their congressmen and senators in Washington. They are strong believers in cooperative organizations and vigorously oppose anything in the nature of monopolies or trusts. Having learned the Washington lobby game and having obtained federal power of their own, they are eager to use it to hold prices up after the war. Some false farm leaders are anxious to use their

lobbying power against labor and business. They think they can hold up farm prices through government loans and price-fixing, even though there may be serious unemployment. Other farm leaders believe that farm prices can be maintained only if labor is fully employed at high wages. All farmers, like all workers, want stability and a rising standard of living.

Part of big business wants to put Wall Street first and Washington second. It wants to put property rights first and human rights second. It will fight with unrelenting hatred through press, radio, demagogue and lobbyist every national and state government which puts human rights above property rights.

To its own conscience ^{Some} big business phrases its desires somewhat differently and much as follows: "We must have an economically sound government and a balanced budget. Government spending must be cut down. We must get rid of that 'so and so' in the White House. Then with government out of business and with Wall Street running the country again, we can have what we really want--Free Enterprise. Yes, the Free Enterprise of Old Fashioned America is what we really want."

By free enterprise big business means the privilege of charging monopoly prices without interference by the government; the privilege of putting competitors out of business by unfair methods of competition; the privilege of buying up patents and keeping them out of use; the privilege of setting up Pittsburgh plus price-fixing schemes; the privilege of unloading stocks and bonds on the public through insiders who know their way in and out, up and down, backways and sideways.

Not all big businessmen ask for these privileges or define free enterprise in the way I have just mentioned. Some of them are as deeply concerned with the problem of full employment as labor itself. They are anxious to see such modification in taxation laws at the earliest possible moment which will place the maximum incentive on that type of business activity which will give full employment. Some of these larger businessmen have marvelous new inventions which they would like to put into volume production at the earliest possible moment. Such men are oftentimes more interested in serving humanity than in making money but they know that even from the standpoint of serving humanity, there will have to be considerable modification of the tax structure as soon as possible after the war ends.

The small businessman is just as much interested in free enterprise as the big businessman but he means something totally different in his use of the word. Free enterprise to the little businessman means the opportunity to compete without fear of monopoly controls of any kind. The small manufacturer wants free access to patents in the same way as Henry Ford wanted, fought for and got, free access to the Selden automobile patents in the early part of the century.

The small businessman in a way is as much a typical American as the tenant farmer. He also is at the crossroads. Some of his relatives may be workers, some may be farmers and one of them may actually be a big businessman. The small businessman is the source of a large part of the initiative of the United States. Like the tenant, the small businessman is

humble, ambitious, confused and uncertain. He is not very happy because in certain lines of activity the rate of mortality among small businessmen has been higher than at Guadalcanal and Tarawa. Moreover the small businessman is not sure that the situation will be any better for him when peace comes than it is right now. The small businessman would like to see the good old days come back but he knows they probably will not with ^{Securus} paved roads, national advertising, radio, airplanes and the tremendous research establishments of the billion-dollar corporations.

The businessman who most wants to serve the world in the post-war period is probably the large businessman who has rather recently graduated from the ranks of the small businessmen. Because of his unusual capacity, he has made large sums of money during the war, but has paid most of the money to the government. He will come out of the war with large plant facilities. This kind of man wants to know how to reconvert as fast as possible. His success has depended largely upon his fine relationship with labor. Appreciating the loyalty of labor, he wants to give his workers jobs in the post-war period, not so much from the standpoint of making money as from the standpoint of doing things both for his workers and for the country. Such men are in some ways much of the hope of America and of the world. I trust the post-war slump will not be so big when it finally comes as to make it possible for the large static corporations with huge cash reserves to take over the establishments which these energetic men have built so skilfully with the cooperation of loyal labor. I trust that big businessmen will not have such control of congress and the executive

branch of government as to make it easy for them to write the rules of the post-war game in a way which will shut out these men who have made such a magnificent contribution to the productive power of America during the war. We need them to furnish the jobs which are so important both to labor and to agriculture.

The Big Three---Big Business, Big Labor and Big Agriculture--in their struggle to ^{steal} borrow federal power for monopolistic purposes are certain to come into serious conflict unless they recognize the superior claims of the general welfare of the common man. Such recognition of the general welfare must be genuine, must be more than polite mouthing of high-sounding phrases. Each of the Big Three has unprecedented power at the present time. Each is faced with serious post-war worries. East will try to profit at the expense of the other two when the post-war boom breaks. Each can save itself only if it learns to work with the other two and with government in terms of the general welfare. To do this without slipping into an American Fascism will be the central problem of post-war democracy.

Suppose we examine the country now by regions. What does the West want which is different from the East or the Middle-west or the South? First, it has great water and mineral resources which have not been developed and which, when developed, will make the West more nearly a paradise on earth than any other part of the world. There will be needed a vast expansion both in power and in irrigation to take care of the great increase in population which has come or will come to

the West. The West looks to the day when there will be more trade on the Pacific Ocean than on the Atlantic. Because of its faith in the future, the West wants more influence in Washington. It is entitled to more influence in Washington and if it can't get it any other way, it should insist that the capital of the country be moved to the foothills of the Rockies.

The Middlewest and the South, like the Far West, are interested in rapid expansion of their industries and to that end they want to see freight rate discriminations corrected and all types of Pittsburgh plus and monopoly abolished.

The northeastern part of the country where three-fourths of the industry of the United States is located is conservative from a business and farming point of view and radical from a labor point of view. Eastern business naturally wants to hold on to its advantage but finds it difficult to do so when more up-to-date factories are built in other parts of the country.

My guess is that the Northeast is unduly alarmed about the advantage which might come to the South, the Middlewest and the West with the elimination of railroad rate discriminations and Pittsburgh plus pricing systems. Certain industries will inevitably obey the magnetic law of natural resources and manpower, and drift away from the East. But at the same time the advantage of the East in plants already constructed, in skilled labor, educational institutions and nearness to markets will hold most industries there for an indefinite time into the future. The general prosperity of the entire

country--one hundred thirty million customers--will maintain full employment in New England. The wise men of the East, observing the trend of the times, will encourage the West, the South and the Middlewest to realize their manifest destiny and will find as a result of growth in power and population in these other areas that the East is not harmed but actually benefitted. Moreover no matter how much industry migrates to other sections of the country, it would seem that the East would always be more industrial than any other region. From a businessman's point of view, the chief interest in the East seems to be to hold on to what it has. The labor of the East wants exactly the same things as labor elsewhere in the country.

Let's take a brief moment to look at the wants of our people from the standpoint of their age. The middle-aged and the aged who are self-supporting are more interested in property rights. Young people are more interested in human rights. Those aged people who are dependent on the charity of others become very much interested in human rights and want to see better types of old age assistance worked out. The old people who have bonds want high interest rates. Young people have to borrow money and they want low interest rates.

The returning service men are exactly like the workers in one respect. They want jobs. They will differ from the workers in another respect because nearly all of them have done some serious thinking about death. Also they have received some special training and have learned to love their country in a very special way. It is quite possible that the service men will ^{act} serve as a counterweight against those pressure groups

which tend too much to forget the general welfare.

Obviously our different groups and regions can't get everything they want in post-war America. But after we cancel out the contradictions, it seems to me that nearly everyone agrees on the following: We all want jobs, health, security, freedom, business opportunity, good education and peace. We can sum this all up in one word and say that what America wants is happiness. We don't have happiness today. We didn't have it at the peak of our prosperity in 1929 nor did we have it before this war broke out in 1939. Happiness is more than economic desire. It is more than jobs, health, freedom and peace. It is all of those things and more. It is a state of mind based on belief in a common cause, based on belief that we are all needed, that we are all helping, that we are all really making the world better each in his own way.

At San Francisco, I shall talk on what America can have. In some ways she can have more than she wants. In other ways, she must be satisfied with less. In any event, I am sure she can have happiness if she really wants it. The way to get happiness is to use the power of modern technology in a humane way to serve the general welfare.

It was part of the American tradition for more than one hundred years that every man could make a living and prosper if he worked hard and was honest. In 1930 innumerable businessmen found themselves bankrupt and millions of men who were anxious to work could find no jobs. There were 10 million unemployed people in the United States in 1932. The savings of millions had been wiped out and countless thousands had lost their homes. *The American people worked it, after all, the copy book maxims were wrong.*
Action was needed if we were to escape disaster. We got action.

A bank holiday was declared which gave us an opportunity to separate the sound banks from the unsound banks. Bank deposits up to five thousand dollars were guaranteed. Appropriations were made for unemployment relief. The government of the United States carried out a program of public works, flood control and the prevention of soil erosion. *Crop loans stopped the distress as the loans of*
~~An emergency farm bill to mitigate distress in rural areas~~
was passed. ~~A~~ *P* provision was made to refinance farm mortgages and interest rates were reduced. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed. We provided for an ever-normal granary. The food stamp plan was adopted. The Securities and Exchange Act was passed. The Tennessee Valley Authority and a series of great dam projects to control floods and harness water power were begun. Employment compensation, old-age pensions and social security passed from the realm of dreams into reality. Under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, America met the challenge.

In 1937 the President realized that aggressor nations were threatening the peace and well-being of the rest of the world, and he made his famous speech in Chicago in which he called upon us to quarantine

the aggressors.

Long before Pearl Harbor we shipped arms and destroyers to Britain, increased our army and navy, and began to convert our civilian plants into war plants.

Since Pearl Harbor we have trained and equipped more than 10 million men who are fighting on many fronts, and who are winning this war. We are *also* winning the battle of production. It is the biggest war production effort ever undertaken.

I mention this record of great accomplishments because I am sure that a nation which courageously faced a great depression at the beginning of President Roosevelt's administration and which courageously prepared for a war can also face the challenge of the peace.

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When we think of America we think of a fortunate country where a little man can get ahead through his own efforts. That is what Thomas Jefferson was talking about when he used the words "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Jefferson laid great emphasis upon agriculture and feared the day when people would leave ^{the} farms and crowd together in great cities. We know now that special precautions must be taken if the growth of cities is not to produce the dire results Jefferson feared. The little man whose strength is the vitality of the nation must be preserved. When this war has been won we want every man in America who has ambition and a willingness to work hard to have the opportunity to prove in a market free from unfair restraints that he has something to add to the productivity and happiness of this nation.

Everyone has been able to contribute something during this war. On the Pacific Coast last month I visited several air-plane plants where nearly half of the workers were women, and where many of the men workers would not have been allowed to work three years ago because of physical handicaps. Nevertheless these women and the so-called rejects ^{among the men} are turning out bombers ^{with} one-half the man hours that so-called superior labor used three years ago. Truly "the stone which the builders rejected has become the chief corner-stone." I am mentioning this great accomplishment because I am firmly convinced that small business depends for its prosperity very largely on full employment and an expanding economy. Unless business, labor and government plan together for full use of man power, resources, and skills, small businessmen will be ruined by the tens of thousands.

The people of the United States are united in their determination to win this war. American industry, American business, and American agriculture can

look forward to a bright future if the markets of peace are expanded to take the place of the markets of war. We cannot have free enterprise unless the world is at peace.

We must maintain the peace. The Teheran Conference has laid the ground work. All peace loving nations will be given an opportunity to cooperate in rebuilding the shattered world and perfecting a permanent organization for peace.

I believe in free enterprise. Free enterprise means free and open opportunities for all capitalists, workers, industrialists and traders — to produce the goods and services which are the only true basis of national wealth and well-being. Free enterprise means that each and every industry is open to new capital and new firms — that all firms have free access to raw materials, to labor, to technologies — that producers have free access to the markets in which they sell — that all individuals, in accordance with their several abilities and irrespective of color, race, and creed, have equal opportunities to work at their chosen jobs.

Free enterprise is not privileged enterprise. Monopolists define free enterprise falsely as freedom from government interference for monopolies. Free enterprise really means freedom for everyone and not ruthless domination by a few. Free enterprise does not mean freedom for cartels to plot against the national interest. Free enterprise does not mean freedom for monopolies to exploit consumers while denying jobs to workers.

Farmers more than any other class of our people love to produce to the limit. Therefore, they are gravely concerned when big industrialists reduce the foreign market for farm products by asking the Congress to raise tariffs on

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industrial products while they reduce the domestic market for farm products by plowing workers out on the streets. The farmer wants, and has always wanted, an abundance of farm and industrial products. But it is suicide for him to stand for abundance all by himself. He tried that after the last war and especially in 1930, 1931 and 1932. At that time industry cut its production in half and reduced prices very little. The farmer did the reverse. He cut his prices in two but reduced his production very little. All the farmer got out of trying to run an abundance show all by himself was bankruptcy. But he still believes in abundance and he wants full markets, provided by a reasonable tariff policy and full employment at good wages. Full employment, full production, good wages and reasonable prices are the vital essentials of prosperity for the farmer, the worker and the small businessman.

The phenomenal success of American industry in producing for war has demonstrated convincingly that we can produce a national income of from 150 to 200 billion dollars in the early postwar years, and that that income can be progressively enlarged if we preserve a free and dynamic economy. Full use of our resources in all-out production for peace can create a level of well being for the common man such as has heretofore been available only to a privileged minority. The common man knows this. He will never again calmly accept an economic organization which falls short of this goal.

In our great wartime production effort the strategy has been determined by the needs of the armed forces and only the execution of the tactics has been left to the separate business units. Nevertheless, I am confident that equally amazing goals can be achieved in peacetime by free, private enterprise, if our business and labor leaders have sufficient faith in free enterprise to give their

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and
unqualified support to the full use of all our resources, to the measures necessary to enable free enterprise to serve the public interest.

Business can discharge its public responsibilities and preserve itself only by maintaining conditions of genuine free enterprise. The price of survival and progress is the whole-hearted acceptance of healthy, unrestrained competition -- competition in price as well as in quality and service. Let us understand fully the implications of free enterprise, the duties which it imposes and the opportunities which it opens:

It is a fundamental of free enterprise that no individual or group shall control the market, with power to exclude new investment, new enterprises, new methods, or workers. So far as small businesses are concerned, the mere absence of local capital markets is a restraint on their ability to grow and expand. The present high concentration of investment banking in New York City is in itself incompatible with free enterprise, for only the large national corporations have access on reasonable terms to that capital market.

Restrictive agreements limiting capacity, curtailing output, fixing prices, assigning markets -- all of these manifestations of the cartel at home or abroad must be forever abolished.

The basic technologies of modern industry must be restored to, and remain, a part of the public domain. This is not an attack on the patent system; it is a necessary measure to make the patent system conform to its constitutional purpose -- to promote the progress of science and the useful arts. It must become impossible to use patents to monopolize entire industries. The solution is simple -- all patents should be subject to open licensing at a reasonable fee -- one which affords a reasonable return to the inventor and promotes the wider and wider use of the patent. And no license should be permitted to stipulate how much the licensee shall produce,

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what he shall charge, or where he shall sell.

The government's tax policies have an important influence on business activity. In a peace-time economy, the tax program should have a double objective -- to bring in the necessary revenue and to encourage the production of the largest possible national income. Taxes which impair the ability of consumers to purchase the products of agriculture and industry, or which discourage the investment of venture capital in new undertakings, must be avoided in our drive for all-out production. The tax program can and should be framed with attention to the larger objectives of the economy -- full use of all our resources.

A public works program of all units of government should be planned far in advance, carried to the point of preparing blueprints and contracts, and then all postponable projects should be held in abeyance until the construction activity is needed to balance a prospective decline in business activity. Likewise, the government should seize the opportunity afforded by periods of business prosperity to accelerate its program of debt retirement, and thereby improve its credit position and help control the credit inflation which might otherwise lead to an early recession. Government fiscal policies can go far to reduce, and to compensate for, fluctuations in business activity.

Above all it is necessary for our leaders in industry, agriculture, and trade to understand the responsibilities of both business and government in assuring ^{sustained} ~~continuing~~ full employment of all resources. Business policies must be framed with this long-run objective in view. Forward looking businessmen will welcome the cooperation of government in maintaining full employment, without sabotaging the national economy by treating such government activities as attacks upon free enterprise.

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In recent speeches I have dealt with the necessity for developing balanced regional economics in the South and the West, as part of a full-production national economy. The per capita income in the South and West must be raised to the point where adequate markets will exist for the output of farm and factory. All obstacles to such regional developments should be removed.

In the building of our postwar national economy, particular attention must be given to the opportunities for small business enterprises. Small business provides an outlet for new ideas and products, a training ground for new leaders, and an effective competitive check on big business, which might otherwise confuse mere size with efficiency. The greatest contribution which government can make to the progress of small business is the creation and preservation of genuine free enterprise. Given access to the necessary technologies and to the capital markets, small enterprise in industry and trade will flourish. And such small business, by reason of its inherent resilience and flexibility, can become the mainstay of our regional economics, the balance wheel of the national economy.

Competition must remain the indispensable foundation of free enterprise. Where competition exists, enterprise is free and the necessity for governmental regulation of industry is at a minimum. Where competition is suppressed or restricted, technological progress is blocked, efficiency diminishes, markets contract and the national income shrinks. The government must either aid in preserving healthy competitive conditions, or assume increasing responsibility for the management of industry.

We have an unparalleled opportunity to return to a free enterprise economy. The necessities of war have exposed domestic restraints and broken foreign cartel restraints. Improvements in technology have created new inter-industry competition

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which threatens the power of entrenched monopolies. New light metals and alloys will compel the aluminum and copper industries, and even the steel industry, to develop cheaper methods of production and seek new markets for their products. Some technical advances will enable small plants to operate economically in industries heretofore dominated by one or two ^{big} firms.

The greatest opportunity lies in the war plants built with government funds. In the manner of their postwar use lies the acid test of whether we are sincere in our determination to reestablish genuine free enterprise. We must not regard such plants as liabilities to be disposed of hastily; we must not allow the disposition of these plants to add to the concentration of control in industries which are already monopolistic. The plants must be kept in full production to create the enlarged national income required to support a new American standard of living. As a final sale of these war plants would probably result in their being acquired sooner or later by a few large concerns, I have suggested that title should remain in a federal agency, and that these plants should be leased ^{these} to independent producers who will create new competition and new production.

Whether or not we have free enterprise and the full use of all productive resources depends on our understanding that our way of life is at stake, and on the determination of all of us to test every private and public policy by whether it contributes to the full use of all our resources or whether it tends toward the destruction of full production.

We shall win the military victory. We must have a peaceful world thereafter. We must preserve America as a land of economic opportunity for all of our people. This must be the Century of the Common Man.