

Pepper

January 9, 1941

Memorandum to Senator Pepper:

Knox is bombastic. Stettinius is vague and complacent. McHutt is too eschewing to grow into the dignity of world leadership. Remember, the clock ticks. Four years makes you about forty-four, and Wallace about fifty-four, and the axis may swing Iowa to Florida just as well as Indiana to Texas. On age, Rayburn will be sixty-three. A machine politician, McHutt will be gathering delegates, saying very little. Wallace will be adding to his stature because of his spiritual qualities in a spiritual world movement which always grows out of fear as masses crowd together in the group herd which is the basis and the genius of mankind.

Paranthetically, if two people cling together for safety, isn't it obvious, when world safety is at stake, that two nations cling together. And isn't it sense that if the danger is unique that all peoples in danger will crowd together into one for safety?

Now, while the little peoples are confused, let us not believe that any one person is very confused. Little peoples will have little leaders seeking self, so I can't see McHutt and Rayburn as against Wallace and Pepper in leadership in 1944. I can see that they have all of the normal advantage—that is, political-ly. But a politician is always within the framework of the now. I believe that one who may predict the trend and still be a politician will have a good organization following up the prediction, will not lose in four years. The trouble with the predictor generally is that he is an egotistical solo artist. He doesn't organize behind his leadership. That is for the man of the Harold Young type. This sort of thing should start now, as the other people are already following the trend of political thought.

A press is the most urgent necessity. A radio must be analyzed and put to practical use. The timing of speeches must be recognized. If the thing begins with Wallace and Pepper in their own personal lives, we shall have a start. They

shall have to recognize the value of time. Wallace is too dilatory; Pepper is too diffuse. Wallace does not know how to see and dismiss the many. Pepper does not know how not to see too many. Wallace needs an honest, intelligent, loyal, rapid-fire, dispatch-type newspaper graduate who is not an editorial writer, and not a think-tank. Huss is good, and of the right type. She is for personal protection and personal needs. But there must be more than one, and one who has had public expression and public relationships inside the framework of newspaper and radio, but not in the editorial page slow-up. And then there must be a man thinking day and night about Wallace as a public person in front of Mr. Average Man. And there must be another man traveling this country, bringing back to Wallace the names of friends and the little things that may be done in dignity for those in this country who think as does Wallace. That man should also know how to handle his card index files. He must be a genius for organization. He must have a secretary, or secretaries, who can put out volume as well as quality. This is a big country. I feel that 100,000 letters would not be too many in four years to carry the personal touch. This is only 25,000 letters a year, or 2,000 per month, or 60 per day. These letters should come in the wake of the news.

The man Howe who did this job for Roosevelt never missed a birthday in Iowa, or an election to the presidency of the stamp club in Michigan.

Culpeper, Virginia
January 10, 1941

Dear Mrs. Pepper,

I do not know whether you put my name on the Christmas card list, but you won't mind my thanking you.

We have made our contacts through a very grand person. Yours is the very big job--mine very incidental. But, as ships that pass in the night, please remember that when and where I may serve with you the person who is my private man-of-the-year, you may call upon me.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

February 9, 1941

Dear Claude:

Pepper

You ought to make a rather brief speech as a part of the Senate lend-lease debate. It would be splendid if the President and George were to pick you to carry a major exposition of the bill, but I rather imagine that George will grab that one. We have been out of touch a little bit, and perhaps you have already gone this far, but it does no harm to check in.

You are in a slightly stalemate position. You started the talk in the Senate along the lines of exactly what has happened. In Florida you saw the future very clearly; I think also when we spent our weekend in the country. In some manner this spirit has been lost with me as the mass of speech-making has covered the ground piecemeal in Congress and on the radio.

It will do no good to talk about "England, our first line of defense" now or to say that Hitler is coming here, or that we have to hurry. Since the President has taken his position on the lend-lease business, I doubt if it would be well received if you were to tell the President on the Senate floor just how he should lend and lease. The real principle should be either:

1. To assemble the stocks and bonds held in England which represent English wealth in New York and South America for orderly disposal through the R. F. C. or a special defense financial agency as England gets our goods with which to fight. Otherwise we will again merely be out of pocket, with England, defeated or victorious, still owning tremendous wealth in the western world, while the United States owns nothing in England except a lot of due bills. Or,
2. The acceptance from England of I.O.U.'s (promises to pay in a fixed and orderly manner beginning after the peace, but with British-owned securities in the western world definitely pledged for the definite debt.)

The argument is that, if England is beaten, Germany will be able to demand British wealth of whatever nature, anywhere in the world, as the German indemnity. Naturally if Germany owns title to the billions which Britain has invested in the western world, we will have a real battle with Germany over economic ownership south of the Rio Grande in twenty-one nations. If we get title now, we can always be generous with any funds we have in rehabilitating the British Empire. But why leave wealth, or evidences of wealth lying around loose as England faces invasion?

Rayburn, speaking over the radio today, said that England is running out of cash. What of it? We have too much gold. It would be far better to place this gold, actual ownership and evidences of earmarked gold or credits, in return for securities so that the flow of gold may trickle south of the Rio Grande as England buys stuff from South America. Financially the lend-lease bill sounds screwy to me unless the President has a definite plan of British security liquidation or transfer.

For instance, take the tin situation in Bolivia. Is there any cockeyed reason why Bolivian tin, two-thirds owned by wealthy British families, should move in profit or in fact to England for smelting and then be transhipped to the United States to make war materials for Britain? Why shouldn't we take over this two-thirds tin interest in return for planes? This example is enough to cover a hundred other similar cases. If you really want a long list, and are moving toward this sort of a political position for yourself, I shall put someone to work on it. Otherwise there is no use.

I have heard repeatedly that Roosevelt is not entirely in agreement with the financial advisers in the matter of New York credits for South American countries. He really does believe in hard money, and he seems to be acutely aware that it is necessary to move some of our excess gold reserves out of this country. At the present time all we are doing is buying all the gold of the world at inflated prices. This merely means we are selling wages, hours, and material for gold which we don't want. We must in some way stop the purchase of gold. We must in some way give England all possible help. But we must not leave either England or Germany after peace in control of the larger material resources of this western world.

It would be very interesting if you could get Roosevelt's mind as soon as possible so that we could plan more intelligently what a forward looking speech should consist of. Remember, you have been the predictor of future events. Roosevelt is a part of the making of the future. You should tell the country what the future is to be. Your big line of prediction will come when you forecast the basis of the peace and America's position during and after the peace. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee you are in a proper spot, and, as the first man to see England and America as one against Hitler, you cannot be accused of being pro-German if you take a sensible American position.

You have said that you see America as the supreme controller of a world at peace through the American authority of a supreme Navy and a supreme economy. We are at this time, and probably will be for many decades, the largest world customer because we are the largest manufacturing point. Naturally, we cannot buy any more than we sell unless we become what England has been for two centuries—a creditor nation—receiving dividends and profits from properties and trade outside our borders. England would be only a fourth-rate power if only the British Isles were in the picture. It is her commerce, her ship carrying charges, and her ownership of business outside of England that make her the boss. We gave England about ten billion dollars last time, and got nothing back. We shall give her ten billion dollars worth of war stuff this time, but we should get the position that England has always held in return for this second supreme national effort. Our debt structure may reach one hundred billion dollars unless we have assets coming in to pay the interest and the principle. England or Germany emerge the economic victor under any capitalistic set-up while we groan under a capital debt with no assets outside the nation.

Perhaps this all could be said as a part of your forecast of the destiny of America—her obligations and her plan for world peace and the part she must play. Any sensible person knows our naval program will make us supreme on the seaboards. But what good is there to policing the seaboards at our tax-payers' cost if an England or a Germany owns the tin mines of Bolivia and smelts the tin of Bolivia and fixes the price of this tin as a tax on American industry? It is nuts. If we are to be the boss, we will have to have the ownership of the things with which to pay the cost of bossing.

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Sincerely,

February 14, 1941

Memorandum to Pepper:

Become the champion of the South with tact. It will not be necessary for you to advertise yourself as a Southerner, but a man reaching for national and maximum effectiveness must have:

1. World wide concepts.
2. National welfare foremost at all times.
3. A practical mind aware at all times of his State, but moving with that job toward his section, for, if the Northeast is better organized and better represented, the South and West will not be represented.

This third is more of a silent business of effective work than it is oratory. I believe the actual organization of any bloc is distasteful. Each individual problem is the only method, but the broad concept that the national welfare calls for sectional protection (sectional evenness), is healthy and sound.

C. E. M.

Memorandum of work:

February 14, 1941

Want to discuss with Pepper a proposed dinner here around the fifteenth of March. This may be one of a series of dinners based on the idea that the South and West must unify within the defense effort, without any disturbance to the unity of the defense effort itself. The point is one we have always made: that a national economy must have a national spread of the defense effort.

My feeling about unity is that it starts with the individual, and goes to his family and his community and his state, and then his nation. All the people in the world can talk about unity, but the doing of it is the thing. It is more than a concept. Now when Sheppard said over the phone that the Military Affairs Committee is making selections entirely on the basis of the defense of America, they have the concept of unity. But essentially Sheppard will do more about unity, and so would Dies, if he realizes that unity itself is a growth from self upward and outward.

So when the Macon fellow and Dies and Sheppard turn their backs on their places of origin, and do not try in the Washington scene to determine with intelligence just what the communities which they know most about can do and should do in this unity of defense, I do not think they are accurate, and in essence they are bumptious. They know more about their communities and best how to represent their Democratic set-up, and the business of seeing that their communities do intelligent defense service, than anyone else.

The rebuttal is that these men are statesmen and are above "pork-barrel" methods. The actualities are that they are lazy, selfish, and super-conceited, or afraid of their reputations as statesmen if they do anything for their communities, or with their communities. The bureaucrats in the Army and Navy foster this.

If the Defense Council, representing the industrial East is not curbed, is not adjusted to the national economy, both for defense and after peace, there is tragedy ahead for the South. We only have the Senators and Representatives from the South to help. We must have a crusade within the unity itself. It is possible that Byrnes may be stimulated, as well as George and Sheppard and Pepper. It is also possible that Western Senators and Southern Senators who have always functioned in protection because the oppression of tariffs and freight rates may have been joint.

The trouble now is time. "All out aid to Britain" is this Spring's fashion. All thought of peace and the national future and the look ahead for the Western Hemisphere with Germany and Britain still owning South America in terms of stocks and bonds, is lost sight of in this Spring emergency. But intelligent and quiet people may be making decisions with these things in their minds if enough work is done. In the "all out aid to Britain" there will be hundreds of negotiations. The big trade is Roosevelt's responsibility.

I, of course, visualize a Western world freed from economic domination after the war. I see the United States as the next center of world policing when the defense bill has produced the equipment. We are not going to junk ships again.

And I see the South and Midwest prostrate if near-sightedness controls under the general banner of rush. Whenever rush is rush, very good. When it is not, very bad if rush location dislocate national economy.

Pepper

February 15, 1941

There are three parts to the personal progress of a Senator:

1. He must be in the line of national thought. He could get no national recognition (and this means he could get no national vote) unless he has been identified with the thought trend of the nation as a whole. The time has passed when a man can be a compromise candidate in this country--the sort of candidate picked by the section bosses to carry out their personal and private promises. The time for this started to end with McKinley and Hannah, and later Harding and Dogherty ended the racket. The country is going to pick its leaders in '44 and '48 probably based:

- A. On the man's soundness internationally, and
- B. A conviction in regard to his intelligence to handle post-war problems in America.

2. The machinery of Democracy probably will carry on. This means a Republican Party and a Democratic Party. One should not look beyond '44 except to say that names have changed in America before. Whigs and Republicans became Democrats in the Civil War crisis. Therefore, no look beyond '44, but excessive regularity until '44 because in the first realization that the party is in danger, all regular Democrats will become hysterical, and will seek to name one of party regularity to save the perquisites of party regularity within their own states. I am saying that it is doubtful if '44 will reach beyond party lines in picking a candidate. (With the possible exception that Willkie may be the nominee of a coalition. There will be a great effort to form a national party having such diverse elements as possibly La Guardia, labor moderates, Wisconsin, Willkie, and the like. But this will not be cohesive, and it will not prevail against one or other of the strong party tops. So the next President and Vice President will be men of international vision, with reputation for affirmative action, not complainers. Sectionalism will become less important monthly.

3. No man can reach national party recognition at a convention in the sense of candidacy who has not a solid group of effective votes at least as second choice. McNutt is a second-choicer over a wide area. Richie came dangerously near this, and would have been the nominee if Roosevelt had been stopped and Baker had proven too colorless. This was because Richie achieved second choice votes everywhere. If I were to start out today with the handicap of sectionalism, I would move from my own state to the next state, to the next state, to the next state, cultivating interest and being of mutual helpfulness to my neighbor--not in activity for self, but in the consciousness that our people deserve representation in Washington, the capitol of the United States, in every intelligent way that does not offend the United States in its destiny. That is what representative government means. (It is desirable that one become the salesman of sectional consciousness, looking down to '44 in the privacy of the performance. While such a one may lead a public fight against the poll tax, he will balance his position by leading many a private battle for the protection of the communities of his fellow citizens. Since one's state is in process of defending America, and since one's state has abandoned the poll tax, one obviously has two special small activities. I use the word "small" because they are sectional activities, as against a national view and an international peace consciousness.)

It has been said that there are three general lines of activity over a four year period. Attached is a lot of detail that may have some thought in it.

The psychological point here obviously is the President. This may be handled, but attached to the Senator, an alive press specialist as a secretary and traveling companion who does not become, and is not known, as a press representative. The moment a man becomes a press representative, he is marked, and his employer is marked as a self-seeking man. But the reason for having a press-conscious secretary attached to a Senator at all times (practically

living with him) is that no man sincere in his answers can afford the corroding influence of being himself press conscious. The press conscious Senator will become insincere; his timing will become bad; he will become over-eager, like a Josh Lee. (Russell, of Georgia, in my mind, is the best young man in the Senate who times himself and his performance. He comes are near being the junior Byrnes as we have. Therefore, Russell is important, and Georgia is a neighbor. Russell never will compete, but may be inspired to promote, for everywhere there is a kingmaker.)

Pepper:

February 15, 1941

1. Let us discuss what is to be the new leadership of:
 - A. The Senate,
 - B. The House,
 - C. The Democratic Party, when the older group now in shall pass out.
2. Let us discuss the molding together in the country of a group of young men who are liberal and intelligent; and another group who are liberal and wealthy.
3. Let us discuss the pulling together around a personal friendship, or loyalty diverse groups, leaders, and personalities of weight in the country. For example: McCormick, Dave Beck, Dick Reynolds, Barry Bingham, etc.
4. Of course, of greatest importance is an affirmative policy
 - A. For the country now,
 - B. For the country after the war,
 - C. For the world after the war.

Marsh:

It is one thing to achieve the right for service and another to serve. The road to the right to serve is hard and thorny and devious. One must shed the scars and take a path at some point. At this point one moves into sublimation of service with no desire for pay. That is the best for one. So when anyone along the road between now and '44 seeks specifically for a favor, or seeks you for one express act, or requests something contrary to the inner light, that one along the road must be left there. Otherwise the weight against one's intellectual honesty will destroy oneself ~~as~~ he travels the road. It has been said above that one must not traverse for self the road. The road to be is the only justification for the labor and the pain. That is the only thing that will sustain one--the light of service ahead. One cannot want to serve for self and ever reach this quality of sublimation as one goes through Gethsemane. There is such a thing as the monastery of

the mind which can in unity be practiced in fact and in time. It has been said today that one can^{see}/diverse persons throughout this country, such as Beck and McCormick. I will add Hague and the Chairman of the National Committee and negro White. But I should also insist that these persons might in honesty along the line of the mutual benefit and the mutual admiration when the time and the place and the thought ~~will-allow~~ are alike. For instance, I am sure that Dave Beck may have the admiration of the Senator because he so well represents labor. It may be Beck against Bridges in honesty, and Beck against Lewis in honesty; Beck with Hillman with honesty, and with Tobin in honesty. Then one may go to Chicago, or one may fight Hitlerl, or defend this country from the greed of England. But one must stay within the honesty and reduce the concept to the point of honesty, if one is not to die within himself as one how is all things to all men.

In building an organization for service along the road and the path, in making the filling stations, in putting men on the horse, in going into the inns for a bath, one must choose wisely. The best ^{ch}oice will be known by observing whether these persons ask for self. Another point is to observe whether they ask one to be intellectually dishonest in statement or in contriving. For instance, if a McCormick were to suggest that a Senator see the President to make a statement which is intellectually dishonest, for an honest purpose, that man would eventually corrode. Inside of this New Deal corrosion has destroyed it. Today there was selected an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for one reason and for one reason only. Corcoran should have been selected. He was not selected simply because his ultimate and well-known patriotism had been corroded by too much cunning and contriving of deals over too long a time. He had become, over the years, a professional "fixer", of the highest grade, and a getter-of-things-done with speed as virtue left him and he bragged in too many places about how he had done things cleverly. The country reaches beyond this now.

On the subject of '44, Wallace will be the nominee if Roosevelt backing and Wallace effectiveness coincide. This is a long, long road, and my present analysis is that there is one chance in five for this to happen. Therefore, there are four chances out of five that it won't happen. So, if Byrnes goes to the Supreme Court, it is a step in the right direction, because it permits Russell to inherit the business managership of the younger group.

~~Macomber~~

Butter

February 15, 1941

There are three parts to the personal progress of a Senator:

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- A. On the man's soundness internationally, and

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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 18, 1941

Dear Claude: *Pepper*

You added to your reputation for what you are in your speech yesterday.

You did not add to your reputation of what you are to be.

The Vice President said, "He showed a great heart." I was very glad Wallace heard you throughout. He heard no one else.

You have so much work to do that it leaves me gasping. If you live, within a relatively few years you will be Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. There is so little time. A few things occur to me which are immediate. Broadly, they consist of voice culture, speech timing, rate of speed of delivery, emphasis on a high line by dropping and slowing the voice to the pitch and character of the audience and the intelligence of the audience, and condensation of thought into short-sentence-simplicity. You go back to nature and your youth as you lose yourself in your emotion. One becomes, as a listener, more enthused about your energy and your sincerity than they do about what you say, as enunciation is slurred through speed so that it makes it very hard on the listener to get the sense.

For example, I refer to Austin, when Bone asked him whether there was anything worse than war. This man Austin is not an orator. He bored me. But under the pressure of his emotion, and probably because his brain is slow to function, he hit the high note of yesterday in the Senate.

As I read the paper this morning, I realized the strength of your statement in print, and evidently the reporter did.

I am looking forward to your experience in Canada. I believe that here you will make an international speech as a try-out for the days to come, unless the world events move so fast this month that even a trip to Canada may seem out of place.

I shall be in New York for a few days. The big world smash is so near that it seems silly to talk this way now. But I may come back with a mechanical contrivance through which you may train your voice quietly yourself. You have the big thing--the heart. Let's talk about it at breakfast for an hour or so next week. I shall let you know.

I like your man Clemens. I believe he has the thing which you need--a constant awareness of the practical, with a belief in you. He will be a servant in the house, and will keep Florida healthy, and, I hope, more than Johnson, he will keep the money people and the "gimme" people off your back. You told me in Florida that you had to watch your health. You know that you have to watch your soul. In between there the business of being a Senator is a killing thing. Let Clemens in Washington, and Johnson in Florida, do this middle business this year. If you don't, your health and the country's good will suffer.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 18, 1941

Dear Dick:

Here is one that puzzles me.

About four months ago, in the heat of the campaign, and while we were trying to keep Pepper functioning on the Hitler line and getting him ready to fight Wheeler at Chicago on the foreign plank, I was having a breakfast at his house. His wife interjected herself with one of her small problems.

She was president of the Women's National Democratic Club. Each president has gone out leaving the organization in stronger financial position. She said her honor was at stake if she did not get \$1,500.00. Time was short and important. I told her to go out and get it--suggested Jesse Jones as a consultant. She said she had a meeting the next afternoon, and I told her that I believed she could feel safe in telling her group that the small financial drive up to \$2,000.00 would succeed.

I said I thought so, even if Young, of Dallas, and George Brown, of Houston, had to be put to work. I did not know at that time that Jesse Jones had already put in some money, and she did not tell me. I merely thought he was good for a tap of this kind on egotism, or that he would tell this girl whom to telephone. She did not function.

A few days ago she got a little hysterical in Pepper's office and told me that I had underwritten and guaranteed, and that she was going out of office this month.

The Lord knows that I should not spend money in this way, and I haven't any moral feeling I should. But as a practical problem, even though Pepper has told me to ignore it, I feel I had better keep my 80-80 word, which means up to \$1,000.00. Young can't function because he is now out of the picture as Wallace's assistant. I do not wish to be obligated to Brown, who was asked to function and did not. Also, I do not wish to appear as a contributor.

I want to limit myself to \$1,000.00. It may be sent as contributions of \$500.00 from two Texans. It would be gracious if you and your son did it, or your daughter. There is, of course, a little by-product in these things as salvage, and a Port Arthur and a Waco source could send \$500.00 each. I could send \$500.00 through Andersen at Orlando, but we have nothing that we want there, and I don't want anything for Macon.

Possibly in an emergency I will write my own check through a secretary, or through Uniontown. But if you write me before the twenty-second, you may give me some light. You may charge the amount to me, to be cleaned

up at the end of the year, if you feel that is the way it should be handled, and should you determine that you can handle this. I do not need to tell you that I over-spend and over-promise all the time.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 18, 1941

Oppen
Dear Claude:

You added to your reputation for what you are in your speech yesterday.

You did not add to your reputation of what you are to be.

The Vice President said, "He showed a great heart." I was very glad Wallace heard you throughout. He heard no one else.

You have so much work to do that it leaves me gasping. If you live, within a relatively few years you will be Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. There is so little time. A few things occur to me which are immediate. Broadly, they consist of voice culture, speech timing, rate of speed of delivery, emphasis on a high line by dropping and slowing the voice to the pitch and character of the audience and the intelligence of the audience, and condensation of thought into short-sentence-simplicity. You go back to nature and your youth as you lose yourself in your emotion. One becomes, as a listener, more enthused about your energy and your sincerity than they do about what you say, as enunciation is slurred through speed so that it makes it very hard on the listener to get the sense.

For example, I refer to Austin, when Dore asked him whether there was anything worse than war. This man Austin is not an orator. He bored me. But under the pressure of his emotion, and probably because his brain is slow to function, he hit the high note of yesterday in the Senate.

As I read the paper this morning, I realized the strength of your statement in print, and evidently the reporter did.

I am looking forward to your experience in Canada. I believe that here you will make an international speech as a try-out for the days to come, unless the world events move so fast this month that even a trip to Canada may seem out of place.

I shall be in New York for a few days. The big world smash is so near that it seems silly to talk this way now. But I may come back with a mechanical contrivance through which you may train your voice quietly yourself. You have the big thing--the heart. Let's talk about it at breakfast for an hour or so next week. I shall let you know.

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
CARTER GLASS, VA.
JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 21, 1941

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

Pepper

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Charles:

Many, many thanks for your letter of the eighteenth.
I am anxious to have a chance to talk to you when
you return.

I am leaving this afternoon for Topeka. Will be back
Sunday afternoon and here from Monday until Friday
night.

I enclose a couple of radio speeches at which you
might glance.

Sincerely yours,

Charles

P:C

Enclosures 2

*Back - Had grand time -
excellent response -*

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
February 25, 1941

Dear Mrs. Pepper:

A check for \$1,000.00, payable to the
Women's National Democratic Club, is en-
closed. Mr. Marsh, who is out of town, has
asked me to see that you have this before
the next meeting of your club.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
March 3, 1941

Dear Senator Pepper:

My most valued friend on the West Coast
evidently heard clearly your Kansas speech
by radio. She says, "Good."

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
March 4, 1941

Dear Mrs. Pepper,

A letter along these lines would be helpful if you could get it off before you leave for Canada. The letter is merely a suggestion, and I know you will not copy it. It should be sent to Mr. E. S. Fentress, Newspapers Incorporated, Waco, Texas.

"Dear Mr. Fentress,

"A cashier's check did not reveal your name, but I traced it.

"As President of this club, I can assure you that I more than welcomed your aid. It was a life-saver, as I had the financial burden largely upon my own not too broad shoulders."

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
March 11, 1941

Dear Claude:

Perhaps a few hours at my house on
the evening of March 18, at seven, might
give you a needed rest.

I promise the guest list will be
limited to eight, with hands across the
Mississippi for the good of the South, and
the pleasure which I hope will be yours
as you rest a minute.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Time to Get Tough With the Dictators

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 6, 1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A few days ago another significant event occurred.

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

I have had a feeling since the beginning of this controversy that, since national policy is determined by national interest, there would come a time when Russia would move definitely into the orbit of the powers opposing the Axis. I think there has been great shortsightedness on the part, first, of Britain, and, then on the part of the United States of America in dealing with Russia. I think, if we had given greater assurance of strength to those ranks opposing the Axis, Russia would have been, perhaps, in a position to put up a little stronger front on their own part.

I venture to believe that an alternative was put to Russia when this war began: "Will you take a part of the loot of Poland or will you fight?" They very naturally said, "We will take a part of the loot and not fight." And when France was crushed an alternative proposal was again put to them: "Will you take a part of the loot of the Balkans or will you fight?" Again, seeing that England was hard pressed to survive and incapable of giving any aid, seeing that the policy of this country was still uncertain and equivocal, seeing that there was no ally in the Balkans of sufficient power to give them appreciable strength, again they said, not being entirely wedded to democracy, anyhow, "We will take part of the loot and still not fight." I think probably that the alternative is again being put to them: "Will you share the occupancy of the Dardanelles? Will you take part of the Near East? Will you carve up the Old World with us and take a share? Or will you fight?" And again without strength on the horizon apparently great enough to give them assurance of being able to stand out, they took the easy course, the way of least resistance, and said, "We will take the loot and still not fight."

How they save their conscience, how they appease their judgment against the fateful day when they will have to answer to this Hitler who now breaks off little chunks of the earth and drops them into their supine lap, is a matter of their strategy and destiny, and not of ours.

But now we have seen not just the Axis—Germany, Italy, and Japan—but we have seen beyond any question of a doubt that Russia has so much moved into the sphere of that constellation that she has even repudiated the sentiments of friendliness toward the opposing cause that she previously uttered.

We find the culmination of the whole scheme in the recent utterances of the Japanese foreign office, as given by one of their authoritative newspapers, as to what their aims are for a peace with the world. They say, of course, that our own defenses must be weakened; that we must reduce Hawaii to a naval base of relative impotence. They say that we and Britain must reduce the strength of our naval forces until they do not exceed those of the Axis. They say that the Monroe Doctrine shall be abrogated and that North America shall no longer claim the power to influence the destiny and the conduct of South America. Of course, they contemplate that Britain shall retreat from the east and from the Mediterranean and from the other points of advantage which the British hold upon the face of the globe. In other words, they lay down the ultimatum, "Retreat. Retreat. Retreat to your own shrinking sphere, or we will level at you the dastardly methods with which we have so gloriously succeeded in the months and the years past; and eventually you, too, shall crumble beneath this mighty effort."

And then we see Herr Hitler making a report to his Reichstag, which he calls, with sardonic hypocrisy, an elected body; and so he tells them that "the Reich shall live for a thousand years. There is no coalition possible upon the face of the earth that can stand against us." So does it appear, looking over the horizon that confronts the Fuhrer as he sits today, perhaps, upon his Olympian heights. As he stands where the brave Leonidas's men died and gloats over Thermopylae, which he has been able to conquer more gloriously than any tyrant of the past. It may be he will yet have the effrontery to stand on the Acropolis and try to claim for himself the glory of ancient Greece with the power of modern Germany. So this cruel pagan looks out upon the face of the earth and threatens all that comes within his sphere.

The question presents itself, Mr. President, to us, How much longer shall we wait to take the initiative away from the dictators? How many more miles shall we retreat? What other hiding places shall we seek? What new timidity shall clothe our efforts? What further uncertainty and doubt shall characterize our national policy?

Mr. President, how many sheep does a sheep-killing dog have to kill before he is branded as a sheep-killing dog? How many more nations besides the 15 he has already destroyed does Herr Hitler have to take to become the sheep-killing dog of the earth, to be destroyed like that dog which has castigated himself as unfit to live?

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

positive course that will at last take the initiative away from these braggarts of the tyrannical world?

If modern war has proved anything, it has proved that the advantage lies with the party which takes and presses the initiative; yet in no case have we ventured to assume the initiative. We prefer to sit back here and make our materials, to let the whirl of our factories be indicative of our national effort, and then, fearing to venture upon the high seas against an assassin's weapon, let them go to a useless grave and destination. We prefer to see the world points of advantage seized, from which aggressors can leap at our throat, to wait until they are already there before we attempt to dislodge them or even to become concerned about their presence and the threat they make there.

So, Mr. President, I want to make, if I may, today a few more affirmative proposals.

In the first place, I believe the time has come for action on the home front. I first suggest a declaration by the President and the approval by the Congress of a state of national emergency. If we do not face a national emergency today, when have we ever done so in our history? What Senator, what citizen, denies, down in the secret recesses of his heart, that his country faces one of the greatest emergencies of all its history? Who is there in this Congress who is not troubled in his consciousness by what lies ahead? And yet, somehow or other, we have not invoked—we will not invoke—the organized power of our Nation in the most efficient and effective form.

Mr. President, I will say now to those who might accuse me that I speak not of the usurpation of power or prerogative by the President. I speak of a partnership in cooperation between the people's President and the people's Congress. I propose that we share with him both the initiative and the responsibility for the program that is desirable—yea, imperative—for the Nation. Let it be understood, then, that I am not trying, in a time when democracy is so sorely pressed, to destroy or emasculate the power of the people's Congress. I suggest only that the Congress step up boldly and bravely to the front line of responsibility, and, taking her President by the hand, say, "Let us march forward in the democratic way to the preservation of democratic freedom."

In a state of emergency it is obvious, of course, what advantage would result to the Government, what response would come magically from the people to such a course. Then there would be no more of these little dilly-dallings such as occurred in the coal strike a bit ago. I was told by an authentic source that a good part of the argument in connection with efforts to settle that strike was as to whether the meeting should be held in Washington or in New York. What a commentary it is that at a time when the destiny of the race trembles upon the brink of disaster, responsible employees and responsible employers are stopping and slowing down the wheels of a na-

tion's effort because they dare to quibble about whether they will meet in Washington or in New York. It is a disgrace to the democratic concept that men of responsibility dare so to jeopardize, for personal advantage, a people's security. In a state of emergency I venture to say that no group of employees or employers would dare so to trespass upon the indulgent patience of their fellow citizens.

Mr. President, I advocate the full mobilization of the material, mental, and spiritual forces of the Nation. I believe even now we are only partially aroused. It is not possible to sense the tempo of the national effort without the disturbing consciousness that it has not yet come to vibrate in the way it should be expected to by an imperiled people. I do not pause to attach responsibility upon any legislative or executive group, or upon the people at large. I speak of the necessity for the future, and beg all to subscribe to the necessity of this affirmative course.

Every day people come to my office and say, "I am trying to get an invention observed in one of the departments, and I cannot get it looked into or seriously regarded." I do not know what the facts are, but I do know that it has been characteristic of the armed services, from the time with which I am familiar, to be slow to change, slow to take on innovations, slow to adopt a new method. By virtue of that very fact has the devilish genius of Hitler been able to make such a unique contribution to the strength, and, may I say, the magic might of German arms, in all of their cruel significance.

Who here is impregnating our services with a determination to make our machine not only in quantity equal to what the world can turn out, but in quality the superior of all? We have imitated the Germans in this and imitated the Germans in that, and followed their example in yet another course. I want to see someone begin to observe American genius manifested in American arms. Yet I am very much afraid that the casual inventor frequently finds a closed door when he goes to our services in this country. It looks sometimes as if they preferred to do things in the old way, in the way which they understand.

Mr. President, I happen to be a member of the bar, and I know the reluctance of my profession to take on new apparel, to enlarge its concepts to meet modern conditions. I will say to the credit of the laymen of America that they have immeasurably helped our profession by the scrutiny and the prodding they have applied to it. I want to see the same thing done by some competent agency in the Federal Government.

I know, of course, that we have an Inventors' Council. I know Mr. Kettering is a member of it. But I also have a feeling that they also too often regard these fellows who come with inventions or the results of research as just interlopers who want to take a part of their time with their crazy ideas.

I also referred to the mental resources of America. I am not altogether happy at the parade of the dollar-a-year men I have seen flocking to Washington. Many

of them are of great and unquestioned patriotism and ability, but I want to see a draft of brains—the brains of America—chosen wherever they may be found, and called to duty and service. I do not believe that so far the best brains of America have been mobilized to serve the Nation in this, the greatest crisis of our time.

I spoke of the spirit, of course, because without a mobilization of the spirit of our people we can take no hope of success. In his utterances on Sunday Hitler emphasized that in spirit no nation could match the people of his tyrannical Reich. Surely there is enough in the cause of democracy to make it easy to mobilize the spirit of the American people.

Why I do say the spirit? Because, Mr. President, I want to see formed in this Nation one single irresistible resolve—that freedom shall live and last upon the face of the earth. I want to see a sentiment which brooks no doubt about it, will allow no dispute, equivocation, or uncertainty; such majesty of mobilization in the realm of the spirit that nothing can stand against it in its onward march.

I think of a man who has enjoyed the highest esteem of this country, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh. Let me ask my fellow Senators and the people of America, which Lindbergh do they choose to follow, the Lindbergh of 1927, the man who dared do what none could think possible, or the Lindbergh who is the epitome of appeasement and defeatism in the year 1941? I honor Colonel Lindbergh—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will pardon me—

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator was asking a question. Does he want it answered or not? If the Senator declines to yield, that is all right. I will answer the question in my own time.

Mr. PEPPER. I say, Mr. President, that I do honor to the illustrious name of that great man; but if the American people are presented two phases of his career with respect to which they are called upon to make a choice, I prefer to follow the "eagle" of 1927, who soared through skies that were trackless, when no one was there to catch his falling plane or body. Into the nakedness of the dark night he went, alone and unaccompanied save by the spirit of an irresistible purpose; and he landed at Le Bourget field. If I have to choose, therefore, which Lindbergh I will follow, give me the Lindbergh who flew the Atlantic, not the Lindbergh who counsels his countrymen that the cause is already lost, even without a struggle.

If I have to choose in the Napoleonic life, give me the young man at Arcola, and at Lodi, who went forward in the face of the enemy's hail of bullets, and not the shrinking man at Waterloo. So, not withholding honor to an illustrious patriot or citizen, I think the American people, in the mobilization of their spirit, are entitled to know which heroes they follow.

I again think of old Andrew Jackson, and I remember the most dramatic

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statement I think I ever heard of falling from the tongue of man, which was attributed to him. My colleagues will remember that after his duel with Dickinson, when he stood and let Dickinson shoot at him first, he said, "Even if he had shot me through the brain, I still would have killed him." That is the kind of resolve I say should be America's.

How would these defeatists have assessed the chances of the Colonies at Valley Forge? What enthusiasm would the defeat of our armies have aroused time after time in the long and doubtful conflict? But in George Washington it was not so much skill of hand, glorious as it was, but the deep, irresistible purpose that was reflected from his indomitable character. George Washington was the American Revolution, because no man could bring the curtain of doubt over his determination to win the battle for the freedom of America.

I ask those who say, "the cause is lost already, let us grip in appeasement and friendship the bloody hand of Hitler, because that is the practical thing to do," when have men so stooped that they live by the rule of what is the practical thing to do?

Take out of any man in this body the resolve to mount to standards higher than he has ever reached and he would be worthy of death. So long as life lasts, men hope to go forward and upward in their course—to dream dreams—and eventually to soar beyond the summit of the highest clouds, over an Olympus that even Hitler cannot stain with his dastardly touch.

Mr. President, I defy any man justly to describe the psychology of America, the spirit of this Nation, as one of defeatism and timidity. It may be that, as in the case of a great giant, sentiment or consideration may lead us to hold in bound our terrible strength. As Woodrow Wilson said, it is a terrible thing to lead a great nation into war. It may be that we will place chains upon our own power; but if I thought my Nation dared not try to do right against any odds it would be unworthy of the affection and patriotism which we all give it.

Mr. President, the time has come when the American people need to make up their minds as to their course; and in order to make up their minds they not only do expect, but they have a right to expect, leadership from their Government.

Mr. President, I think it is a matter of general knowledge that for a month now we have been relatively paralyzed here in the Nation's Capital, and as a result of that paralysis here in our Congress and in the leadership of the country the people themselves have fallen apart. They wonder what is our policy, what is to be our course. They listen for some authoritative voice to say, "Come, follow me," and they will follow wherever such responsible leadership commands, if the cause is honorable and just.

I am led here to refer to an article appearing on the first page of Time for May 5, 1941, giving results of a Gallup poll of American public opinion. It says:

Question. Should the United States Navy be used to convoy?

Answer. Yes, 41 percent; no, 50 percent; undecided, 9 percent. Further question: Should the United States Navy be used to convoy if British defeat seems certain without them? Answer. Yes, 71 percent; no, 21 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

And a bit later the question:

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote? Answer. Go in, 19 percent; stay out, 81 percent. Further question: If it appeared certain there was no other way to defeat Germany and Italy except for the United States to go to war against them, would you be in favor of the United States going into the war? Answer. Would favor war, 68 percent; would oppose war, 24 percent; undecided, 8 percent.

That is the way the American people feel, in my opinion. In other words, if the emergency is such that it is necessary for them even to spill their blood they are ready. All they need is a government to lead them. And if we lull them into security by minimizing the nature of the emergency to them, by withholding the full import of our information as to the degree of the peril, we deceive a trusting people which has a right to expect leadership from its government.

It has long since ceased to be a matter of doubt in the opinion of most men in Washington as to what we ought to do, but they are torn between what they really think and what they want to think. We shrink, of course, from a greater effort. We shrink from an increasing danger. But, Mr. President, what is the duty of a government when a peril of this magnitude faces that country?

How is our situation to be distinguished from that of other nations which we consciously or unconsciously criticize? We wait. They waited. We see them encircled one after another. Look today at poor Turkey, still not at the front, and already surrounded. Why, it will be a military operation of insignificance to occupy the Dardanelles because they have already been surrounded.

Not only that, but the Germans have started up a revolution in the rear of the Turks, and all they need to do, when they get ready to strike, is just to pull the noose which lies around the neck of the dilatory Turks.

The same thing happened to Yugoslavia. The Germans waited until they got the Yugoslavs surrounded. They thought even these brave people would yield, because that is the mischief of the Hitlerian strategy.

I was privileged here a few nights ago to sit in the range of the voice of former Chancellor Bruening, of Germany. I ventured to express some opinion about what Hitler himself had contributed to the leadership of the German Army, and from his point of vantage former Chancellor Bruening made the statement that the German Army primarily relied upon the strategy of Hitler himself as to what course it should pursue. In his utterances of last Sunday Hitler does not say the German staff decided what should be

the course of action and the distribution of the German armies. He said, "I ordered through the German staff."

So this is the new technique which has been developed by this man Hitler, this devilish genius of the age, who has brought so many countries to defeat before they ever raised an arm in battle. Yet everyone has succumbed to the same strategy. Hitler first writes a book and tells everyone what he was going to do. Then he conquers 15 nations by his announced plan and still one after the other, his victims wait to be encircled and surrounded.

Have we escaped? "Oh," it is said, "when the time comes we will fight if we have to." Is that what Turkey is saying today? What do you and I think about whether the time has come or not? You have known all along what the result would be. You know that the Kaiser said, "Berlin to Bagdad." You know in the nature of things that he had no need to say a word; that no modern conqueror is going to leave bare of his feet the lands trod by Alexander the Great and Napoleon. You know that Hitler expects to stand in the shadow of the Pyramids and point to them, as Napoleon did, and say, "Soldiers, the riches of this old land lie in front of you."

Does anyone suppose that this historic man is going to stop in the Macedonia from which the conquests of Alexander emanated?

When he knows that Alexander in his day turned into Libya and across Suez, that he finally marched his legions across the Himalayas, down upon the plains of India, does anyone doubt that this fanatic, with eagle wings to carry him, not only will take Olympus but seek to scale every height that the world seems to possess? Is he going to stop short of the glory of those ancient victories? Yet Turkey, immediately in his path, waits already condemned.

And here in America stand we. We saw this thing start as a local conflict, a mere European war, we thought, and we were heedless to anyone who said, "It has a greater significance." At that time there was just Germany, and then her little satellite, Italy, who promised Hitler all aid short of war, they say. So Hitler began to expand his plans, to unfold his strategy. Finally it came to encompass the whole of Europe.

Then he said he was going to push England out of Europe. Then he declared he was going to drive her from the Mediterranean. Finally he was going to destroy the British life lines. So, like a disease that starts at the finger and creeps inevitably to the heart, he has carried on his strategy.

Then he determined to extend his encirclement, so he brings Japan into the orbit of his power. With Japan on the other side, the vast pincer movement begins to crush us between its two jaws. Of course, Japan started off first, as he taught her to start, by taking a bit of territory, pinching it off and assimilating it, and then moving forward a little and taking a little more and assimilating that, and finally a larger bite, moving down into Indochina, and, of course,

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waiting until the moment she dares assault the citadel of another defense in the Orient. There they stand—these braggarts, bullies, cowards, threatening to become a part of a vast pincer movement that will encompass us, the proud people of the United States of America.

What do I propose relative to this situation, Mr. President? I say that the time has come for the United States to get tough on the foreign front. I know of two examples that give me some support in that policy. One was that of the Barbary pirates, who levied tribute upon our commerce. They were the Hitlers of their day, the international bandits who stood beside the highway world—behind the trees, as it were—to levy their toll upon the first passerby.

To our shame, for awhile we paid, as did the nations of Europe. Then eventually somebody remembered the American sentiment, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." It was not in the American character to pay tribute to anybody. Our country was led by an administration which dared to speak up and to act. It became tired of tyranny by petty tyrants and highwaymen. The result was that in only a little while we were no longer troubled with the Barbary pirates, and we paid no further tribute.

We may come home for another analogy. A few years ago—be it said as another blot upon the escutcheon of our country—a few score gangsters terrorized the whole Nation. We seemed to stand impotent before their assault. No home in America was safe from their ravages. The wicked hand of the kidnaper might lift any sleeping baby from its cradle and throw it down a mountainside to its destruction or hold it in some unspeakable place for perfidious ransom. For months—even years—the spirit of America was not aroused. Then at long last the American character again reasserted itself. It said, "No tribute to anybody, even in indulgence."

Finally we started to send the gangsters the kind of message they could understand. We said, "Thou shalt not" with bullets. The national indignation was so fierce that they fell before it. Now we are no longer worried by kidnapers. Homes are safe with the windows open. Children play in the yards of America again, like the descendants of a valorous past, because we dared to have enough of petty highwaymen levying tribute upon our people.

Mr. President, I propose that the United States wipe the legal cobwebs and classic prohibitions from its thinking. Let us streamline our attitude toward this danger, the way the tyrants streamline the solution of their problems.

For example, let us here and now, without another day's delay or dallying, tell the wide world that we are going to get the goods to England.

There are a number of ways by which we can get them there. It is a matter of tactics. It is a question of choice. We should choose the means which suit us best. I can think of several ways. We can occupy Greenland and Iceland, and build practically a bridge of ships and airplanes from this continent to Green-

land, thence to Iceland, and thence to Britain. That is one way to get the goods through.

Another way to deliver the goods is to have a line of ships directed toward the British destination, and to put a sufficient air force—both lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air craft—over and along the sides of the lane, with destroyers, cruisers, and, if necessary, battleships, and then to those home ships say, "Go to your destination, and we will keep any prowling marauder from intercepting your course."

Another thing we can do is something we should have done a long time ago. We should forget the shibboleth of neutrality, which has done nothing but endanger our ultimate peace, and go back to the principles of international law, upon which this Nation was founded, upon which it grew great, and upon which it shall forever stand if we are to remain a first-class power among the nations of the earth. When we go back to international law we shall have a right to send, not only British ships, but our ships, if need be, directed and guided by the sturdy hands of American seamen, to their destinations bent upon as holy a mission as that of the knight who sought the Holy Grail—to save the cause of the spirit of the Master himself.

Then when the prowlers of the night, the assassins of the sea, come to sink a ship in violation of the rules of international law, they shall be entitled to and may expect just retribution from a nation which has armed itself for its own protection and security. We can send a convoy along with the ships; we can scatter them out singly, or we can follow any other course we may deem desirable.

There is yet another course which we may pursue. We can hunt down the prowlers as hounds would hunt a hare or fox. We can seek them out, as we did the Barbary pirates, for they are all in the same category.

By the way, it is an interesting commentary upon modern international morality that the submarine commander who performed the very valorous deed of sinking the *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow also boasted of the fact that he had sunk ships in the Mediterranean when the civil strife was going on in Spain. No morality restrained the perfidious hand of the dictator in a neutral conflict with which he had naught to do except to press his own iniquitous cause.

Mr. President, I have suggested these things we can do. In my opinion, either or all would be agreed to by the people of America if an authoritative and determined leadership should say that that is the best way to meet the challenge. So far as I know, the facts are all undisputed. We and England together are building only about 2,300,000 tons of shipping a year. Yet since the first of March the Germans have been sinking ships at the rate of 100,000 tons a week. In other words, together we are building at the rate of, roughly, two and one-half million tons a year, and the Germans are sinking them at the rate of 5,000,000 tons a year. Every time they sink an-

other ship our cause is that much weaker. Every time another vessel falls beneath the waves and the seamen who manned it struggle with their last desperate drowning gasp, it means fewer guns in the hands of British soldiers, less food in the mouths of babes, and fewer weapons in the grasp of valiant, hard-pressed Britons.

Shall we sit supinely by, racing in our shipyards with Hitler's submarines? What a commentary upon the intelligence of a nation's policy. We only in our shipyards will try to vie with a foe like that.

So, Mr. President, it is a matter of intelligent defense. A man is no hero if he arms himself with a cornstalk and goes out to fight a man with a rifle. The American people want somebody in authority to tell them what are the facts and what is demanded. We need not doubt the people's response. I challenge any man to point to a case in which the people of the United States have failed to respond to a courageous leadership from their natural and chosen leaders.

Mr. President, getting the goods to England, and getting them there now, is only a part of the problem. I heard some of our officials say two or three days ago, "Next year our shipbuilding program will step up very perceptibly, and 3 years from now we will have a magnificent building program."

I wonder what historians will say if they look back and find that to be a nation's policy. What ignominy will fall upon our heads if we let that be our Nation's policy. Do we want to let millions be crucified later because there is a jeopardy that a few might die an honorable death now? Every time we stave off the evil day of meeting these tyrants and oppressors, effectively it means that millions of our boys must shed their blood for our delay and dilatory tactics. Our case is like a general who has not the courage to strike when the enemy is weak, having later to put upon his conscience in the other world the price of his erroneous policy and his shriveled courage. There have been many times when a general has had to sacrifice a company in order to save a battalion or a regiment or an army; and I remember that in the country which is yours and mine there were heroes who said, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

American boys shrink from battle, of course; but they would rather see a few seamen or a few sailors, if need be, or a few airmen, if necessary, lose their lives now rather than that we should inevitably ultimately have to send another expeditionary force to South America, if not to Europe. Then what will we say to those boys who throw it in our faces that we could have spared them that?

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

Mr. PEPPER. Excuse me; I decline to yield.

Another method, Mr. President, by which we could get a bit "tough" on the foreign front is to occupy the points of vantage from which these monsters are preparing to strike at us. In that category I include Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, the

Canary Islands, Dakar, and with the British Singapore.

I am willing to go as far as the fifteenth meridian of longitude. The people who own those territories know that our purpose is not that of aggression. They know that we would take those lands as trustees not only for our safety but for theirs. They know that they tremble in their boots against the day when they will be taken by the other side.

Mr. President, I pose the question. What would history have said of General Meade, at Gettysburg, if he had failed to occupy Little Round Top and Big Round Top because he did not have an easement from the owner of the land?

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, does the Senator ask for an answer to that question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. The Senator asked a question. I should like to answer it.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNKER in the chair). The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. McCARRAN. I understood the Senator to propound a question.

Mr. PEPPER. I decline to yield.

Mr. McCARRAN. Does the Senator desire an answer to the question?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I decline to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. PEPPER. So the question presents itself, Mr. President, What general is justified in letting the enemy get a point of vantage from which to strike you down? That is the question we have to answer. What right does Hitler have to occupy Dakar? What right does he have to prevent us from taking steps to avoid a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads? Why should we give him a chance to gain the points from which he expects to launch an attack upon us?

I think naval and military strategists will agree that if we profess to defend America it will take three navies, one in the Pacific, one on the Atlantic, at the shores of this continent, and one to close the exits from Old World Europe and Africa. So I am urging, Mr. President, that we for once take the initiative from Hitler; and by so doing we can assure keeping open the life lines of Britain.

The last thing I think we might do is to address a word to Japan. A short while ago we read in the newspapers that Hitler at last delivered an ultimatum to Vichy, "Where do you stand? With me or against me?"

And he expects an answer.

At this time I think we should turn a searching inquiry to this bandit in the east, and say, "How serious are you with these declarations you have made?"

Let us demand and receive certain safeguards against this assassin lurking behind the door to stick a stiletto in our backs as soon as we become more engaged in the Atlantic. Like another Mussolini with his dagger poised on France when a moment of crisis came from Germany, stands Japan ready to assassinate us at the first possible opportunity.

I venture to suggest that, of course, there are many easier ways of solving the problem. If we will just modify the law which now prohibits the recruiting of American aviators in the United States for service with the Chinese Army, and let Chang Kai-Shek, one of the big men of his time, have the advantage of some gallant American boys at the controls of some first class American bombing planes, fifty of them, in my opinion, can make a shambles out of Tokyo.

For one, I want to see the Japs get back some of these things they have done to poor China and that they threaten to do to their other enemies on the face of the earth. Did Italy and Germany hesitate to let their volunteers go into Spain? I am talking about dealing with the present-day Barbary pirates and the Dillingers. You cannot fight them with a legal writ or a musty lawbook or with a tedious legal routine. You have got to let them understand something that is within their consciousness. So a few good bombs dropped by a few good American air pilots volunteering their services to Chang Kai-Shek—and I hope, if I do not believe, that there are some now on their way there, and I think probably the brave little men in the East will calm down a little. If they do not, I suggest the remedy I remember as a boy reading in a history book. It was a picture, if I do not remember incorrectly, of General Taylor saying, "Captain Bragg, give them a little more grape."

Oh, well, some say that means full-scale war. It means what we want it to mean. Hitler said a little while ago that he was not going to surrender the initiative to his enemy. I am talking about trying to save an expeditionary force somewhere at some time, and I am talking about trying to save my country at the cheapest possible price from full-scale war. But we cannot save our country if we postpone action until we are driven in a corner.

The time has come now for us to make up our minds to adopt one of two courses. Either let us quit this preparation, let us stop these utterances, and go back to our own shrinking shores and build another Chinese wall around America, to last as long as it will, pin our faith in another Maginot line of the sea, or else do something that we regard as effective defense. If we lose a few lives even now the sacrifice is inconsiderable as compared to what will be demanded of us at a later time—and all too tragically soon.

Mr. President, in conclusion let me say that I have heard it said that America has a rendezvous with destiny. If we should be permitted to experience that glorious destiny; if we shall not be cut short before we reach the zenith of our glory and power; if that omnipotent God Who has always sheltered and nurtured us has an inglorious end in view for us; insofar as we are the masters of our own destiny, Mr. President, I prefer to see the last gallant American hand reaching, clutching at the standards of the enemy, his body fallen like Pickett's men across the ramparts of the foe and his last gasping breath shouting his sentiments of determination and purpose, and not to see a glorious people surprised in camp or slain supinely in bed.

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SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER.

PEPPER MAKES TOUR TO URGE BRITISH HELP

SENATOR TO GIVE RADIO AD-
DRESS IN DALLAS SUN-
DAY MORNING

Determined to convince Texans
that the Lindbergh-Wheeler Isola-
tionists would lead this country to
slavery and ruin, Senator Claude
Pepper of Florida, congress' ace in-
terventionist, arrived in Dallas
early Sunday to preach the gospel
of all-out aid to Great Britain.

Pepper took advantage of a lull
in the senate's business to make a
flying speaking tour of the Middle
West, and Dallas was his first stop.

The senator, who is urging the
United States to take over Dakar
and French possessions in the West-
ern Hemisphere to prevent an axis
attack on the Americas, arrived
at Love Field in an American Air-
lines plane at 1:20 a. m. He will
broadcast his appeal for greater aid
to Britain and his reply to Lind-
bergh and Wheeler over KRLD at
8:30 a. m. Sunday.

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Mass Meeting Stated.

Pepper will speak at a Dallas
mass meeting at the Hotel Adolphus
Tuesday night, after he makes ad-
dresses Monday in Oklahoma and
Tuesday before the Texas Legisla-
ture in Austin. The Dallas mass
meeting will be sponsored by the
American Legion, and Pepper will
talk immediately after President
Roosevelt's fireside chat with the
nation.

Pepper expects the president to
make an important declaration of
the government's objectives in his
fireside talk and will interpret and
elaborate on the president's re-
marks.

The Florida senator was met at
the airport by his friend, Charles
Marsh, Florida publisher.

After his Dallas address, Pepper
will fly to Amarillo for a big rally
there Wednesday night.

He then will proceed by plane to
Kansas City, St. Louis, Milwaukee,
Indianapolis, Detroit, Buffalo, Ro-
chester and Pittsburgh. He is
scheduled to return within two
weeks.

Urges Utmost Aid.

Washington, May 24 (INS).—Sen.
Pepper (Dem.) of Florida, who has
demanded in frequent senate
speeches all-out aid to Britain, left
tonight on a speaking tour on which
he will stress, he said, that Britain
"must get the materials of war,"
and England "must get food."

"The future of the world will be
determined in the next five
months," Pepper said. "If we can
hold the line until the first of No-
vember, Hitler cannot conquer the
world. The supreme effort, there-
fore, of defense must be concen-
trated in that short time."

"If the line is to hold, however,
Britain must get the materials of
war, which will enable her to stand
against the mechanized armies of
Hitler, and England must get food.
The sealanes of the world, there-
fore, must be kept open. The
strategic areas of the oceans must
be kept out of Hitler's control. All
materials from beyond the seas
must be kept out of Hitler's hands.
Our production must be stepped up
at least 50 per cent.

"We must resolutely lay it down
that England must not and shall
not fail."

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PRESERVATION COPY

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
July 31, 1941

Dear Claude:

This has been a jumpy morning in that I am getting off. I do not think a copy of the enclosed letter sent to Young can hurt you, and I do not think it indelicate. But on this matter, I am not sending a copy to him because it is of the one-and-one-equal-two type.

Attached is a Free French suggestion.

The next suggestion is that you be alone with humanity and without irritation whenever possible. By "alone" I do not mean without people. I mean alone from the insistence of the selfish which drains one's soul and bankrupts one's energy and will. Remember that the inarticulate millions who need you cannot have you if you are bankrupt. All the extra humanness and time and gaiety which may be yours should be spent among the humble people of Florida who are your boss. The great reservoir beyond this belongs to this world. Don't let any man or woman steal from Florida and from the world simply because they are bent upon the theft.

When I, thinking just this way about myself, return in thirty days from cleaning barnacles and coming back with a personal coat of paint, I shall be glad to talk to you about myself or yourself in the spirit of this note.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
July 31, 1941

Dear Claude:

Sitting here after having had a refreshing talk with you, I feel like a letter. I see you in body, in mind, and in spirit. The body we have talked about. The use of your mind for your country in the coming weeks we discussed by telephone. I had just begun to work on the Free French suggestion, but I have stopped mid-stream to say something which I do not know. But I am now to say it.

You were the first of the Roosevelt men to speak independently ahead of the President on foreign policy. I see ahead many others who see broadly eye to eye with Roosevelt, who must in the public interest follow your course--a very brave course now fifteen months old with you.

A group of lesser men have divided for and against Roosevelt. There is something very deep in the common man of America which he reserves himself. He follows no one blindly because of his own very great sense of self-interest and personal initiative which has brought him where he is. This is democracy in the pure form.

If I see a great weakness in Roosevelt, it is in the idolatry around him. He must work very fast. He has little time to convince individuals, nor has Hitler. But, if the democratic process is to be preserved, it will be by the friends of Roosevelt, and not by the enemies of Roosevelt. So the point of most intelligent aid to democracy will be a gathering place of a very few men who will not hinder Roosevelt but who will aid him by an independence of thought and action in the line of, and in support of, the Roosevelt foreign policy.

I think of you as sometimes the scout ahead of the army of liberal thought, and sometimes as a shock trooper meeting head on the Roosevelt enemy of the Wheeler and Lindbergh type. And I have confidence that Roosevelt himself in his heart sees this about you.

But every man seeing purely and working purely must watch his supply line. That, of course, stems to Florida. And the same man must watch his contact line with General Headquarters, which is Roosevelt. Around Roosevelt at this moment are people who do not like you, and who profess a protective loyalty to Roosevelt. These men want to do exactly as they do--to wait for Roosevelt to think and speak before they speak and act. Such men are telling Roosevelt that you are a self-seeker, stealing thunder by advance position. I notice that Roosevelt is not using you as one of his so-called balloons. He is being consistently urged to use the normal machinery of the Senate chairmanships. This system is breaking down very fast as foreign relations are headed up by Connally and Military Affairs by Reynolds. As a rule, the older the Senator, the more egotistical and the more personally self-seeking. So both from the Senate and from the immediate household group around the President will come opposition to you with the President.

It is an axiom that a man may only believe what he sees and what he hears. You should have a meeting with Roosevelt now and then where you take your hair down and let him know in general what you are thinking and may be soon saying--not the words, not the time, and not the speech itself, but a meeting of the mind, so that the shock of what you say be not misinterpreted as unfavorable witnesses take mis-statements to the Chief.

You told me over the telephone that the vote was eight to eight and that you hoped to win. I believe that if the President knew, or had been prepared in spirit to aid you, that a word from the President to Wagner might have been the easy victory rather than the Corcoran to Wagner's son proxy method. I know the President would prefer Pepper's holding the purse of the Senate to Lucas. I know that the Vice President knows that Lucas is not his friend, and everyone should know that Lucas is a vacillating, indeterminate person. The mere fact that Pepper should have the job on seniority should be sufficient for both the President and the Vice President. But we have a possibility brewing that the true enemies of the President in the Senate will deal this control against the rule of seniority. Connally himself is the floor leader of the theft. Wagner is for the President and against Connally. Lucas is picked as a medium to defeat the presidential position, and I presume the President will do nothing, nor will the Vice President, because there has been no adequate preparation at either point and Lucas has a beautiful ability to walk a tight rope, thus becoming very useful to Connally.

It is pathetic that a man who is seeing and passionately working a broad line of unselfish public interest is so often defeated by a group of men who are consistently working in assembly of self-interest. Wilson was destroyed that way. The President is aware of the Senate as it now functions, and the men in it. This sub-chairmanship which Byrnes held is of no interest to the public, but probably of very great consequence in the future when votes are being counted on measures of very great interest to the public. Those who know what they want when they want it seem wiser and more effective in plowing their own fields than the stonger individuals who would plow the fields of the public. So it is necessary for one who would plow for the public to seek and keep constantly in touch with others who plow for the public. Otherwise the little ones get the big ones one at a time like the termites take the house.

Enough of this. I am seeing that this letter gets to Harold Young simply because he is another worker such as you, and I want him to know how I feel--not about this committee matter, but merely that he should have this as an example of how a solid enemy of a Vice President may reach un-noticed a point of power. Young and I are very new in Washington, and perhaps I like him for that. You are older and what I have said here is very wordy and may sound to you as the words of an amateur, but I want the lines kept open so that the big thing can go forward in the public service.

Roosevelt, and every other man in great power, needs and must have the contact of unselfish men. Certainly the selfish ones are there always right next to him, and when the unselfish ones leave him alone too long, are we to blame Roosevelt if he fails to see? I rather think the weakness is with the men who do not see

Senator Pepper--Page three--July 31, 1941

Roosevelt through their pride and through their honesty and through their sensitiveness. I qualify as the worst offender, but I excuse myself by saying that I am better placed as an assistant to such men as Pepper and Young. So this letter is in my function.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Copy to:
Mr. Harold H. Young
Room 261
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA BEFORE THE
ORDER OF A H E P A AT ITS NATIONAL CONVENTION, HOTEL
GIBSON, CINCINNATI, OHIO, AT 10:30 PM, AUGUST 21, 1941
BROADCAST BY THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO.

SUBJECT: THE BASTILE OF TYRANNY IS FALLING.

From Florida, from beautiful Tarpon Springs, the most Hellenic city in the United States, I bring most cordial greetings to a distinguished American institution - The Order of Ahepa.

As a citizen, and a Senator of the United States, I bring you the greetings of a Nation which is grateful for the loyalty, the public spiritedness, and the wholesomeness of its Greek citizenry. You, of course, are justly proud of the record of a people which is the most law-abiding of all emigrant stocks in the United States - a people who, by War Department records, were more numerous in the United States Army in the World War than any other foreign racial element in the United States - a people who produced an immigrant boy - George Dilboy - one of the outstanding heroes of the World War, awarded posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor and in whose memory stands today a commanding monument in Somerville, Massachusetts.

These distinctions are not new to the Hellenic name and tradition. Where in history has liberty and the sentiment of freedom found firmer lodgment than in the Hellenic world?

For more than a hundred years it has been the privilege of the United States to lend a helping hand to the heroic struggle of the Greek people for freedom in their own ancient land. President Monroe, in a great message to Congress on December 2, 1823, said:

"A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world take a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which mingles so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes."

How tragic the necessity for another message by another American President-- President Roosevelt, when your Supreme Lodge of the Order of Ahepa, on April 25, 1941, visited the President at the White House. Said the President:

"The heroic struggle of the Hellenic people to defend their liberties and their homes against the aggression of Germany after they had so signally defeated the Italian attempt at invasion has stirred the hearts and aroused the sympathy of the whole American people."

"During the Hellenic war of independence more than a century ago, our young nation, prizing its own lately-won independence, expressed its ardent sympathy for the Greeks and hoped for Hellenic victory. That victory was achieved."

"Today, at a far more perilous period in the history of Hellas, we intend to give full effect to our settled policy of extending all the available material aid to free peoples defending themselves against aggression. Such aid has been and will continue to be extended to Greece."

"Whatever may be the temporary outcome of the present phase of the war in Greece, I believe that the Greek people will once more ultimately achieve their victory and regain their political independence and the territorial integrity of their country. In that high objective, the people of Greece and their government can count on the help and support of the government and the people of the United States."

"Was the glory that was Greece" ever more illustrious than the glory that was Greece in the last tragic year? The whole world opened its heart in unrestrained admiration to the gallant heroism of the Greek Nation which, in the face of overwhelming odds, chose to die heroes rather than to live slaves. Against this tyrannical assault, how many times did an admiring world speak again and again the words of Lord Byron, who wrote of the patriots of Greece who waged the same fight in an earlier age:

"The sword, the banner, and the field,
Glory and Greece, around me see!
The Spartan, borne upon his shield,
Was not more free.

Awake! Not Greece - she is awake!
Awake, my spirit! Think through whom
Thy lifeblood tracks its parent lake,
And then strike home!

Seek out - less often sought than found -
A soldier's grave, for thee the best;
Then look around and choose thy ground,
And take thy rest."

If on the other side of the River of Life the heroes of an earlier day who gather together to tell the epics of their time were privileged to look down on the Hellas of 1940-41, what homage they must have paid to those who bore with luster unsullied the proud Hellenic name! Be not afraid. The moving finger which has written another sad chapter in your long history will move on yet to write again other chapters of other golden ages which shall be worthy of your Pericles. It is not too much to say that those who look back upon these sorrowful days will see more clearly than we can now that it was again from the heart of Greece that came the first bright rays of a new dawn for the race.

Yet, it is only natural that you who have so translated the beauty of the spirit and the mind into those things which the eye could see and the ear could hear should be among the most steadfast defenders of those intangible realities which are the souls of men. You know how true, countless ages beyond the measure of time, it has been the inside of man which made him real and of moment, and not the outside. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he" has been the truth in every age and land.

Jail the spirit of man and no liberty of the body can make it free. Leave free the spirit and no shackle can bind man.

You know that it is those inner satisfactions for which men make the great struggles and, if needs be, the last sacrifices. Deny that honor and peace to the man within and all life is "but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal". Your whole history is an epic of the race's struggle toward the Holy City of the spirit. It is a long hard road. It is strewn with the bones of many pilgrims. Monuments of heroes line the long avenues which wind back to a misty past and for immeasurable distances beyond that lie the unknown and the unsung. The echo of their many marching songs comes back again and again. Why is the way so long? The struggle so hard?

Today other men are dying to preserve those things which are theirs in the sight of God against a devil's assault. The sword of tyranny again smites the earth. The bloody hand that wields it defies every sentiment which expresses the refinement of man and the progress of civilization. No Satan ever in fantastic imagery held writhing sinner over devouring flame with more fiendish satisfaction than does that heartless man, whose name is twisted into a curse upon every godly tongue, destroy those who would dare defend against him their sacred homes, the graves of their fathers, their own mountains or valleys, the integrity of their minds and hearts.

He has prostituted modern science with which a beneficent God has blessed the race of make the human family his slave. He has made the lie his chief weapon, and enthroned vice as a goddess to be worshiped. He has torn down the temples and profaned the altars of those who sought their God. He has driven out of the pulpits and chained to the Concentration camps those who are the messengers of the

spirit. He has ravaged the intellectual virtue of every being he could touch. He has plundered and robbed and murdered the helpless and unoffending. Every commandment he has violated. At last he has torn from the heavens every vestige he could reach of that God to whom every human heart is lifted and builded as high as he could the graven images of savage Gods who are the dull-eyed, motionless and feelingless pagan Gods of the ancient forests.

Yet this horrible spiritual monster claims to be the Messiah to bring a new order to the earth.

Of what material does he build this new order? All the sorrowing tear-dimmed eye which gazes upon the spectacle of what he has wrought can see is broken pledges, broken people, the bended bodies of the enslaved, the wan, ghost-like remains of what were happy and healthy children, mangled bodies strewn over a continent, the pattern and the heart of the world torn and buried into the ugly shape of the mutilated.

And hardly a one whom he would convert by his engines of war to his new order but curses the thought of his name, and writhes and prays to gain deliverance from his cruel bondage.

From your long past you know that those things which this wicked man now calls new are but the tyrannies against which man has struggled from the dawn of time, and those things by which he wreaks his wrath on the race are but the vices against which the virtue of every age has spent itself in mortal assault. Countless times in the long years of your forebears have you seen such a monster raise his head to devour all who came within his bestial reach. Yet, always, however long it took, however great the sacrifice, however painful the struggle, these mammoth beasts have been overthrown, their captives liberated, the traces of their bloody triumphs washed away, the fair fields scorched by their fiery breath brought to life again, the valleys and the mountains over which rolled the tumultuous echoes of desperate struggle and the sad sighs of death come to rest again in the arms of a soothing peace.

The good, the brave and the steadfast have at last been the victors. If the good, the brave, and the steadfast have in all these older struggles of the race been the victors, shall it not be so in this age, in good time? Those things for which they fought are no less precious now than then. They are still the pearls of such great price that they cannot be purchased, let alone taken away. Surely we who are the heir of every gallant one who has lived, every brave one who has died, are not less worthy stewards of these precious things than they.

Today the world of the oppressed and the free has new hope from those momentous events of the last days. Like ancient giants, two men rose to Olympian heights while a breathless world waited. At last came their thrilling words to a thrilled world. In language and thought as clear as the blue ocean, sky under the vault of which they met, they laid down the commandments of a new world. They spoke not for governments, not even for nations, but for mankind. Like Moses of old, who communed with his God, these mortals, both from their own communion with nature and nature's God, raised words of new purpose and new policy for mankind.

They spoke as men with authority, because they were speaking truths eternal. They gave eloquent expression to those hopes which were maturing in the hearts of men everywhere.

In this great ocean, under this blue sky, they thought not of selfishness, but of selflessness. Two aging men thought of the human family and the countless millions yet to live upon earth. They thought of the kind of a world it ought to be, of the kind of a world it could be. They dreamed dreams of the long promised land. They felt the mellowing spirit of what was right. They were moved by the impulse of justice.

They forgot not little nations, or little men. They forgot not the problems of little nations, or little men. They forgot not the fears that little nations and little men shrink from, neither did they omit consideration for those things which besides bread are the staff of life.

In this testament of faith those who bear the galling yoke of slavery, those who are hard beset by mighty assault, those who are threatened and those who contemplate the dreary future all found renewed hope and new determination.

Man is always best when he dreams. We are all indebted beyond measure to these men who in the midst of a chaotic and bloody world dared to choose to dream dreams of the quiet ways of peace. It will be for the world for which they labored and dared to dream to determine whether those dreams shall come true, or whether they shall be shattered on the shoals of selfishness. Another dreamed for mankind a quarter of a century ago and held up the torch of a new hope for the world. He labored long and mightily to build a temple to house justice for all nations and all men. He toiled mightily to lay down, to point out the way which men might follow to the paths of peace.

Yet "a little group of willful men", selfish, vain politicians, greedy, avaricious men, and alas a tired and shortsighted people broke the heart and the body of the dreamer, and soon the dreams of Woodrow Wilson, like his tortured, broken body, were strewn in miserable wreckage in a chaotic world. Not the dreamers have had to pay the price for shattered dreams, but those for whom the dreams did not come true.

But these ways of peace which Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill have dreamed for us they knew lay far over the distant horizon between us and the realization of those dreams lies the hard ways of struggle, the bitter dregs of pain and suffering, sacrifice, for many, death. For so hideous a monster, so colossal a giant as the force of tyranny which today menaces the world can be thrown back only by the most heroic and determined effort of those who would oppose them. Already millions have given themselves as hostages to the destruction of these evil forces. They have given all that these wicked things might be destroyed.

We all know that no less than our greatest effort has hope of avail against these satanic powers. Each in every free land must do his, or her, part without a thought of self, or selfishness, and in everyone of those weary lands upon whose neck rides the galling yoke of slavery there too must the fight be continued.

Daniel Webster once said, "God grants freedom only to those who love it, and who are always ready to guard and preserve it." How sad has been the spectacle of a government pledging its troth to a dictator who has ravaged its fair people. Who is not heartened, however, by the signs that France - ancient glorious France - is stirring out of its lethargy and that the indomitable French spirit is rising in irresistible wrath to strike down this modern Caligula who has tortured it.

You Greeks of America, I know, would want to have your part in lifting America, your chosen land, to the incomparable challenge which it today confronts. Upon what this nation does, must you well know, shall hang the destiny of the world. This unsurpassed power, which a beneficent God has cast upon us, we hold in stewardship for mankind. America is no longer, thank God, a land of sluggish conscience and callous heart. America is today the land of the Puritan, the land of the crusader, the moral land which wills to do right because before God it is right. Which is not afraid because it knows its cause is just, which counts not the cost because the end cannot be measured in cost.

This America has planted itself across the path of tyranny and defied every tyrant upon the face of the earth. This America has rallied good men, godly men, honest and decent men, noble and heroic women, hopeful children all over the earth to the side of those who love liberty, respect man, and revere God.

And America pledges its faith that those paths which shall destroy tyranny shall not be used to father new tyrannies anywhere in all the world. Rather shall these forces which in good time shall emerge the master of the earth be employed to make a better home for the race, richer lands, fuller fields, better homes, healthier lives, wider horizons for every human being.

There is to be a new order, we agree. But it is to be the new coming of the old things, the old virtues, the old good life, the old faith, the old brotherhood, the old spirit, the old God, and in the old way these old things new come back shall rule upon the only thrones which are permanent - the hearts of men.

These old things in their new raiment shall shine more richly than ever before, for they bear the scars of more sacrifices, the crown of more glorious deeds.

This is the message which you men of Hellas, I know, would give to the world. Teach us all to be men of faith, who do not fear, who are steadfast. Meanwhile, know that you are not alone in your faith, and others with you wear the red badge of courage. Know that the giants of the earth are stirring from their slumber; the timid are coming out of their hiding places; the uncertain are beginning to feel sure of themselves; the ground is moving under the march of rallying men; the roar of machines, out of which come the illimitable volume of weapons, is rolling across the hills and the oceans; banners which men follow are waving in the breezes of many continents; the earth is rising against the tyranny of hell; Armageddon is being fought, and the hosts of the Lord are advancing along the whole front.

Although you of Hellas and others who share your sad plight can only say now what Tennyson said of you in Ulysses:

"We are not now that strength which in old days
moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

yet be of good cheer. The old days are breaking anew over the horizon. The Bastile of Tyranny is falling!

cc - Washington office ✓

1075 First Avenue
New York, N. Y.
August 29, 1941

Senator Claude Pepper
Washington, D.C.

Dear Claude:

Thanks for your wire from Cincinnati, which gave me the opportunity of listening in. After you got thru expressing your regards to your Greek background, you came thru with a rattling good speech on the highest plane.

Will you please try to remember to tell me what the order of the heifer is -- that is the way the word came over the radio. I would also like to know whether they were settled heifers or unsettled heifers that you talked to.

Sincerely,

CEM:MS

Sept. 20, 1941.

Mr. Marsh:

The Pepper did not enclose the copy of the Cincinnati speech he referred to.

M.S.

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
GUY M. GILLETTE, IOWA
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
CARTER GLASS, VA.
JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 18, 1941

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

Hon. Charles E. Marsh
1075 First Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Charles:

I have just had an opportunity to see your letter of the twenty-ninth having been back here a few days from my trip to Florida. I spent two weeks in the State and devoted about one and one-half weeks getting over the State making speeches. I visited Jacksonville and addressed a luncheon of over six hundred brought together under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, and then addressed a Peace Officers convention that night. On Labor Day I spoke at Pensacola, the next day at Tampa to a large group of business and professional men composing the membership of all the local civic clubs. The next day I spoke to a similar group at Clearwater. On the following day I spent the morning making a plane survey of the Flood Area of the St. Johns and Kissimmee River Valleys, addressing a joint Chamber of Commerce and civic club luncheon at Tarpon Springs; visited with the Mayor and county officials of St. Petersburg, addressed a dinner of Chamber of Commerce and civic clubs luncheon at St. Petersburg and topped off the day to about seven thousand at Williams Park in St. Petersburg with radio hookup. The following day I spent in Miami, addressing a luncheon attended by 384 under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. During the same time a rival luncheon was held at another hotel by friends of Congressman Pat Cannon, who has recently violently lambasted me by name as having forgotten how to represent the State of Florida, at which 68 were present. The papers have played up the two meetings as a test of strength between Cannon and me.

During the afternoon I visited the new airplane factory which I helped build, attended a dinner with the city and county officials, spoke in the Park at eight o'clock to about six thousand - the best and most enthusiastic crowd I have ever had in Bayfront Park in Miami. They gave me an ovation when I left the Park.

Later in the evening I visited a public meeting at Hialeah and wound up with a visit to the American Legion headquarters in Miami. The next day (Saturday) was similarly spent at West Palm Beach.

After a birthday on the eighth in Tallahassee with my mother and father I went to Jacksonville on the following day, addressing a Southeastern Theatre Owners Association gathering in convention there.

On Wednesday, the tenth, we made in New York our picture - International Forum - which was born in your home, you remember.

The participants were Admiral Yarnell, Johannes Steel, news commentator in New York, Fannie Hurst, and I. It was a full day, but I believe it is going to be a good picture. I was the central figure in it. When a preview becomes possible, I shall get in touch with you and if possible want you to see it because I think this is going to be very important so far as building up a popular understanding and impression of me here. They can see me and hear me and that will be a rather critical test of how I go over to what is said to be an audience of forty million in the country.

Tomorrow night I am to address a public meeting in New York, called by the Committee to Defend America. I shall contact you if you are in New York.

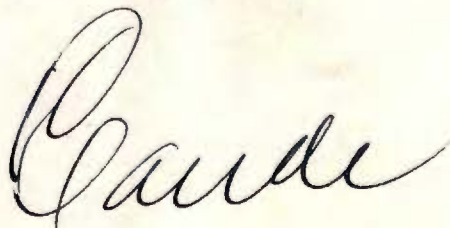
Saturday night I address the State Junior Chamber of Commerce Convention at Brunswick and Sunday afternoon a large meeting in Iowa, which our friend Young and the Vice President were particularly anxious to have me address.

But more when I see you.

Here is a copy of the Cincinnati speech.

Needless to say I am missing you.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C.E. Marsh".

P:C

Enclosure 1

Zipper

September 19, 1941

Claude:

On the porch after a trip with children and a little journey into a home to be built for a child's school now and a weather protection for the helpless later, I am thinking of you. And so this letter with nothing to start it, no recommendation for it, and with no sense of clarity about it.

C. E. M.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
September 19, 1941

Dear Claude:

If you did not get it in the regular course of clipping bureau, or otherwise, there is either attached or will be sent you the first official report I have had from Berlin that you are alive and noticed. You have had a general American accusation that your thoughts preceded those of Roosevelt, and therefore, have been manufactured by him. But this is the first time Berlin has named you and you only as the front voice of Mr. Big Big.

I would be curious to see the Nazi file on you. As a matter of personal egotism you may rank yourself among the first ten on their list of American bad boys. That is something for a Senator from a not overly important state--not even a Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country." I have a strong suspicion that your significance is better known in Germany than in America; and that your significance is better known throughout America than it is in Florida; and that your significance is better known throughout Florida than in the Senate halls of the United States; and that your significance may be better known in the Senate halls of the United States than in the domestic and personal circle where you have your being. And that is as it should be in any world of ideas. In my petty way I have found it so, for a valet could not live where he could not value according to his own tape measure.

Perhaps the growth of the mind from birth to death may be likened to a river. Two rivers may start from two drops of water falling upon a ridge. One drop moves west and south through arid wastes. The other drop moves east and south with adequate rain fall. The drops are the same at the time of meeting, but the distance and the environment and the surface appreciation of one drop for another may have done the tragic thing. There is an insistent demand always for the positive and joyous as a feeding ground for effective and noble accomplishments. One may get this through withdrawal into the spirit as the obvious and the surface carries on, but I have wondered sometimes whether this is the correct view--the view of resignation and self protection--in a world so rich in events and truth and so little in the quantity of time. At forty I failed to think as I now write. So have so many who might have reached a better future if duty and a conservatism of a sensitive soul had not delayed over-long.

In Hot Springs one midnight you flashed your true ambition--the world of ideas. Nothing you do to maintain and consolidate the freedom of this world of ideas is too big a price to pay. That means much of Florida and shaking hands until one is weary and a smile so strong and so genuine that it sees all humanity as the thing itself that is to be done concerning and about.

I believe all of the individual injustices and distortions and insisencies of any one in the multitude does not call for the wee lamb attitude or that least of these philosophy. One cannot be a tired retailer and at the same time be a glorious wholesaler. So any man of greatness is also a man of strength. The little must not drown, through time waste, the big--the one or the few must not destroy the approach to the many.

Belah.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

September 19, 1941

Claude: Pepper

On the porch after a trip with children and a little journey into a home to be built for a child's school now and a weather protection for the helpless later, I am thinking of you. And so this letter with nothing to start it, no recommendation for it, and with no sense of clarity about it.

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Belah.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 29, 1941

Dear Claude:

You are neglecting us in a good cause. M. L. tells me of, and I am about to read, your performance in the Senate Tuesday with Clark and Taft and Wheeler as the victims. I said this morning, "The Senator may have reached a point where he is extemporaneously correct in much the same way as was Borah."

M. L. said, "But he is Borah on the right side."

I said, "Obviously bigger and better than Borah."

And reporting this as a laugh for you from your neglected friends, I say there is a line down here which may give you a stretch ahead. Come and get it.

You are more letter perfect than any man in the Senate on the up-to-now. Be sure you don't lose your job of being ahead of the hounds, as the Connallys make the front page on old stuff.

You are now the un-crowned quarterback of the Senate, calling signals against Hitler in rough debate with the gentlemen from Oklahoma and Alabama and Georgia really on your ball team, and the Gentleman from Pennsylvania and, perhaps, a gentleman from Illinois trying to get a regular berth. All this is contrary to the Law of the Meades and Persians, which is that seniority rules in the Senate.

But I think we should get together without changing the signals but adding a play or two. My suggestion is a long pass.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

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

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 24, 1941

Dear Claude:

I have been missing you, but feel that we are both busy. Selfishly I want to play golf with a nice person. Possibly you may have next Sunday and Monday for the outdoors.

This is just a shot in the dark. Give me a ring if you have. Otherwise, it is not necessary.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

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

December 11, 1941

Out of the past come words which have a meaning now.

Kaiser Wilhelm, a few years before the World War, was the first to discuss "the yellow peril" in Europe. He said: "There, where the sun rises, sits a little smiling man. Through his ever present smile he shows a frantic desire to excel and to dominate the white skinned world."

This is a very free translation of the words of Wilhelm of Doorn, the tree chopper, who has just gone, which bridge the past to the present significance of the sinking of the proud ships of England and America by the Sunday morning assassins of the rising sun.

As the world asked, "How can Japan sink ships from the air in a few days which the Germans have not sunk in two years?" The answer is very simple. It is as simple as the answer of how a few uneducated tribes of Mohamedan descent almost conquered Europe until Charles the Hammer stopped them on the French plains of Tours--one of the ten decisive battles of history.

Fanaticism is the answer. Fanaticism, when tied with men and guns in march, is a force greater than patriotism, greater than humanity, and greater, perhaps, than the love of freedom. That group of Japanese aviators, driving bombs headon into battleships in Hawaii and Singapore, sank and damaged very many of the weapons of a free men and of a free world. It only took a Stuka diving bomber to scatter the Frenchmen. When the same siren wailing airships dove at the Russians, it was a different story. And well trained aviators, synchronized in time and space, dropped bombs by the thousands. There was much damage, of course, but the true weapon in the hands of the crowded Japanese on their small and rocky islands cannot be measured in statistics of land or money or steel--the true weapon--fanaticism--makes it possible for a bomb laden airship to crash headon with a battleship.

There is only one answer to such a force. The answer is unity in action of free men, and a greater air force to protect those great fortresses on the surface of the sea. Anything less will bring the news of greater loss. Of course, in the end, fanaticism never won the world. Fanaticism dies within itself because in its very essence fanaticism is blind to all that God has bequeathed through time to human beings--that priceless gift we call civilization.

But when Admiral Perry opened Japan--the sealed empire--to trade and civilization, it is being proved today that it was another Pandora opening the box of evil spirits which could not be put back by any human force. So, fighting Nazism and Hitler is one thing, and fighting fanaticism of the yellow man of Japan is another.

This is not a song of pessimism that I sing. This is not an essay of hopelessness I speak. I speak only the plain facts that we have ahead of us a force which has never in modern times fought for supremacy. It is only comparable with the Mohamedan drive from East Asia through Europe. But the Mohamedan drive had merely the curved sword, and the primitive canon. Since Commodore Perry, we have taught the Japs all we know. In seventy years this fanatic, yellow, primitive, medieval mind has been given by the white man the tools of the war trade, and today we have the problem to face. Before San Francisco and Los Angeles and Seattle face this man diving from the air to death, would it not be well for Chinese and Russians--yes, if necessary, British and Americans--to move into action in Japan itself?

Once here on the Senate floor I said that fifty good American bombers moving from China over Tokyo could make a shambles of Tokyo and stop this thing before it could get going. There is no profit in looking backward. Again I say, as I did a few months ago, it is time to get very tough. It is time to get going. I am sure our military and naval men now how. I merely speak as an American standing here to

fellow Americans, and to the world at large that all of us who know how to use a pick and shovel, make a nut or bolt, raise a bushel of wheat, are in this thing, and do devoutly pray that our men of military action find their way under the sea, over the surface of the sea, and above the sea to the source of this fanatic yellow evil.

December 11, 1941

Uplifted as have been our America and our Democratic world by the recent events in this Senate, I wish now to discuss unity in action.

Unity of spirit--we have it; the high resolve for victory--yes, we have it; but unity in action of a free world allied for Democracy and against murderers, brigands, sneak thieves, and despots needs a clear and definite unity of its own kind and of its own sharpness.

There shall be no time in the days to come for a Churchill to ask a Roosevelt to ask an Admiral Board to ask a Pacific Commander to defend an open spot in the furious war of the moment that is their lot. When the Japs strike unified in air, on the surface, and under the sea there will be no time for conferences between an American and a British sea captain as to who is calling the signals.

I am not a military man. My colleagues on the Naval Affairs Committee are much more acquainted with things of the sea than am I. But I stand as one among a hundred and thirty million Americans to say that all Americans of these forty-eight states, and all the Americans to the south, today pledge the new world in unity of action.

Our very great Secretary Hull, facing the unbelievable things of the Sabbath Day Assassin at Honolulu, has called the meeting of the two Americas to unify the governments and the high political and statesman-like resolves of the twenty-two nations of the western world. That step is in line with unity in action. But unity in action under our Commander-in-Chief must not be hampered by any rule, any regulation, any custom of seniority or authority that may have grown up in peace time in either the Army or the Navy. We have unity in the person of Roosevelt for the unity in action, but in the jungles and swamps of the regulations and the

customs of any departmentalized government, one finds that the individual acquires rights and privileges in a slow and peace time action which do not make for unity in action. We have in this Senate our seniorities which head our committee assignments and chairmanships. Custom has made such seniority a privilege--almost an unbounded right of individual senators. The theory is correct, for there is no substitute for experience. And seniority is merely the expression that from experience one gains wisdom, and, therefore, should be at the head of the table. I would not change custom in the Senate, because the Senate is a deliberative body. The Senate's actions are advisory and judicial in war time. We are not fighting the precious minutes that mean success or failure at Singapore. But it is our solemn duty to express ourselves on questions which may be the difference between success or failure in the unity of action which must and shall beat the Beast of Berlin.

(And along this line, this merely being an example, one should say that our contract for liberty has the essence of time and force in action under the greatest unity of commands consistent with the dignity and the sovereignty of the allied states, and we should say the truth--that a man of action, combining judgement and under the instructions from the judicial, should not be an old man, but clothed with both action and authority where the daring and the doing and the split-second clicking of the mind in action is a necessity of success. Commodore Perry was not sixty-two; nor was John Paul Jones; and we have an average age of sixty in our active fleet admirals now, and probably an average age of fifty-three on board each capital ship.

(One should eventually wind up with a new five point program for victory. I am stopping now because this five point program for victory has to be one point, or probably twenty points, so I am not worried

about getting five points, but they all have to be on the one point of the finest unity in action of allied and diverse peoples at war with the devil, who is unified on an axis which has eliminated Italy, is bossing the conquered countries, is putting the nut cracker on Russia, and, thank God, is not a strong axis because Tokyo and Berlin are split in fact by the Russian Army and the British and American naval forces. Now let's get a unity in action in the Pacific through from Suez to Hong Kong and Hawaii. Let's get unity in the air, moving planes over Tokyo and Yokohama and Kobe. Let's use the vast lands and men of China without too much discussion.