

Harold says Anderson always
nerved about a good deal.
He was going to South
America, in his opinion for
travel and with a view
to gathering material for
some writing he thought
might come out of the
trip.

W. L.
Wallace

BOOKS

Dark and Lonely

Last week in the Blue Ridge foothills at Marion, Va., a coffin was lowered into a grave. In it was the burly body and curious brain of Sherwood Anderson, paint manufacturer, ad writer, editor, short-story teller, novelist, poet, American. The grave had had to wait more than two weeks. Anderson died at Colón, Panama



Sanders-Black Star

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

Americans are a people on the march.

Canal Zone, last month. He had sailed from Manhattan on the same ship with Playwright Thornton Wilder, who is on a cultural mission to Latin America. At sea Anderson fell ill, 48 hours later had to be carried ashore at Colón on a stretcher. Three days later he died of an abdominal obstruction and peritonitis—"right on schedule," said one of the Colón hospital men, explaining that people with such trouble usually live just five days.

Anderson the artist, too, died about on time. Critics had begun to point at the mediocrity of his recent work. It did not matter, for his job was done. And if an American writer's job is to reveal Americans to themselves, Anderson had done his greatly.

As a boy he had lived like Windy McPherson's son, on the wrong side of the railroad tracks in Clyde, Ohio. With a boy's keen eyes he had seen the hates, passions and queer lives that lie just behind the drab façade of a small U. S. town. As a man he set down what he saw with simplicity, truth and understanding in a series of great short stories—*Winesburg, Ohio*; *The Triumph of the Egg*; *Horses and Men*, and half-great novels—*Windy McPherson's Son*; *Poor White*; *Dark Laughter*. No first-rate U. S. writer since Walt Whitman has spent so much

time just sitting and listening to people talk—drummers, race-track touts, rivermen, politicians, farmers, railroaders, tramps, trulls and small-town merchants. Since Whitman stood "there in the fragrant pines and the cedars dusk and dim," few U. S. writers have been so conscious of the physical body of mid-American earth, its mountainous musculature, its pumping rivers, the chokingly hot or numbingly cold prairies whose distance envelops the lonely villages and their lonely people like night. No poet since Whitman gave such authentic voice to that haunting, dark, mid-continental loneliness.

One day in 1913 Anderson left his desk in his Elyria, Ohio paint factory, declared "I have been wading in a long river and my feet are wet," and never came back. For the next 20 years he told Americans things about themselves they had never quite understood before. After the first sensational impact of *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), critics began to suggest that his characters were fantastic, that he was obsessed with sex, that his version of Ohio life was not a new kind of realism, but romantic. Anderson could have answered what the Russian peasants say: "We are the dark people, we live in the dark villages." On that lonely darkness he tried all his life to shed light.

Critics smiled skeptically at old Jesse Bentley, who wanted to sacrifice a lamb to God on the hills along Wine Creek. They forgot the Labadists performing their rites under cover of the thick Maryland night or the angel Moroni revealing the gold plates of Mormon to Joseph Smith in the hills south of Lake Ontario. Critics smiled too at the Winesburg minister who was nightly tempted to climb into his steeple and play Peeping Tom on Schoolteacher Kate Swift. They did not know the sun-baked prairie where men, women and boys work all the hot dusty

day in the fields and villages, and when released are pursued by strange longings which they chalk up in public places after dark. Critics smiled at the way Anderson's characters are forever springing through cornfields or dashing down the railroad tracks in the middle of the night. But Anderson understood that Americans are a people on the march—always fleeing the city, fleeing the farm, seeking to be alone, trying to escape loneliness.

When Sherwood Anderson had written his way out of his own loneliness, he found he had nothing more to say. Famous and prosperous, he left the penumbra of the villages. For a while the Communists got hold of him and used him. He never knew what they were talking about but enjoyed sitting around mid-Manhattan bars, drinking beer with them. In 1927 he bought two papers in Marion, one Republican, one Democratic, and settled down to the life of a country editor. He was a big shot in the town, and the side of Sherwood Anderson that was sociable, a little vain and flashy, had its innings. "Anderson is like the family coach horse," Novelist William Faulkner once said; "He's dependable, you can trust him to take the children to Sunday school safely. But he's got a glossy coat and a little sporting blood."

No one knows exactly why he went to South America. Some thought he might have been on an unofficial mission to Chile, sent by his good friend Henry Wallace, of whom Anderson wrote a strange, ambiguous sketch in *No Swank*. More probably, like many another American, he had just gone wandering about, looking for other people to talk to, another place to be alone.

Battle Pieces

THEIR FINEST HOUR—Allan A. Michie and Walter Graebner—Harcourt, Brace (\$2.50).

Last year's Battle of Britain will go into the books as one of the most epic—if not the most decisive—in history. It was like Marathon, Tours, the Catalaunian Fields—by every human reckoning the



Pictures-Inc.

GRAEBNER & MICHIE

Nothing excited the Londoners.

comes to go on. Jack Kapp, for whom Bing makes Decca records, recalls that The Groaner's singing is so facile he recorded the complicated *Ballad for Americans* in four hours. The same song took Paul Robeson three weeks.

The Voice. The gloomy souls who prophesied such a shoddy ending to Bing's career overlooked the most important Crosby quality. Like Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey and Bill Tilden, who thrilled the fans of the '20s, Bing knows how to please the crowd, all ages, all sexes. Journalist Joseph Chamberlain Furnas (*—And Sudden Death*) stated the case with scientific coolness when he wrote: "The prevalent feminine verdict is still that [Crosby] is definitely cute, while the masculine part of the audience seems not to mind him at all—which distributes the positive and negative reactions in exactly the right places."

That Bing Crosby's voice is America's favorite depends upon the fact that it not only sounds good, but that Crosby sings every song—whether it is *Mexicali Rose* or *Silent Night, Holy Night*—as though he felt it was the best song ever written. And characteristically, the happy-go-lucky Groaner manages to convey the impression that anyone could do the trick. Says he: "A crooner gets his quota of sentimentality with half his natural voice. That's a great saving. I don't like to work."

The New Picture

I Wanted Wings (Paramount) takes a trio of characters native to any military movie—the unreconstructed moneybags with a string of polo ponies (Kay Milland), the timid misfit (William Holden), the carefree clown (Wayne Morris)—and hurries them through the five-month training course at Randolph and Kelly Fields in Texas. Along with the studious documentation of a trainee's tribulations are funny and tense shots of the first shaky hours in the air, spectacular panoramas of scores of planes in formation, a gasp-making exhibition of hedgehopping over the Texas countryside. And after graduation there is a mock night air raid on Los Angeles photographed both from the ground, where the stabbing searchlights may remind Californians of a market opening, and the inside of a B-17 (Flying Fortress) bomber, where cinema audiences can get a close-up of destruction in the making.

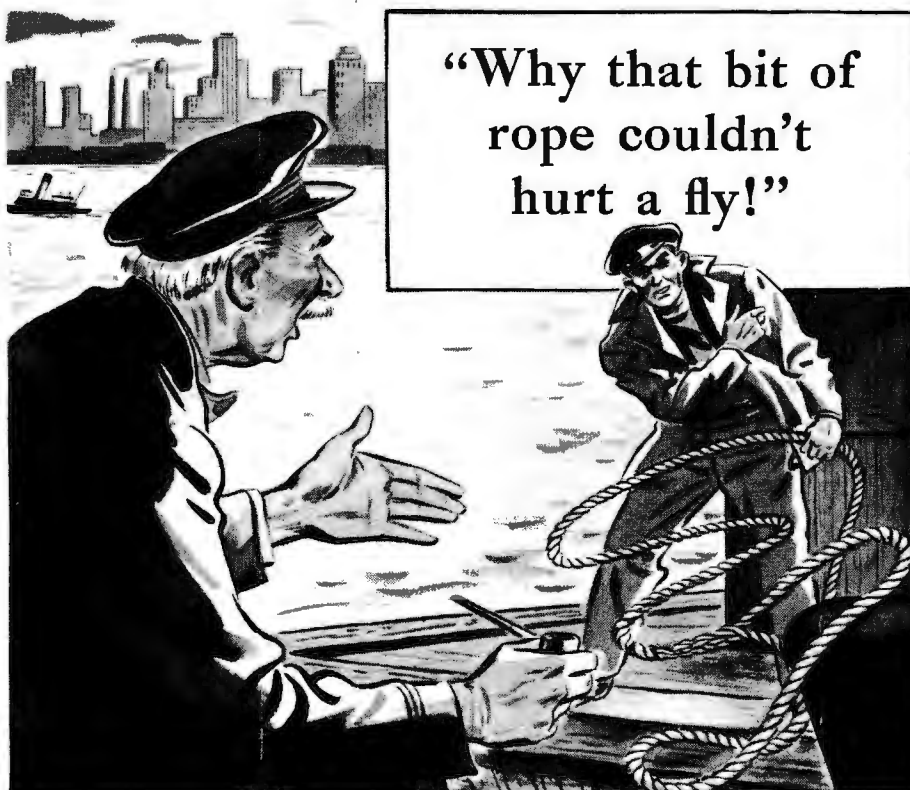
When it sticks to flying, *I Wanted Wings* offers educational and tingling entertainment along with some of the cinema's best aviation photography. Elsewhere, Paramount's picture of life in the air force resembles a mixture of West Point and Minsky's.

CURRENT & CHOICE

The Lady Eve (Henry Fonda, Barbara Stanwyck, Charles Coburn, William Demarest; TIME, March 10).

Meet John Doe (Gary Cooper, Barbara Stanwyck, Walter Brennan, Edward Arnold, James Gleason; TIME, March 3).

Strawberry Blonde (James Cagney, Olivia de Havilland, Rita Hayworth; TIME, March 3).



SAILOR: I'd admit that deep sea towing is a mite dangerous. But compared to us, you harbor barnacles with your short lengths of Manila are safe as a babe in arms.

SCOW CAPTAIN: Why, you bilge-water busybody, I see more rope danger in one day than you'd find in fifty. Rope's our life line.

SAILOR: So flaking a hawser 'round a wet capstan is soft, huh . . .

SCOW CAPTAIN: I mind the night I was headed up the East River in a gale. The deck was slippery with snow, and the rope coated stiff with ice. The tug cap'n sets my barge free a bit too soon, see!

SAILOR: Harbor scum are great at yarns, but deep sea men handle rope faster than their tongues.

SCOW CAPTAIN: The dock's comin' towards me fast, see! If the rope's too stiff to handle, it throws me; if not, I throw it . . . bang on the bit.

SAILOR: I knew a man lost a leg that way . . . on a sea goin' boat at Cape-

town. Was yours a decent throw?

SCOW CAPTAIN: I've still my two legs under me, haven't I? 'Twas a Plymouth Line in my hand that night.

SAILOR: Aye, Plymouth Rope. There's a tool a sailor can trust. In fair weather or foul, that Plymouth handles like a man's own finger.

SCOW CAPTAIN: And it's strong as a shore leave breath. You should hear the office brass hats talk about Plymouth's efficiency—as if us scow cap'ns didn't know . . .

When rope users meet, Plymouth gets all the bouquets. And no wonder! Plymouth engineers decided long ago to build *special ropes for special uses*, because it was safer for men and cheaper for management. Take rope in *your* industry. On whatever is tied, fastened, hauled, hoisted or driven by cordage—there's a Plymouth product *designed* to fill your order. (Plymouth Cordage Co., North Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Welland, Canada.)

PLYMOUTH
ROPE FOR INDUSTRY
BINDER TWINE • TYING TWINE



Wallace

SPEECH AT FORDHAM CENTINARI

It is not strange that the great leader of our democracy should again and again recognize the fundamental importance of religion. He knows, just as you here at Fordham know, that at the very heart of both Christianity and democracy is the proposition that the individual human soul is sacred and that the voluntary relationship of one soul to another is based on the fundamental ~~relationship~~ ^{link} which both have to God the Father. And so it happens naturally enough that the political belief in democracy and the religious belief in Christianity should produce somewhat like results.

No true ~~Christian~~ ^{Christian} can speak bitterly against the Jew, the Negro, or the Yellow man. Some individuals may be born with greater ability than others, but this difference in ability does not depend primarily on race, color or economic status. ¶ We have a profound belief in the United States that we are living in a Chosen Land, in a land chosen to serve the world in the establishment and preservation of the great freedoms, the freedoms which are vital alike to the Christian faith,

^{being} to political democracy and to the sacredness of the individual human ~~being~~. But believing we are living in a land chosen for a high destiny of service is totally different from believing in the inherent superiority of one race over all other races and of one ~~system~~, scientific, Godless culture over all other cultures. Our faith is humble, profound and essentially peaceful. The other faith is bloody, ^{intolerant} superficial and temporary. The Hitler House is built upon the sands and

the winds are blowing.

I predict that behind the walls where lie France and Italy, Yugoslavia and Norway, Holland and Belgium, the winds are blowing at the foundations of Hitler's house. Force untempered by justice brings the tornado to the house of force itself. No one can predict the day of the fall of the House of Hitler. But all men of keen perception know that this house will fall from within through the falsity of the architect — through the refusal of Hitler himself to believe that the human being and his rightful needs are the bricks and mortar of any permanent house of God and government on this earth.

Speaking of the great freedoms, I remember it was my privilege, the day after the death of Pope Pius XII, whom I hope some day will be revered as a saint in the Catholic church, to speak of his contribution to that freedom about which all of us have thought too little — freedom from want. Without freedom from want the dignity of man is too often sacrificed. With regard to this particular freedom, the democratic record has not always been too good, but it has been the best record which man has experienced. By the grace of God and the democratic process, the life of the common man shall be enriched in the days to come.

Fordham University has long been an outstanding exponent of the social doctrines of the Catholic Church. This University has always taught that democracy is primarily spiritual and moral and that from these sources spring political and economic democracy.

Time and again President Roosevelt has spoken in language which must seem strangely familiar to the professors of the University of Fordham. You will remember that in his message to Congress nine months before the war broke out he said, "Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans now as always. The first is religion. It is the source of the other two - democracy and good faith. Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors."

On many subjects will be found almost exactly parallel passages in the President's messages and speeches with the sentiments expressed in the Papal Encyclicals. Nowhere is this likeness more striking than in the statement of peace aims. Shortly after the war broke out, in his Christmas message of 1939, Pope Pius XII stated five peace objectives, the first of which expressed the belief that all nations, large and small, strong and weak, have the right to life and independence.

Paralleling objective No. 1 of the Pope are the
The first three points of the 8-point democratic peace aims.

~~and the same objectives~~ You will remember how they read:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise; they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereignty and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The second of Pope Pius XII's five points deals with freedom from the heavy burden of armaments. This second point of the Pope is in essence identical with the eighth and last of the democratic peace aims.

Pope Pius XII in his third point, which comes out for the establishment of institutions which will serve to guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of the peace terms, parallels the sixth of the democratic peace aims which asks for a peace that will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will ^{give} ~~afford~~ assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Pope Pius in his various peace messages invariably stresses the spirit of justice and universal charity, the law of God, as vital to peaceful international relations. President Roosevelt stated the close relationship between democracy and religion nearly a year before the war began in his memorable message to Congress, saying: "Where freedom of religion has been attacked, the attack has come from sources opposed to democracy. Where democracy has been overthrown, the spirit of free worship has disappeared. And where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident and brute force. "

In the little publication entitled "A Centenary Interpretation of What Fordham Means," I read the sentence: "Fordham educates for peace, but not for pacifism." So it is with President Roosevelt. One of his first official acts in early 1933 was to cable the sovereigns and chiefs of 34 nations the following: "If all nations will agree wholly to eliminate from possession and use the weapons which make possible a successful attack, defenses automatically become impregnable and the frontiers and independence of every nation will become more secure." May these prophetic words bear fruit.

The President's objective was peace but he was not a pacifist. When Hitler answered this request of President Roosevelt with a demand for more guns, the Congress of the United States passed the Neutrality Act of 1935 which had the effect of so many pacifist measures, the effect of encouraging aggressor nations to bully small nations and thus eventually to cause ~~aggressor~~ *large, pacifist* nations which had failed to increase their armaments to go to war. Fortunately Roosevelt was not a pacifist and began building ships, a fact which will ultimately contribute mightily to the outcome of this war in both the Pacific and the Atlantic.

The American people are tremendously interested in peace today but they are not pacifists. They would hate to see this war end prematurely in a way which would insure a third and more horrible war in our generation. The American people want to see this war ended justly on the basis of the five points enunciated by the Pope, on the basis of the Four Freedoms and on the basis of the eight points agreed to by

the two great democracies and approved by all the rest. They want to see peoples impoverished and starved by the Nazis given a chance. They want to see a peace established so just that it will last for our children and our children's children. They want to see recognised an international bill of rights and duties, rights recognising the sacredness of the individual human soul, the security of small nations and the possibility of poor people earning enough to remove the fear of want. Into the peace fabric there must be built not only rights but duties - a sense of duty to world humanity. Thus dreamed Christ and the prophets. We can, if we so will, make this dream a reality.

The social teaching of the Catholic Church is especially opposed to Hitler's New Order. The way to meet the economic and social challenge of all so-called New Orders which deny the sacredness of the human soul in its relationship to God is to present a Democratic New Order which under God will carry out the Four Freedoms and the Eight Peace Aims. A free economy and a Christian leadership must remove the fear of war. Only by world organisation may this be done. It so happens that a general European war has always, and will always, shake the United States to the very depths. It is not merely idealism but also sound business sense, to take the very deepest interest in the type of world organisation which has in it the promise of preventing the outbreak of war in other continents. Pope Benedict ~~XIV~~^{XV}, writing in 1920, said, "All States should put aside mutual suspicion and unite in one sole society, or rather family of peoples, both to guarantee their own independence

and safeguard order in the civil concert of peoples. A special reason, not to mention others, for forming this society among the nations is the need, generally recognized, of reducing, if it is not possible to abolish it entirely, the enormous military expenditures which can no longer be borne by the States."

The present Pope, in his Christmas message of 1939, speaks on behalf of establishing juridical institutions to consider and adjust situations which might otherwise break the peace.

Fordham University has a great challenge placed before it. Christ commanded his apostles to go and teach all nations. Fordham, as a Christian institution, is tremendously interested in the skill and understanding which the statesmen of the United States demonstrate in handling world affairs. Are we by our actions bringing closer the day of great peace, when all the nations will flow unto the mountain of the Lord? Fordham University, I know, has already contributed toward that day through its teaching and through its distinguished alumni. Especially may I mention Archbishop Spellman, who has given such enlightened leadership both to church and state.

Whether it be the future of Fordham, the future of the United States, or the future of the world itself, we believe with the psalmist, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." And also from the Psalms, "The stone which the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes."

The Lord is building a New Order. It is not Hitler's New Order built on his alleged superior race, but it is a New Order built on justice, charity and peace. In the building of that New Order the United States has been given a unique responsibility, both during the present war and in the peace to come. After World War No. 1 the people of the United States failed, due to lack of prayerful understanding. After World War No. 2 we must not fail. With the help of the Almighty we shall not fail in the building of a just and lasting peace, -- the house of the Lord in which all the nations of the world may live harmoniously, joyously and fruitfully.

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

July 14, 1941

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Here is the first draft of a speech Mr. Wallace is making at Burlington, Iowa, July 31, to dedicate the new ordnance plant there. He would like to have your suggestions when you have read it. Many thanks.


Mary Huss

AMERICA, THE MIGHTY

Speech at Burlington, Iowa, July 31, 1941, by Henry A. Wallace

This Iowa Ordnance Plant which is being dedicated here at Burlington, Iowa, this evening, is a mighty ~~thing~~ institution by itself alone, but it is a symbol of something infinitely greater, the armed might of the ^{entire} United States, - the iron will of our people. First, a word about this particular plant located here in southeastern Iowa on the Mississippi River. It cost thirty million dollars and is one of the largest shell-loading plants anywhere in the world. 186 land-owners sold their farms in order that this plant might have a site of 20,000 acres. To run a plant of this size takes a power plant larger than that which they have in the City of Burlington ~~and~~ 150 miles of railroad ~~and~~ and electric line. I am not going to tell you just how much in the way of high explosives this Iowa plant will turn out every day but I have seen the figures and I want you to know they are impressive.

The figures for Burlington mean more when we remember that there are least eight other ordnance plants occupying about 100,000 acres and employing more than 50,000 men. These plants are located in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio

Michigan and southwestern Virginia. The plant which will be opened for operation in Des Moines sometime in early 1942 will ~~be another important addition~~

These plants are going to be doing such an outstanding job that they will be a shining mark for the Nazis, who through their agents will undoubtedly do everything they can to start a fires and strikes. I know the responsible leadership of organized labor deplures those strikes which find their origin ~~among~~ among elements which are inspired by the Nazis. Generally speaking, labor has done a splendid^{job}/in the defense industries, turning out a large volume of material with the greatest speed possible. This is especially true of shipbuilding, where ships are being launched so rapidly that the President has been forced to send to Congress new estimates in order to have enough work to keep the shipbuilding concerns fully occupied. I hope here in the Middle West, which is looked on as being isolationist by some of the people on the seaboard, ~~may be able to~~

we can demonstrate our capacity for speed. Good feeling between management and labor and a watchful eye kept open for the influence of the Nazi agent will do the job.

We are spending a billion dollars a month now ~~on~~ national defense and in 1942 will be spending about two billion dollars a month. This compares with only \$200,000 a month during the first half of 1940. It takes a while to unlimber the vast American production machine in the doing of a new job but when it really gets going there is nothing on earth can approach it.

Every month now sees a tremendous rise in American production, a rise which makes 99% of our American citizens rejoice.

The ^{one} might of the United States is the only thing which in the final analysis will prevent world slavery under the heel of Hitler. We admire the British for their stubborn courage. Nothing can dim the glory which Britain has ~~now~~ won for herself during the past year. But Britain would not have the courage to keep on fighting if it were not for the rapidly expanding production might of the United States. Countries which have wanted to cast it their lot with Hitler have stopped and thought and refused because they were fully

informed of our rising power.

We all believe wholeheartedly in peace, but we know that with wild men and brutal ideologies loose in the world the only possible road to peace is through rapid and complete defense. The architects of democratic ruin in Europe were pacifists. The men in France and England who in September of 1938 thought they had done something wonderful to maintain the peace of Europe returned home and were received by enthusiastic pacifist demonstrations. This made Hitler believe that the psychology of England and France was such that he could go ahead and step on them some more, which he immediately proceeded to do. We don't want Hitler or any of the axis powers x (open or hidden) to be deceived by the pacifists of the United States. The bulk of the people of the United States know that the price of peace today is to be completely prepared for war, — to be so prepared and so ready that no dictator, relying on reports of pacifist sentiment, will dare interfere with us in the guarding of the Atlantic or the sending of supplies to Britain. The Nazis will not dare start anything if our might ~~now~~ is sufficiently great and our attitude is sufficiently strong. The road to war or slavery is pacifism and appeasement.

The only possible road to peace and freedom is complete defense and a willingness to get into war if we have to.

Just a brief word about religious pacifists. I am not referring to those of the Quaker, Mennonite, and other faiths whose pacifism has been a matter of doctrine for several hundred years, but to ~~the~~ members of other Christian groups whose pacifism is of less than thirty years standing.

They say, "Resist not evil or you will be cast in the ^{mold} ~~summit~~ of that which you resist." They say, "The peculiar contribution of Jesus was that he furnished a formula of fighting for freedom without falling a victim to the standards of the enemies of freedom." This extreme form of Christian pacifism, which is much more akin to the non-resistance doctrine of Gandhi in India than it is to the historic spirit of America, is something which appeals strongly to a small group of fine people. But to these very people I would say, ~~the~~ ^{which} ~~rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, that when the forces of evil are~~ in the spirit of rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, that when the forces of evil ~~are~~ ^{are} marshalled together in terms of force it is essential for the forces of good also to be marshalled together in force. Without the might of the United States today

there will be no place on this earth for the highly refined Christian pacifists of the United States or the non-resisters of India. In a Hitler world such men can survive only as slaves. Thank God, the majority of Americans are not made in that mold.

Ninety-nine per cent of our fellow citizens believe in speedy and complete defense. Probably less than one per cent are pacifists or traitors. You can say in one breath that two-thirds of our people may question the wisdom of getting into war tomorrow but in the next breath you have to admit that about two-thirds of our people believe in helping England to the limit even though it means the risk of getting into war. The President, in his wise actions, represents the synthesis of those two attitudes, which characterize the bulk of the people of the United States. We are going to help England to the limit. We hope to stay out of war. But we are going to be swiftly and fully prepared and fully ready to fight if we have to.

One thing more. We are determined that the peace of the forties will bring the world more of abiding happiness than the peace of the twenties. The United States is going to have more to say about this peace than she had

about the last one. Anyone would be foolish today to mention the political aspects of the peace, but we are tremendously interested right here in Burlington, Iowa, about jobs for the seven thousand men employed in this plant when the peace comes. By the end of 1942 there will be employed, directly or indirectly, more than five million men in defense industry.

We are interested in these men and the market which they represent to farmers and to retail stores. We shall have the physical means to take care of these men. But will we engage in the necessary private and public financing? Are we wise enough to prevent normalcy and an economic explosion infinitely more serious than if this entire plant were to be blown up here by a Nazi agent.

I am glad this marvelous plant has been built. I hope world affairs some day are such that it can be destroyed. But if there is any likelihood of any nation at any time in the future believing it is called on to dominate the world, then I say this plant should continue to operate. In any event, ~~it~~ it is an integral and worthwhile part of our present national defense to say that we are supremely interested in the nutrition and the income of all the peoples of the world. We want a peace that will enable ~~the~~

everyone everywhere

~~to be~~ to be productive in terms of the commodities and

satisfactions which make for human health and happiness. We deny the

doctrine that one race is better than another race, that one nation is

better than another nation. But we ^{do} thank the ~~divine~~ divine Providence from

the bottom of our hearts that we are privileged to live in this chosen

land, in this New World hemisphere in which ^{dignity of man, the} the spirit of democracy finds

its fullest and freest ~~expression~~ ^{expression}.

Russio

Wallace

7-22-41

As I stand here with you, bringing you the greetings of the President of the United States, we, as civilians, dedicate a plant for making the giant shells of war.

Men of peace, - we prepare for war. Men of peace in this great factory will prepare a peaceful countryside for war, a war which we have tried to prevent but for which we are going to be prepared completely - materially and spiritually. This vast munitions plant brings home to everyone in eastern Iowa and western Illinois what is going on in the world today. We are beating the plowshares into swords, the automobiles into tanks, the aluminum kettles into airplanes. We are doing this because the flames of this war are sweeping the world like a forest fire running before the gale. Not one house or family in the entire world is safe while the flames of evil are raging. This plant which we dedicate today is part of our fire fighting equipment. This arsenal for loading giant shells is but one of more than thirty ordnance plants which will require the industry and man power of a city of half a million people and will spread over a peaceful and productive countryside which could grow the food for a hundred thousand souls.

So today I would leave figures to the Ordnance Department of the Army and speak of this dedication as a dedication of America's will to preserve and defend the dignity, the liberty and the happiness of man. A peaceful people moves slowly toward things of war. Not until serious danger threatens, will a peaceful people convert the material of peaceful life into material for war. Such danger already threatens as the Nazis

put on the pressure in Africa and the Far East. Today the pressure is so great that the likelihood of being involved in war would be enormously increased if we failed to devote to the utmost our resources to the making of war materials. Only by developing our might to the utmost, only by demonstrating through every action and attitude that we are completely willing to go to war if necessary, is there any chance for that peace which we so earnestly desire.

Here in the great Middle West is the heart of America and of the democratic way of life. No appeasing Quisling commands the allegiance of our farm people. In my heart I honor the will for peace that is our spiritual basis, but I deny that this will for peace has been distorted by anyone into a will for peace at any price, or on any terms except the terms of a great and freedom-loving nation.

So we go forward building shells at Burlington, and ships at Norfolk, and airplanes at Wichita. We have made America an arsenal for liberty. In the year ahead we shall have fewer new automobiles, but we in Iowa and Missouri and Kansas - and even in Montana - know how to make the old car run. We have made the old car run and the old tractor work before, while we fought off depression and hunger, and we can do it again, if necessary. We have found how to make farm economy work in the democratic way. Farmers met in a democratic way the issue of too much and too little as they adjusted the balance between producer and consumer out of the chaos and despair of a former year. They are just beginning to enjoy the fruits of their long campaign for justice.

In the democratic way of freedom, we fought and won the peacetime fight. Now we turn our farms and homes over to gun making, and,

for the moment, reverse the great dream of Isaiah and Micah, but we do so knowing that only in this way can we make their dream ultimately a reality.

In time there shall come peace. Our steel shall again become steel for plowshares, our tanks shall become automobiles and our airplanes shall "fill the heavens with commerce" when "the war drum will throb no longer and the battle flags will be furled in the parliament of man, the Federation of the world". But today is not that time. Today we dedicate this great plant to the defense of liberty, to the worship of God, to respect for the dignity of man and to the peaceful pursuit of happiness. Through a oneness of spirit we shall live. As days pass and factory belts move ever faster, as muscles and minds quicken to the task, this great agricultural community will have its part in the oneness of will and work which shall win not only the war, but the peace.

We all know the production of food is the true basis of civilization. The great corn and wheat belts of the Middle West feed the nation, but they can do a great deal more. I would feel badly if the direct labor of defense were denied to the states of the Middle West. It is therefore with great exultation that I see high spirit and direct purpose on the freedom-loving faces before me. America by her might, her heart and her soul will determine world destiny.

In Europe there are some who say that the Nazi yoke shall rest on the necks of the enslaved peoples of the world for a thousand years. By the speed and efficiency of this plant we say - NO. That yoke shall be lifted. Man must be freed, ^{Man will be free,} by our might and our will, we shall keep him free.

Life is not smooth and easy. Peoples of this earth live and die. They struggle; they sacrifice and enjoy through active effort the blessings of the earth. Sometimes the battle seems to be a losing one, but the outcome must never be in doubt. The forces of light must defeat the powers of darkness.

In the distant past, a thousand petty despots ruled the world. Then arose the common man who broke their power. Today we, the sons and daughters of the common man, attend universities and countless schools which give knowledge and richness of life to all. We worship God in our own way without fear. We see Him and feel Him and live with Him according to our own individual truth. We may - and do - select our own leadership in war and peace. It is these rights and privileges that make America; and these things shall endure. This plant which we dedicate today is the symbol of the will by which we endure, by which we fight back the forces of darkness. We predict today that the light is coming sooner than we think. The miserable and helpless victims behind the wall of Hitler are beginning to see the light.

If there is anything certain about evil, it is that evil has within itself the germ of its own destruction. Evil men fight evilly for evil things. In their very badness they foment discord. A Hess may fly to Scotland; a Goering may disappear from the news; a Hitler may become a puppet of his own murder machine. But when I see those who believe in the good life of peace meet to win the peace, my heart is uplifted, for I know good grows within itself, as surely as evil destroys itself. If there is anything that is certain about the good life, it is that good men think and act alike for each other as well as for themselves.

England and America, Australia and Canada, South Africa, the lands governed by the Free French and the countless and helpless millions whom the despots rule, all join today in a unified prayer that freedom may come - that peace with liberty may be hastened. And so it shall be no matter where the despot goes. He is weakened as he advances. He leaves behind him not a will to war, but a will among his own people to end the horror which the despot has unleashed. One does not hear of flags waving in Berlin any more. One hears instead that the despot speaks to men whipped into line by fear of punishment. His foundations crack and crumble as his leaders cringe and waver in the thought of blood purges that have been, and are, and are yet to come.

But the Hitler way is not the American way. Here in Iowa and throughout America, men are meeting as you are meeting today, in the spirit of freedom and the will to win a peace of permanence and dignity.

The great labor which is to be accomplished here in this arsenal of liberty must have a meaning if the labor itself is to be joyous and purposeful and uninterrupted. I see ahead a richer life. When despots fail and free men face the future, our responsibility will be greater than ever before. There will be many needs. America must be prepared - yes, prepared for peace. It must not - this world of peace - be a world of rancor and hate and suspicion and of temporary, makeshift, patchwork decisions. We must be prepared in our souls. The leadership of the peace must be the leadership of the common man.

The wants of mankind are simple and healthy and few. America, and perhaps a hundred other nations as well, must state and make clear these things. America must insist that the healthful life lived in freedom and shouldering responsibility for the common welfare must

become universal. Order throughout the world must be for people, not for government. Governments exist only to serve man, to help him to achieve a better life, greater security and more happiness.

The Axis powers must realize that the true axis is a line linking hearts of the free peoples of the world. Today that line stretches across the Atlantic to a beleaguered Britain, to a France, a Norway, a Holland, a Belgium, and to a Greece held in temporary vassallage. That line stretches across the Pacific to Australia and New Zealand - lands younger than ours, but great outposts of freedom. It stretches to the oldest civilisation in the world, - to a China bent on self-rule and freedom from aggression.

Furthermore, I would include in the Axis of Democracy, not merely our fine German-Americans, but, in addition, the vast bulk of the German people themselves. Most of them never believed in the Prussian imperialism of the Kaiser any more than they now believe in the blood-spilling, world-dominating madness of Hitler. Christian Americans of German ancestry pray for the curse to be lifted from the German people. They pray that the next peace may be such a just peace that it can never be broken by any mad man, however crafty. They pray that the next peace may remember the common man wherever he may be found.

The next peace must be based on the four freedoms, which have been defined with such far-seeing clarity by our great President - Franklin D. Roosevelt. These are freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship God, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. To make these four freedoms into living reality will require an even greater effort than the war itself. We must have as great a united will

to meet the extraordinary problem of the peace as we now have to meet the war. The common man will and should demand definite institutions through which he can work successfully - through which he can work for the third freedom, - freedom from want and a job which will give food, health, clothing and a home. This great freedom, made into reality and combined with the Bill of Rights, is America's gift to the world.

The battle for liberty in war and peace is being fought not only in Europe and Asia and Africa, but right here. Yes, right here in America. There are among us a loud minority who give aid and comfort to the enemies of civilization, some unwittingly and others quite wilfully. To these false prophets of gloom and chaos, we must give no ear. On unity of purpose, devotion to justice, truth, democracy and the might of our arms rests our salvation. We must stand firm. The preservation of liberty itself depends on us. We shall not fail.

Wallace

1202 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

July 25, 1941

Charles Marsh, Esq.
2304 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Herewith are the minutes of our session of
July 12th.

Sincerely,

Helen Hill Miller

Helen Hill Miller.

Enclosure

Notes on the Meeting of July 12

The agenda for the meeting set forth the following assumptions:

"That we are talking chiefly about the second of the three periods mentioned on May 3 -- namely the period of post war transition.

That the instrument of order during this transition period will be an American-British agreement.

1. Given these assumptions, what should be the wartime relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth? Possible alternatives are:

- (a) Associated powers (as in 1917-19)
- (b) A defensive alliance
- (c) Step by step joint action accompanied by the creation of joint agencies to express common objectives, and to employ their force to realize these objectives.
 - (1) What are the principal objectives?
 - (2) What agencies are required?"

In the course of agreeing to center the discussion around 1 (c), the group made a detailed estimate of the American relation to the war, now and in the months ahead.

The United States was recognized to be a currently important influence in restraining Japan in the Far East, in exerting pressure against a complete line-up of Vichy with Germany, in producing goods for use in Britain, in bulwarking freedom of access in the North Atlantic by occupation of Iceland and by possible similar moves in the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa.

It was also recognized as possible that the war may come to an end through German disintegration while we are doing no more than the

type of thing that we are doing now, especially if Russian resistance is long. (Four possible outcomes of the German-Russian war were considered: (1) Rather summarily dismissed was the possibility of a Russian victory with German collapse and extension of Russian influence over Europe -- one member murmured that we won't be worrying about that one three weeks from now. (2) A quick and decisive German victory. It was remarked that while we are saying the German time-table is slow the Germans may feel that progress is satisfactory. If they win by October 1, they may very probably try to clean up the Mediterranean; if by September 1 they may even try Britain this fall, particularly since our occupation of Iceland means their loss of the war of attrition. (3) Or the fight may drag on through the winter, with the Germans winning in the spring. (4) Or the war may bog down to a permanent front. In the case of (2) the Nazis may go all the way to the Pacific; should Stalin fall under a drive of annihilation the Nazis might make a deal with Anaspenko, general of Russia's Far Eastern armies. Then peace terms can be expected to be followed by Nazi exploitation of Russian resources and the establishment of the New Europe.)

But if the war should come to an end without further American participation, many of the members questioned the nature of the leverage we could bring to bear on the peace. If all the blood that is shed is British blood, if our activity is confined to lend-leasing and the like, the United States will get the consideration accorded by a nation with continuing financial need to a creditor with indefinite claims and strong military power. But it would be psychologically impossible at home for the British to acknowledge us as a victor. The victory bells would give importance to all that we didn't do, to our getting started late, our

unequal sharing of the burden, etc. The spirit in which the British would collaborate with us in the post-war world would be very different from what it would be if we had joined to win the victory. Moreover, general opinion among nearly all those present questioned the chances of victory unless it be American-British victory.

Again, the assumption of victory is a prerequisite to adequate planning here in the United States. We have already undertaken measures of participation, of which the occupation of Iceland is the chief; we are already committed to a degree. We therefore need to plan in terms of taking the initiative. (Parallel British experience was reviewed. Some time before the war, the French said they needed four British divisions and the British Ministry of Supply thought in those terms. When Czechoslovakia disappeared and the Poles were uncertain, the sudden shift in French requirements from four to fifty-five divisions presented the British Ministry of Supply with an impossible task and knocked out its plans for an economy of business-as-usual-plus-defense.) So far, our thinking has been comparably small scale and defensive, and the British since the fall of France have been chiefly engaged in making certain that the British Isles won't be invaded.

What we need to do is to plan in big terms, in terms that stand a chance of providing more, not less, than what is needed. In such terms alone can we plan a world order that is a real alternative to Hitler's.

Building this world order out of a series of institutions each established for a particular purpose, after the manner suggested under 1 (c) of the agenda, was agreed to be preferable to the other two forms of collaboration suggested. We may very well move through (c) to (a), --

one third of our people want to go to war now and the other two thirds may well be willing if certain things come to pass. (Some thought that these figures should be reversed, that it is as futile to poll people on "Do they want to go to war?" as to ask them if they are for sin; the realistic question is the question which has already received a plurality of affirmative replies, -- as one member phrased it, our main want is that Hitler won't win.) At any rate, we must be ready to get in at any time.

While most members agreed that our long-term influence will be limited unless we participate militarily in the war, they were also agreed that in this interval before we are militarily committed, our short-term influence is at its peak. It is therefore crucially important to use it to get the institutions set up which we believe useful not only for the war but for the subsequent period. (A further advantage of setting up joint institutions now is for their stabilizing effect in getting the American people to stay put once the war is over. Sloganizing is currently important, to the effect that it is not enough to win the war -- we must win the peace.)

It was stressed that these institutions should not be exclusively American-British affairs. Adherence by the governments in exile, by the South American nations, by China, depending on the particular purpose of each institution, was felt to be highly advantageous to the growth of the collective framework of a world order. (The Tripartite Currency Agreement was cited as an instance of intelligent arrangement for the adherence of nations exerting varying degrees of actual power; the Act of Havana was similarly commended.) The possibility of Russia remaining in as a belligerent was also examined: if she does, it will probably be because

both the Nazi and the Russian orders have broken down. In that case, wouldn't a reorganized Russia be acceptable to the American people?

Against the background of these general considerations the group examines specific areas of action -- military, economic, financial -- and the institutions which are being set up or might be set up to deal with them under current and foreseeable circumstances.

Military - political institutions. The difficulties of distance, felt in the last war as between London, Paris and Rome, must now be overcome as nearly as possible as between Washington and London. On the side of materiel, attention was called to the arrangement now being completed for the pooling of information by the United States, Canada, and Britain on the most important items of military-naval materiel: inventories, current production, and firmest (i.e. minimum) production schedules through 1942. This information can then be compared with estimates of German output. Such an arrangement does not assume cooperation beyond what we have now, a situation in which the United States is serving as the arsenal of democracy. But it does give opportunity for a coordinated service of supply.

As long as we are not a belligerent we cannot set up a Supreme War Council to make sure that every ship and plane is being used to the best advantage, but a good deal can be done by way of priorities to build needed things first. Through basic planning and a central appreciation of the situation, moves can be made along parallel lines in the countries concerned. Such planning must take into account possibilities such as the German attack on Russia or occupation of the British Isles.

In the North Atlantic, should there be a single commander-in-chief to keep the sea lanes open? Or is collaboration preferable because

of the freshness of contrasting views thereby obtainable and to avoid the friction likely to develop in course of setting up unified control?

In the South Atlantic, security in current positions is as important as advance into new areas. Political considerations are here as important as military -- Is it politically impossible (though militarily highly desirable) for us to have a base on Brazil? If so, is occupation of a West African base and adjacent islands as important as the occupation of Iceland? (If we're going to get there fustest, let's remember the rest of Forrest's maxim and not half-garrison a subsequent present to the wrong people.) What of collaboration with the Free French? (Dakar might now be easier to take from the rear than from the front.) Or should our African interests be concentrated on the Egyptian campaign?

In the Far East, pooling and planning with the Dutch and British would enable us to take a defensive position in the Pacific, and thereby have enough forces to meet the needs in both oceans.

The problem was seen as a problem of allocating our forces among various pressing needs. At the moment allocations are being made by a variety of American agencies: Army-Navy Munitions Board, Lend-Lease, State Department, White House. Is an agency to make a continuous central estimate of the situation not urgently required?

When the war is over, the bases about which we are now concerned will be in our hands -- can we work out regional divisions of responsibility? Will Britain have enough strength and resources to control Europe? Will Australia and New Zealand look to us in the Southwest Pacific?

The measure of security that the peoples of the world can get will depend on the United States and Britain. (Should we swap forces to

some extent as a foretaste of this joint control?) And on the measure of their obtainable security will depend their willingness to participate boldly in a new order better than the past.

The desirability was strongly emphasized of setting up, now, an unofficial joint agency to make a central estimate of the post-war situation. It was pointed out that the British personnel required for such a job is present here in Washington. This move is all the more urgent because a state of non-war may come upon us very suddenly and the things we do in the transition must serve the ends of permanent peace — unless we have in mind from the beginning the mold that we want our institutions eventually to take, they will never find that form.

Economic institutions. Just now, the opportunity for action in the economic field is exceptionally favorable: internationally so because of the leverage which we are momentarily able to exert on the British, domestically so because these are good times at home with employment on the boom. Tariff revision, for instance, if undertaken now, might be welcomed as part of action to curb rising prices.

Transportation. It was pointed out that the pooling of available shipping has gone to very considerable lengths already. Properly handled, current experience can be further useful after the war, in replacing the highly-subsidized, cut-throat pattern of the industry in the recent past. The post-war transition is likely to fall into two periods: for a year or two, shipping space will be scarce and priorities doubtless applied; after that, the scarcity problem will become a surplus problem. We must anticipate both.

Various arrangements were suggested, from an International Shipping Commission to rationalize ship transportation in the same way that bus

transportation has been rationalized here with a system of licenses, to informal collaboration such as exists between the British and ourselves at present. (It was said that while we have nothing like the Allied Shipping Control of last time, we are getting more cooperation now than we had under it.) But it was pointed out that such arrangements will not outlast the emergency unless the nations that are not parts of the agreement during the time when the United States and Britain are the only effective powers are taken in.

Emphasis was put on the shift to air transport to be anticipated in the future, and the opportunity for a joint organization to direct the post-war scramble to place planes in areas needing air development.

Migration. The need for joint governmental action in the fields of migration and social security was cited.

Trade. One of the most promising areas for joint action, beginning now, is that of raw materials. There is a growing attitude in Britain which recognizes the importance to Britain of the economic welfare of the raw materials-producing countries. Britain is therefore now willing to collaborate as never before to make possible the use of the capacities of the raw materials-producing countries for human welfare all over the world. Australia also is developing far-sighted ideas on the subject.

Joint British-Canadian-Argentinian-American discussions are currently taking place, looking to a wheat agreement under which Britain would buy her requirements from an international pool, and police its operation. (One member questioned for how long Britain could commit herself. Her present position is that of an island off a hostile continent. After the war, she will have to be in Europe as never before.)

It was suggested that Britain, in return for collaborating with us on wheat, will expect our collaboration on products in which she is interested, such as rubber. All of these agreements will be made to run for a period longer than the war.

Specific inducements as a basis for these agreements were clearly recognized as requisite to their endurance -- only so can the difficult parties be included. Canada would need a quid pro quo to compensate for losses under the wheat agreement of her gains under the Ottawa Agreements. On our side, should we include revision of the Ottawa Agreements as a quid pro quo under the lease-lend act? What of the relation of the new commodity agreements to our agreements with the Latin American countries -- for instance, we have agreed to take Bolivia's tin and tungsten for three years at good prices.

Finance. Discussion of trade led on to discussion of finance, particularly because it was agreed that the basic needs for financial reconstruction are in relation to commodities and investment.

In the currency field, the use of our gold was considered in respect to South America and to Germany. Should we have a new world unit of currency backed by gold, for use in international transactions only, as a popular symbol? Or is currency a secondary matter: one member remarked that since the gold standard fell under stress of abnormal spurts of capital movements and depression of raw materials; any common currency to operate successfully will require institutions to prevent those strains.

Another pointed to the need of new standards of international integrity -- otherwise the claims of the domestic standard of living in debtor countries will have preference over the payment of debts. In

connection with the mechanism of default, the stock principle was championed as opposed to the bond principle: equity investment does not carry the possibility of bondholders becoming operators of alien property in an alien country. If equities can be kept in the country of investment, service will not become a burden later. (What about flexible interest payments -- Chile is using them now.)

Available experience of international loan agencies was reviewed. The Pan American Bank was felt to have done good work on the new problems of international exchange in a world where exchange control has gone very far; but it has the disadvantage of containing one dominant partner. The record of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations was cited in supervising loans where the dominance of the New York or the London market would have been undesirable. Criteria developed by League experts for international loans included the view that such loans should not supply -- to local governments, for instance -- funds that would otherwise be raised nationally; the agency responsible for loans should have the planning of world productive capacity in view.

The danger of trying to go back to 1914 was clearly recognized: creditors today must take greater pains to make repayments possible. So was the danger of trying to go back to the post-World-War-I period: it was suggested that good policy would be to envisage the war's end on the basis of no government indebtedness -- otherwise we'll demand our pound of flesh and Britain won't know what she owes: we ought to settle on the fact that the goods have been shot at Hitler.

It was recognized that both British and American credit may be greatly strained by that time and that therefore an International

Reconstruction Corporation may be greatly needed to take on the job. This should be a joint agency with power to do certain things on its own, irrespective of individual adhering governments. (It was noted that on questions of finance and raw materials Germany could be cut in safely.) In such an organization, the interplay of national interest would have to be dealt with, the competitive commodity situation that would be raised by any loan to any backward country: for instance, loans to grow rubber in South America would require compensatory action in the East Indies. Attention was called to the fact that the discussion had assumed strict governmental control of investment rather than loans by private banks as in the 1920's. It was suggested that the present S.E.C. regulations would cover the abuses of the earlier period -- which, some one remarked, had been on the whole pleasant for the Latin Americans -- and that the new agency would serve as an international S.E.C.

Most concrete of the suggestions emerging from the session was the desirability of working out a proposal for an international financial agency along some of the lines discussed.

Wallace
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Friday
morning papers, August 1

AMERICA --- THE MIGHTY

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President
of the United States at the dedication of the new
Ordnance Plant, Burlington, Iowa, July 31, 1941, 9:30
p.m. C S T, broadcast over NBC blue network.

As I stand here with you, bringing you the greetings of the
President of the United States, we, as civilians, dedicate a plant for
making the giant shells of war.

Men of peace, - we prepare for war. Men of peace in this great
factory will prepare a peaceful countryside for war, a war which we
have tried to prevent but for which we are going to be prepared com-
pletely - materially and spiritually. This vast munitions plant brings
home to everyone in eastern Iowa and western Illinois what is going on
in the world today. We are beating the plowshares into swords, the
automobiles into tanks, the aluminum kettles into airplanes. We are
doing this because the flames of this war are sweeping the world like a
forest fire running before the gale. Not one house or family in the
entire world is safe while the flames of evil are raging. This plant
which we dedicate today is part of our fire fighting equipment. This
arsenal for loading giant shells is but one of more than thirty ordnance
plants which will require the industry and man power of a city of half
a million people and will spread over a peaceful and productive country-
side which could grow the food for a hundred thousand souls.

So today I would leave figures to the Ordnance Department of the
Army and speak of this dedication as a dedication of America's will to
preserve and defend the dignity, the liberty and the happiness of man.
A peaceful people moves slowly toward things of war. Not until serious
danger threatens, will a peaceful people convert the material of peace-
ful life into material for war. Such danger already threatens as the
Nazis put on the pressure in Africa and the Far East. Today the
pressure is so great that the likelihood of being involved in war would
be enormously increased if we failed to devote to the utmost our
resources to the making of war materials. Only by developing our might
to the utmost, only by demonstrating through every action and attitude
that we are completely willing to go to war if necessary, is there any
chance for that peace which we so earnestly desire.

Here in the great Middle West is the heart of America and of the democratic way of life. No appeasing Quisling commands the allegiance of our farm people. In my heart I honor the will for peace that is our spiritual basis, but I deny that this will for peace has been distorted by anyone into a will for peace at any price, or on any terms except the terms of a great and freedom-loving nation.

So we go forward building shells at Burlington, and ships at Norfolk, and airplanes at Wichita. We have made America an arsenal for liberty. In the year ahead we shall have fewer new automobiles, but we in Iowa and Missouri and Kansas - and even in Montana - know how to make the old car run. We have made the old car run and the old tractor work before, while we fought off depression and hunger, and we can do it again, if necessary. We have found how to make farm economy work in the democratic way. Farmers met in a democratic way the issue of too much and too little as they adjusted the balance between producer and consumer out of the chaos and despair of a former year. They are just beginning to enjoy the fruits of their long campaign for justice.

In the democratic way of freedom, we fought and won the peacetime fight. Now we turn our farms and homes over to gun making, and for the moment, reverse the great dream of Isaiah and Micah, but we do so knowing that only in this way can we make their dream ultimately a reality.

In time there shall come peace. Our steel shall again become steel for plowshares, our tanks shall become automobiles and our airplanes shall make the "heavens fill with commerce" when the war drum will throb no longer and the battle flags will be "furl'd in the parliament of man, the Federation of the world". But today is not that time. Today we dedicate this great plant to the defense of liberty, to the worship of God, to respect for the dignity of man and to the peaceful pursuit of happiness. Through a oneness of spirit we shall live. As days pass and factory belts move ever faster, as muscles and minds quicken to the task, this great agricultural community will have its part in the oneness of will and work which shall win not only the war, but the peace.

We all know the production of food is the true basis of civilization. The great corn and wheat belts of the Middle West feed the nation, but they can do a great deal more. I would feel badly if the direct labor of defense were denied to the states of the Middle West. It is therefore with great exultation that I see high spirit and direct purpose on the freedom-loving faces before me. America by her might, her heart, and her soul will determine world destiny.

In Europe there are some who say that the Nazi yoke shall rest on the necks of the enslaved peoples of the world for a thousand years. By the speed and efficiency of this plant we say - NO. That yoke shall be lifted. Man must be free. Man will be free. By our might and our will, we shall keep him free.

Life is not smooth and easy. Peoples of this earth live and die. They struggle; they sacrifice and enjoy through active effort the blessings of the earth. Sometimes the battle seems to be a losing one, but the outcome must never be in doubt. The forces of light must defeat the powers of darkness.

In the distant past, a thousand petty despots ruled the world. Then arose the common man who broke their power. Today we, the sons and daughters of the common man, attend universities and countless schools which give knowledge and richness of life to all. We worship God in our own way without fear. We see Him and feel Him and live with Him according to our own individual truth. We may - and do - select our own leadership in war and peace. It is these rights and privileges that make America; and these things shall endure. This plant which we dedicate today is the symbol of the will by which we endure, by which we fight back the forces of darkness. We predict today that the light is coming sooner than we think. The miserable and helpless victims behind the wall of Hitler are beginning to see the light. *of*

If there is anything certain about evil, it is that evil has within itself the germ of its own destruction. Evil men fight evilly for evil things. In their very badness they foment discord. A Hess may fly to Scotland; a Goering may disappear from the news; a Hitler may become a puppet of his own murder machine. But when I see those who believe in the good life of peace meet to win the peace, my heart is uplifted, for I know good grows within itself, as surely as evil destroys itself. If there is anything that is certain about the good life, it is that good men think and act alike for each other as well as for themselves.

England and America, Australia and Canada, South Africa, our friends in Latin America, the Russians and Chinese battling the aggressor, and the countless and helpless millions whom the despots rule, - all join today in a unified prayer that freedom may come - that peace with liberty may be hastened. And so it shall be, no matter where the despot goes. He is weakened as he advances. He leaves behind him not a will to war, but a will among his own people to end the horror which the despot has unleashed. One does not hear of flags waving in Berlin any more. One hears instead that the despot speaks to men whipped into line by fear of punishment. His foundations crack and crumble as his leaders cringe and waver in the thought of blood purges that have been, and are, and are yet to come.

But the Hitler way is not the American way. Here in Iowa and throughout America, men are meeting as you are meeting today, in the spirit of freedom and the will to win a peace of permanence and dignity.

The great labor which is to be accomplished here in this arsenal of liberty must have a meaning if the labor itself is to be joyous and purposeful and uninterrupted. I see ahead a richer life. When despots fail and free men face the future, our responsibility will be greater

than ever before. There will be many needs. America must be prepared - yes, prepared for peace. It must not - this world of peace - be a world of rancor and hate and suspicion and of temporary, makeshift, patchwork decisions. We must be prepared in our souls. The leadership of the peace must be the leadership of the common man.

The wants of mankind are simple and healthy and few. America, and half a hundred other nations as well, must state and make clear these things. America must insist that the healthful life lived in freedom and responsibility shouldered for the common welfare must become universal. Order throughout the world must be for the people, not for the State. Governments exist only to serve man, to help him to achieve a better life, greater security and more happiness.

The Axis powers must realize that the true axis is a line linking hearts of the free peoples of the world. Today that line stretches across the Atlantic to a beleaguered Britain, to a France, a Norway, a Holland, a Belgium, and to a Greece held in temporary vassalage. That line stretches across the Pacific to Australia and New Zealand - lands younger than ours, but great outposts of freedom. It stretches to the oldest civilization in the world, - to a China bent on self-rule and freedom from aggression.

Furthermore, I would include in the Axis of Democracy, not merely our fine German-Americans, but, in addition, the vast bulk of the German people themselves. Most of them never believed in the Prussian imperialism of the Kaiser any more than they now believe in the blood-spilling, world-dominating madness of Hitler. Christian Americans of German ancestry pray for the curse to be lifted from the German people. They pray that the next peace may be such a just peace that it can never be broken by any madman, however crafty. They pray that the next peace may remember the common man wherever he may be found.

The next peace must be based on the four freedoms, which have been defined with such far-seeing clarity by our great President - Franklin D. Roosevelt. These are freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship God, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. To make these four freedoms into living reality will require an even greater effort than the war itself. We must have as great a united will to meet the extraordinary problem of the peace as we now have to meet the war. The common man will and should demand definite institutions through which he can work successfully - through which he can work for the third freedom, - freedom from want and a job which will give food, health, clothing, and a home. This great freedom, made into reality and combined with the Bill of Rights, is America's gift to the world.

The battle for liberty in war and peace is being fought not only in Europe and Asia and Africa, but right here. Yes, right here in America. There are among us a loud minority who give aid and comfort to the enemies of civilization, some unwittingly and others quite wilfully. To these false prophets of gloom and chaos, we must give no ear. On unity of purpose, devotion to justice, truth, democracy and the might of our arms rests our salvation. We must stand firm. The preservation of liberty itself depends on us. We shall not fail.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Wednesday
morning papers, September 17

BUILDING THE HOUSE OF PEACE

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, on the occasion of the Fordham University Centenary Celebration, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, September 16, 1941, 10:00 p.m. EDT, broadcast over NBC Blue network.

It is not strange that the great leader of our democracy should again and again recognize the fundamental importance of religion. He knows, just as you here at Fordham know, that at the very heart of both Christianity and democracy is the proposition that the individual human soul is sacred and that the voluntary relationship of one soul to another is based on the fundamental link which both have to God the Father. And so it happens naturally enough that the political belief in democracy and the religious belief in Christianity should produce somewhat like results. No true Christian can speak bitterly against the Jew, the Negro, or the Yellow man. Some individuals may be born with greater ability than others, but this difference in inborn ability does not depend primarily on race, color or economic status.

We have a profound belief in the United States that we are living in a Chosen Land, in a land chosen to serve the world in the establishment and preservation of the great freedoms, the freedoms which are vital alike to the Christian faith, to political democracy and to the sacredness of the individual human being. But believing we are living in a land chosen for a high destiny of service is totally different from believing in the inherent superiority of one race over all other races and of one scientific, Godless culture over all other cultures. Our faith is humble, profound and essentially peaceful. The other faith is bloody, boastful, intolerant, superficial and temporary.

The Hitler House is built upon the sands and the winds are blowing. I predict that behind the walls where lie France and Poland, Belgium and Luxembourg, Holland and Norway, Yugoslavia and Greece, the winds are blowing at the foundations of Hitler's House. Force untempered by justice brings the tornado to the house of force itself. No one can predict the day of the fall of the House of Hitler. But all men of keen perception know that this house will fall from within through the falsity of the architect -- through the refusal of Hitler himself to believe that the human being and his rightful needs are the bricks and mortar of any permanent house of God and government on this earth.

Speaking of the great freedoms, I remember it was my privilege, the day after the death of Pope Pius XI, who I hope some day will be revered as a saint in the Catholic church, to speak of his contribution to that freedom about which all of us have thought too little -- freedom from want. Without freedom from want the dignity of man is too often sacrificed. With regard to this particular freedom, the democratic record has not always been too good, but it has been the best record which man has experienced. By the grace of God and the democratic process, the life of the common man shall be enriched in the days to come.

Fordham University has long been an outstanding exponent of the social doctrines of the Catholic Church. This University has always taught that democracy is primarily spiritual and moral and that from these sources spring political and economic democracy.

Time and again President Roosevelt has spoken in language which must seem strangely familiar to the professors of the University of Fordham. You will remember that in his message to Congress nine months before the war broke out he said, "Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans now as always. The first is religion. It is the source of the other two - democracy and good faith. Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors."

On many subjects will be found almost exactly parallel passages in the President's messages and speeches with the sentiments expressed in the Papal Encyclicals. Nowhere is this likeness more striking than in the statement of peace aims. Shortly after the war broke out, in his Christmas message of 1939, Pope Pius XII stated five peace objectives, the first of which expressed the belief that all nations, large and small, strong and weak, have the right to life and independence.

Paralleling this first objective are the first three points of the 8-point democratic peace aims. You will remember how they read:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise; they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereignty and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The second of Pope Pius XII's five points deals with freedom from the heavy burden of armaments. This second point of the Pope is in essence identical with the eighth and last of the democratic peace aims.

Pope Pius XII in his third point, which comes out for the establishment of institutions which will serve to guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the peace terms, parallels the sixth of the democratic peace aims which asks for a peace that will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will give assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Pope Pius in his various peace messages invariably stresses the spirit of justice and universal charity, the law of God, as vital to peaceful international relations. President Roosevelt stated the close relationship between democracy and religion nearly a year before the war began in his memorable message to Congress, saying: "Where freedom of religion has been attacked, the attack has come from sources opposed to democracy. Where democracy has been overthrown, the spirit of free worship has disappeared. And where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident and brute force."

In the little publication entitled "A Centenary Interpretation of What Fordham Means," I read the sentence: "Fordham educates for peace, but not for pacifism." So it is with President Roosevelt. One of his first official acts in early 1933 was to cable the sovereigns and chiefs of 54 nations the following: "If all nations will agree wholly to eliminate from possession and use the weapons which make possible a successful attack, defenses automatically become impregnable and the frontiers and independence of every nation will become more secure." May these prophetic words bear fruit.

The President's objective was peace but he was not a pacifist. Hitler answered President Roosevelt's request with a demand for more guns. Fortunately Roosevelt was not a pacifist and began building ships, a fact which will ultimately contribute mightily to the outcome of this war in both the Pacific and the Atlantic.

The American people are tremendously interested in peace today but they are not pacifists. They would hate to see this war end prematurely in a way which would insure a third and more horrible war in our generation. The American people want to see this war ended justly on the basis of the five points enunciated by the Pope, on the basis of the Four Freedoms and on the basis of the eight points agreed to by the two great democracies and approved by all the rest. They want to see peoples impoverished and starved by the Nazis given a chance. They want to see a peace established so just that it will last for our children and our children's children. They want to see recognized an international bill of rights and duties, rights recognizing the sacredness of the individual human soul, the security of small nations and the possibility of poor people earning enough to remove the fear of want. Into the peace fabric there must be built not only rights but duties - a sense of duty to world humanity. Thus dreamed Christ and the prophets. We can, if we so will, make this dream a reality.

The social teaching of the Catholic Church is especially opposed to Hitler's New Order. The way to meet the economic and social challenge of all so-called New Orders which deny the sacredness of the human soul in its relationship to God is to present a Democratic New Order which under God will carry out the Four Freedoms and the Eight Peace Aims. A free economy and a Christian leadership must remove the fear of war. Only by world organization may this be done.

It so happens that a general European war has always, and will always, shake the United States to the very depths. It is not merely idealism but also sound business sense, to take the very deepest interest in the type of world organization which has in it the promise of preventing the outbreak of war on other continents. Pope Benedict XV, writing in 1920, said, "All States should put aside mutual suspicion and unite in one sole society, or rather family of peoples, both to guarantee their own independence and safeguard order in the civil concert of peoples. A special reason, not to mention others, for forming this society among the nations is the need, generally recognized, of reducing, if it is not possible to abolish it entirely, the enormous military expenditures which can no longer be borne by the States."

The present Pope, in his Christmas message of 1939, speaks on behalf of establishing juridical institutions to consider and adjust situations which might otherwise break the peace.

Fordham University has a great challenge placed before it. Christ commanded his apostles to go and teach all nations. Fordham, as a Christian institution, is tremendously interested in the skill and understanding which the statesmen of the United States demonstrate in handling world affairs. Are we by our actions bringing closer the day of great peace, when all the nations will flow unto the mountain of the Lord? Fordham University, I know, has already contributed toward that day through its teaching and through its distinguished alumni. Especially may I mention Archbishop Spellman, who has given such enlightened leadership both to church and state.

Whether it be the future of Fordham, the future of the United States, or the future of the world itself, we believe with the psalmist, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." And also from the Psalms, "The stone which the builders refused is become the headstone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes."

The Lord is building a New Order. It is not Hitler's New Order built on his alleged superior race, but it is a New Order built on justice, charity and peace. In the building of that New Order the United States has been given a unique responsibility, both during the present war and in the peace to come. After World War No. 1 the people of the United States failed, due to lack of prayerful understanding. After World War No. 2 we must not fail. With the help of the Almighty we shall not fail in the building of a just and lasting peace, -- the house of the Lord in which all the nations of the world may live harmoniously, joyously and fruitfully.

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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
September 22, 1941

Dear H. A.: *Wallace*

A letter, dated September 17, from California says: "I am glad to see the Vice President is more than lending a hand--he looks like a real person--and sounds like one too."

This lady is bed-ridden and is my best radio reporter--also a daily newspaper reader, and, incidentally, a Vassar graduate.

I presume these few lines from a long letter came out of listening to your address on the fifteenth, with a background of newspaper photographs and news reading.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

October 18, 1941

Memorandum to H. A. *Wallace*

Yes.

No tools needed except information as to what must be done at least two weeks ahead of the must, with a memorandum of the facts and figures upon which the must is based. I will then give my reaction in memorandum form to H. A. for disposition.

Example: Woolens. Winter. How much wool last winter? How much this winter? Certain dispatch letters. Certain meetings of gray goods manufacturers, converters, and stylists, with one temporarily drafted virtuous wool man to re-establish civilian use from raw product to consumer.

This method gets much trouble over first, saving job and plant paralysis, and eliminates noise afterward. The consumer disturbance and price disturbance are functions--Henderson on prices, and properly timed and worded publication for the consumer.

H. A. sells the big idea as soon as possible. In his slogan, "Equality in sacrifice," which is a restatement of, "Justice for all, and special privilege for none," in the economic field.

The first job is H. A. to the country, without naming specific allocations, but keeping the statement in very great simplicity to the brain of the average American, saying: "We will, through equality in sacrifice under freedom, and because of our own voluntary decency, do this job. We, the people, need no telling beyond or from above ourselves. We know that men may not make war without sacrifices of peace time goods. We know that the liberty we cherish must be defended through the sacrifices of peace time hours and peace time goods--yes, even peace

time liberties when the good of all and the dignity of all and the freedom of all is the goal we defend from the force and the murder now abroad in this world."

H a w - J P a B

October 21, 1941

Comments on Minutes, September 30, 1941

Release regarding withdrawal of copper from civilian use was perhaps more complete than the housing prohibition, but again failed either to prepare civilian life or small industry with any constructive substitutes.

H. d. m - L P A B

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Railroad Equipment: No announcement, it would seem, should be made on this, since no action was taken. It is a discussion of a plan to standardize railroad equipment to be made in 1942, and an effort to learn if old equipment, rather than the new which was requested, could be sent in export under lend-lease to Iran and Iraq. A complete report on the material requirements of the program was asked for so that action might be taken on the program at a later meeting.

Farm Equipment: Projected farm program is to cut the manufacture of such farm equipment as wagons and trucks below the level of 1940, and the raise it in such things as dairy machinery; also to reduce the critical material usage in 1942 to about 77 per cent in 1942, ^{of 1940 figures} on the over-all program, increasing repair parts manufacture about 150 per cent. No action was taken because of the absence of the Chairman when this came up, except that it was approved subject to his approval.

M.L.G.

October 24, 1941

Memorandum of telephone call to H. A. W.

My mind is fairly clear on what I might want to say to Nelson, but feel it might be a time saver later if I speak to you first. Fifteen minutes will do it.

It would be a personal pleasure to spend any time with you Saturday or Sunday if you haven't business at hand.

Henshaw November 12?

Nelson at ten o'clock Monday.

Have Henshaw thoughts and some phrases.

Have comments on SPAB minutes.

H A Wallace

November 3, 1941

What is the best American press for an American official attempting maximum usefulness?

It is the business of obtaining the widest circulation of his acts within the limits of the time and space and significance of the individual act. From character comes lasting reputation. Reputation never precedes or produces character.

Applying the above to SPAB might develop a different kind of press section by giving it a central motor. Instead of SPAB putting its best foot forward or (in reverse) saying take it or leave it, we may see America as a gigantic stockholder body, owning the government, and needing almost continuous information in these times.

Today's tendency is to sell the myriad parts of the government to the people, with all the confusion of distorted salesmanship of parts, with the conflict of motive, obscurantism, half-truths, and the up-building of persons over the significance of acts. He who is right, is strongly for the people who are to read it, will get a good press if his acts are good. At least he is assured of as good a judgement as the stockholders are capable of. In the competition of bureaus and men for this "good press" comes the cynicism of a confused public. That bureau which refuses to compete will come through the test as unique.

But a wide distribution of truth requires activity of the wisest order and intense skilfulness of timing. The reason is that the ideal consumption in quantity is all the people, and the ideal intensity of stockholder attention can only come at a time when the stockholder may attend. So the public appearances of officials, with resultant intensely local press attention in the different states is called for. Also properly timed radio, magazine articles, and press releases are significant

in that they must not be over-shadowed by larger events and may not be weakened in attentiveness by being premature or postmature. And, if important, the basic news must be prepared for and followed up.

Roosevelt, when working directly in it, is a splendid publicist. As he shoots his Victory Drive, there is a place where SPAB functions, in time, in content, in variety, and in geographical awareness. This program should be in the works. It embraces the average family as a consumer looking to adjustments in his way of life, and the enthusiasm or distaste with which this family approaches the problem.

Chairman Wallace should do this, as head of the function, over the radio, through magazines, by speeches, and possibly through press releases. He should be prepared to go into factory and mine and farm in person simply as a token of Democracy in action, and to gain fresh inspiration for himself and his expressiveness. The abstract approach from a Washington desk may carry maximum truth of the problem, but can hardly be expected to be convincing either as Democracy or to carry a maximum of enthusiasm. When America campaigns for a presidency, the selling job is active and noisy. When America campaigns to sell something vastly more significant--a change in the habits and life for a victory--the business can't be done by Washington handouts.

Certainly much of the above is in the works, and one hesitates to express the obvious at length. The reason for re-statement is that review and check-up may be advisable as to how far and how fast the publicity problem must reach. Obviously, it involves every consumer and branches out into the type of work and living habits of each family. The worker seeing a family weekly payroll is another specialization. The appeal to the fruit grower of the Rio Grande Valley, or California, or Florida must be specialized as against the wheat and corn Middlewest economy. The cotton farmer and the wool grower might both be appealed

to in relation to the clothing ultimately for production if there be shortage. But the consuming city housewife is brought directly into the business of not competing with her own soldier boy needing warmth, should wool be scarce and cotton plentiful. The breakdown in specialization, according to geography and family mode of life, while the aim is always kept on the line of the President's Victory Drive and the articulation of it by the Vice President as far as it relates to his chairmanship of SPAB, should be the grinding and active preparation. It requires imagination and an advance knowledge of the Victory Drive and the Chairman's collaboration in his own approach to the American family.

The more "art" and news and quotation that can come from the country itself to encourage similar activity of equality in sacrifice and democracy in action the better off the publicity. Minds imitate within the scope of the activity most usual and natural and most easily attained. A fact story of Farmer B functioning in Illinois will be of interest to all farm families similarly placed. A working family problem in Detroit will reach beyond Detroit to workers' families facing urban shortage elsewhere.

It is true that the press and radio everywhere will fall in behind the Victory Drive, and the papers will be full of localized comment, enthusiasm, and criticism. But the particular function of SPAB is to regulate civilian uses, because SPAB is to determine priorities and allocations at the source, upsetting the average family's routine at a hundred places. When the American dollar ceases to be the sole consideration in the transfer of goods according to a free economic price, you have a revolution in the habits and thinking of the average family so great that it means that a national election sounds like a child's pop gun alongside a cannon. The size of the publicity job leaves one, at least, aghast.

SUGGESTIONS FOR MEN TO BE CALLED

There is as yet no assembly of information available to the Chairman of the consumers future position and viewpoint as scarcity makes equality in sacrifice the leading economic (and political) issue of the first half of 1942. Information from the people and distribution of information to the people must occur if equality in sacrifice is to occur and not die as an idea.

Distribution of information awaits :

- (a): Official knowledge of the need (and money available).
- (b): An organization plan set up agreeable to Nelson and approved by the board.
- (c): The selling of the agreed plan to the private ownership which controls all mediums of information such as newspapers radio, movies and the like.

No plan is better than the information upon which it is built. So the Chairman might add to his own information of method for distribution and control by twenty-four hours of Sunday morning or Saturday afternoon conversations in Washington. Obviously the consumer (the average family) is interested in his house, his clothing, his food, his health, and above all his sense of justice and confidence in his government. I suggest the names of a few men whom I consider experts in administration who have a national, liberal and humanitarian viewpoint, and whose general intelligence and deceivableness remove them from the theoretical and the statistical into the human and practical.

HEALTH: Dr. Arthur Scott. Head of the Scott-White Clinic of Temple, Texas whose recent address on the subject of preventive medicine and public health at a convention of physicians is available. He is in town now.

PUBLIC RELATIONS (information delivery): Karl Bickel. Former president of United Press who built this wire service throughout South America by personal salesmanship as well as personally building it in Europe and Asia. He is now chairman of all Scripps radio, and with Mellet, is one of the two liberals developed in Scripps.

CLOTHING: Charles Wolfe. Operating head of North American Rayon who has operated both cotton and rayon manufacture and distribution since he was twenty-five and is now forty. His genius is intellectual honesty and speed with efficiency.

HOUSING: (Building and Labor relations) : George R. Brown. In his early forties. The builder of the Corpus Christi air base, the Colorado River public power project, large railroad bridge and pipe lines. Has lived modestly and simply, loves his country and the earlier years of his life worked in Butte Montana mines as a laborer and graduated from the Colorado School of Mines. (Wolfe also on Labor).

OIL: Ben Belt whom you know. I hear our present capacity of 100 octane airplane gasoline is 40,000 barrels daily against anticipated need of more than 120,000 barrels daily by mid 1942. Without fuel, why airplanes and pilots, and what happens if Hitler forces us to feed Russia as well as England and ourselves. Belt knows Colombia, Iraq, Mexico, as to quality, type, etc. of fuel would not lie under questioning and knows big oil corporation politics and personnel as well as their motives, plans for their own selfishness and safety.

Note: If the Vice-President were to write each one a simple note saying he would like to see them, giving preferably a Sunday morning engagement as they are busy and could best function over a weekend, I believe each one would come gladly, speak the truth, and would not betray a trust or misquote.

I have not mentioned food because of your own expert knowledge and personnel.

I can give you gas and coal and possibly electric ~~power~~ experts if you want to go into consumer heating and lighting.

November 7, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

At luncheon yesterday, Joe Green (State Department) said he heard Henry Wallace sell Garfield, of Cleveland, a vision, as the two men sat at a table for four at a party, and a woman and he listened. "He sold me," he said, "the vision of the land of America re-ordered for man."

And then he told it to me. I was much pleased and stimulated to know that you saw that widely. Tell me some time, as I too have seen the land that way.

November 17, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Thinking of the significance of SPAB, I remember you have said to Nelson and Westervelt that I might spark a bit and see a red light now and then. The spark is to get going now to the people.

1. Through the Victory Drive, which the President may abort as labor and foreign affairs crowd him.

2. Prepare your own mind for your own SPAB drive by a very prompt and brief trip, and a few conversations which may bring the task from the public standpoint closer to you without the crutches of statistics and theory.

3. Sell the highest effort in the most practical commercial package. Politically labeled for administrative politics, the package is fear of the loss of congress to Joe Martin, who wants the pocketbook of the nation with the power. Personally, I shrink from selling fear, as it is contagious and upsets my digestion. This fear seems justified now for those too busy to see the future. I shall have available a program of salesmanship if you want it. Also, if requested for practical usefulness, I shall outline steps for public acceptance of SPAB as a high agency of protection for us all--as a necessary instrument in the approaching economy of shortage, which shall so profoundly dislocate a capitalistic democracy concept of the dollar as supreme over the movement of things into use.

Personnel tools are lying around. We have discussed Corcoran. Want to discuss Johnson, of Texas, on the specific Joe Martin threat, as he has had experience. And in this connection must discuss Flynn and Roosevelt and New York state politics and Speaker Rayburn (who is the principal first loser if Martin wins) and an ailing ancient congressman named Drury, who with an inept secretary is supposed to beat Martin under Flynn.

November 19, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Donovan

An Irish Catholic Republican, considered by a fair man to be a "good fellow." He made the acquaintance of Herbert Hoover during the World War and Hoover had confidence in him and they became great personal friends. Under Coolidge Donovan was Assistant Attorney General. He campaigned hard for Hoover, and wanted to be made Attorney General in Hoover's administration. He was turned down, and they had a complete break in their relationships, both public and personal.

Donovan has been active in Republican politics and in the practice of law in New York State since the beginning of the Hoover administration, and has been working for the President since the beginning of this war or just before the beginning of this war.

He is a man of very high intellectual capacity and of high character. The only thing on which he needs watching would be an Irish Catholic bias. He is smart enough to be conspiracitus, but is not that sort. He is a straight shooter. He is not in a position to be led astray by egotism as Farley was.

The fact that he did run as a candidate and as an Irish Catholic Republican for the job of Governor of New York indicates a peculiar inverted kind of egotism to me.

Another source also says that Donovan is intellectually honest, of superior mentality which slopped over into success both in a military career and in the law. He was able to go to Cincinnati for an address before a society at the Queen's City Club and stay a week. Two people in whose judgement I have much confidence agree in summary that he is:

1. Intellectually honest.
2. Has a superior observation ability.
3. That he has wonderful personality in telling his observation and is tremendously entertaining.
4. Talks better than he writes, which indicates speed rather than accuracy.
5. Remembers names and is very friendly. (A natural politician in the sense of memory for names and warm personality to tie in strangers to him by the carload.

November 20, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Attached speech

Your outline sparked me tonight, so I have just finished an overture which is not the business--it is too long and is not definite--but I think it has the line.

I am taking your outline to the country. I hope by Monday to have a mind more clear, and more specific, and may have a better and more definite work product. But since you will be working, and have sent me something, I thought I would send this on for what it is worth as a first attempt at an opening.

On this New Years Day of high resolve, as an American citizen, I speak to the world. As one who has his being in the Western World, this new world, unlabeled, uncounted, and unknown in the vastness of its natural resources, I send this message to the old world and those who have enslaved our fellow human beings from whose stock we have had our being:

There shall be a victory for the free. The free shall free all men. The United States of America here and now dedicates the effort of her one hundred thirty million people to full, continuous, and relentless effort for the next two years. This two-year victory program will not be gay. An America grown up and a Western World in fearless knowledge of the task dedicates these years to a world so that peace on earth and good will toward men may again become the thing all men see and hear.

What tools have we with which to work? To every man and woman who hears me now, I say, "Look to your self and into your own soul." I say to you, "Take an inventory of your own value as you face Hitler in love of family and in the dignity of free men. What are you doing with your life at this moment? What do you propose to do in the year to come? What may you offer in yourself to accomplish peace on earth good will toward men for your life, for the lives of those to come? "

All of the millions who honestly answer and then go to work on the two-year schedule of duty and work and sacrifice shall be, and know themselves to be, the allied forces for freedom and God.

The great Germanicus, chief of the Roman legions holding back the barbarians on the Rhine, faced a revolt after twenty years. His men, veterans of countless combats, came to their beloved leader and silently

moved their hands across their toothless gums. They wanted to go home. And Germanicus told them that those who stood and waited truly served on the frontier of liberty.

I know how hard it has been the last two years to stand and wait in this country. My mail, as your President and Commander-in-Chief, is filled daily with letters from men and women seeking advice as to how they may best serve their country and defeat the challenge of Hitler. This message I give them: "By your sacrifice, by your discipline, shall you serve." The good housewife doing the job a little bit better truly is serving, for she adds immeasurably to the effectiveness of those who labor in factory, in mine, and on the farm for the victory ahead.

The merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, all those making and transporting the material things of peace and war are serving this two-year victory program. The added service they may give is to provide maximum service with minimum wastage. Yes, and to give uninterrupted service always until Hitler is no more.

^ The war profiteer, I promise you, shall not live go get away with any loot. Through price control, through priorities in granting and withholding goods based upon the need of all and through a necessary tax program, I know that you need not be afraid that the clever and the greedy and the unpatriotic shall win for themselves while a better grade of human beings wins the war.

The picture ahead is not bright. There will be bitter disappointments in the war picture the coming year, but knowing my America, I know that the all-out effort of 1942 shall be the balance for victory--shall spell to all the world the end of Mein Kampf and Herr Hitler and his promises of a German world for the next thousand years. To free men everywhere, whether they be in England, in South America, in Australia, or among those engulfed and silenced peoples under a despot's lash, I say, "Be of good cheer this New Years Day."

Cincinnatus defended Rome, leaving his plow on call of his country. Across the air bridge and the sea lanes of the Atlantic go daily the weapons of which freedom shall be made. By the end of 1942 our two-year victory program must produce so abundantly of the material and food that all men everywhere shall know that the German cause is hopeless.

America must pledge herself to uninterrupted sacrifice in work, in money, and in the foregoing of many things of a peaceful life. There shall be more work, and less time to play. Manufacturers shall bestir themselves to make the things this country needs out of material not demanded in the war effort. Our people shall gladly co-operate as consumers. There may be less bright work on the automobiles; there may be fewer pleasure cars so that more planes and tanks and shells may come from the assembly lines.

Our young men shall weld a perfect army by the end of 1942. This army shall be the best equipped army in this world, because it will have the most modern mechanical weapons and the most perfect of training. This army shall consist of two million men. More men are unnecessary, if they are Americans and perfectly trained and perfectly equipped.

Our navy, already approaching world supremacy, shall by the end of 1942 reach within striking distance of a supreme sea fighting force such as this world has never seen. The supplies of victory shall be carried to the fighting lines opposed to Hitler everywhere in this world, and our ships and our American sailors shall carry them there.

But to all free men, and all free women, and all free families everywhere, and especially to all citizens of the United States, I desire to be as specific and as plain as possible as to the task ahead--this two-year all-out victory program. We shall in America have to be prepared to work and to spend without stint. Half of our production may have to go for victory; the other half for those who work and live behind the fighting lines outside of the cantonments and not directly

in the transport lines that carry the goods which are to defeat the evil ones.

This shall be no time for idleness and the accumulation of wealth. But an America which must be prepared to give half of the all is a strong America. I see in the year ahead and in the next year to come a great growth both in things and in the spirit. One half of things grown and made in the United States may easily amount to as much as all that was consumed by the American people in the distressing years of the great depression. All remember that 1932 in America only produced forty-six billion dollars of usable goods. In 1942 America shall produce one hundred ten billion dollars of war and peacetime goods. So by reducing our waist lines and expanding our chests we shall drive through to victory.

Oh, I know that many will say that things cost more now, and that I have not used final and accurate figures when I say that a depressed America living on forty-six billion dollars in 1932 can well afford to work and live on fifty-five billion dollars in 1942. But the figures are not far wrong. The cost of living in 1942 as against 1932 is slightly more than 20 per cent. But 1932 was tough. I would be untrue to any leadership if I did not tell you that 1942--yes, and possibly 1932-- X will be tough.

But, my friends, there is a very great spiritual difference. There will be joy in sacrifice where there was no joy in the depression we fought and licked in 1933 and 1934. We met the depression with courage and licked it. We saved America after a capitalistic collapse. All America did this through work, led by the principal of leadership which said that human beings stand supreme. Somehow people were fed. Somehow the dust storms were beaten back by men and work. Somehow the panic and the fright and the paralysis was overcome. Time and a courageous America at work pulled through. And in pulling through saved all that is dear

in the American tradition of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? *
And so, dedicating ourselves anew to these things which you all know in the speeches of Patrick Henry and of Jefferson and of Lincoln, we march forward this day.

There have been mistakes---many of them--in the year which we have just closed. The books are not what I would like them to be, but my heart exults today that we are fighting this fight in the democratic way. We have not been quite as rapid in arming and in sending arms to fight for freedom as we would have been perhaps had a despot ruled all in America. I have sought in voluntary association with my fellow citizens for a unity of a free spirit. There has been much dispute. Many men have said, "Business as usual." Those in authority have been accused of false motive, of self-glorification, and of a will to rule, and the fact of ruling. You men and women of America know the truth. And, if I were to speak in humbleness of my own inadequacy as a human being, I would have to say that the average man and woman of America who hears me now has been ahead, and not behind, the leadership in urging the all-out sacrifice and work that must come if any two-year victory plan is to come through on time. So I say to those who would make a peace with Hitler's Berlin that the answer is, "No!"

I would say to all appeasement groups, to those who would do business with those who would enslave them, that the answer is, "No!"

There can and shall be no peace on this earth with any Hitler or any tools of those who would enslave all. Free men do not think that way.

At frequent times I propose to give to the world, and particularly to the American people, a clear account of the progress of the two-year program. All free men are entitled to the facts. I am not afraid that a Hitler or any other despot knows just what we are doing in the making

and sending of help to those who fight him. I want him to know. Above all, I want those men and women--those countless millions awaiting freedom--to know that Hitler's time is short, and is getting shorter every day.

To my friends throughout the Americas from the Arctic to the Straits of Magellan, I give greeting this New Years Day. Our heritage has come largely from the Europe which awaits our work for freedom. And in the peace to come shall come the reward of all. There shall be freedom to live, to move, and to see, to talk and to live as only free men want to live.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 22, 1941

Dear H. A. W.

I would like to study the large report again some time next week so I could give some detail thought (if you see fit) as to how SPAB could and should function with the primary Army and Navy procurement so as to use civilian and after-the-war vision to plant location and quantity and quality of material use; also to see how the functions of OPM Defense Plant Corporation and Treasury may either be simplified or in some cases eliminated; also that the President's time may be saved by re-routing the political pressure, the labor pressure, and the business pressure. In general there should be a primary judgement watched by SPAB through personal observers protecting the big framework as the various initial commitments are undertaken there.

There should be labor and capital agencies set up assuring fairness to both, and, above all, uninterrupted activity, and

There should be a SPAB division of check up with a direct appeal to SPAB where contracts and contractors improperly handled by Army and Navy operatives, and

So that there might be immediate supreme rulings from the Army and Navy directly to SPAB, because otherwise the business of getting going and the business of finishing up both will fall through a multiplicity of agency delays, but

The big plan first with the President's Victory program
clarified down to the average man's understanding of his
duty and his prospects.

I have appended two surface comments on the two documents.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

November 22, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Since an organization functions no better than the people in it, and since shortage always puts a premium on greed and bribery, I see no bang-up efficiency without a checking department.

I am informed Lowell Mellet uses his agency for the President in clearing general complaints reaching the presidential mail. As you know, newspapers (Merry-Go-Round) say Mellet has just finished a thirty-five state check up on OPM for the President.

Were it not better for SPAB independently to check up on its own functions (or have general operating information) AT THE SOURCE, than merely relying on complaints?

Complaints are generally biased, or distorted, and a check-up on them often leaves the wrong impression. A true checking agency circulates throughout the activity itself. I would start out with about twelve regionally placed men, and about six extra good men at Washington for double checking before action. Some of the attached examples are not directly SPAB, but I believe each one, if correct, would upon certification to Nelson cause him to suspend allocation to some individual or corporation. A few prompt examples (and I am sure Nelson has many provable cases) would properly police shortage at least from raw material to the retailer.

I do not believe depending upon different departments of the government will make either for promptness or accuracy, as each department will have a tendency to whitewash itself. I would call this branch of SPAB the Information Department, as against the Mellet organization, which is, I believe, called the Bureau of Reports or something like that, and probably has many other functions which might be worth submitting between

the Vice President and Mallet to become informed about. Examples in city editor assignment form are attached.

Assignment one: To reporter A:

Check priorities for October on ships moving southern lumber to eastern seaboard, especially greater New York destination. What firms got shipping space? Who assigned it? Was it assigned before due date for all applicants to nominate for space?

To reporter B:

Check personnel checking department of Sears Roebuck and lumber purchasing department (eastern seaboard) of Sears Roebuck. Did personnel department function to find out why this corporation was unable to get October space? Was there a written or oral complaint made by this corporation for its failure to get October space? What space has been allotted this corporation in November and December? Are there any other complaints from any other shippers on file for failure to get October space? What explanation is given by responsible officials for only four firms getting allocations in October? How many requests were on file on clearance date?

Assignment two: To reporter C:

Check schedule of power rates charged Army training sites and air bases in Texas. Verify prevailing costs of power production at 3/10's of a cent per kw. Verify contract of wholesale selling of power at $3\frac{1}{2}$ mills per kw. by Colorado River Authority (Texas) to private company holding contract for magnesium plant and competitive Beaumont area at $6\frac{1}{2}$ mills per kw.

To reporter D:

Check power contract schedule in the State of New Jersey (largely Public Service of New Jersey) made on government financed projects; also power contracts on Dupont explosive plants in Virginia where basic contract is financed by the government.

Assignment three: To reporter B:

Check my contracts for tools and sheeting, then visit plants making same to check up the information as to profits which are currently being made.

Assignment 4: To reporter F: (Probably stationed at New Orleans)

Check condition of structural steel sales, including oil well equipment in coast area. Are bonuses being paid above Henderson price schedule?

Assignment 5: To reporter G:

Cheek on the ground the profits being made by air training contractors who certify civilian pilots to the Army at so much a head. We have unproved information that a \$200,000 plant at Coleman, Texas, expects to clear investment in 18 months, and that one man controls as many as ten or twelve of these projects and has told the Coleman operator, in encouraging him to go into the business, that he was making a million a year. Has this wholesaler sub-let, making a middle man's profit by farming out the training plants or the contracts for same?

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Check accuracy of reported delay in wool delivery for uniform manufacture because of specification calling for combed wool beyond any possibility of combed wool capacity in the United States when carded wool would have sufficed.

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SPAB--Suggestions for Intake and Outgo of Information

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November 22, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Lewis up to date

Movie reel attempting to visualize strike situation at Translux shows Lewis saying, "Bayonets in mines will not produce coal." Report says audience first began to boo and then began to laugh, apparently at the theatrical delivery, and pompous air and voice of doom in lowest registers.

Attached Merry-Go-Round on Lewis today, if you haven't seen it.

Contrast DeGaulle, Plevin, et al, London picture, Translux, meeting Queen and at headquarters got applause.

ing Star

ING EDITION

VENBER 22, 1941 — THIRTY PAGES



U. S. Makes Strong
protest to Italy on

Gamelin, Ill at Clinic,
Takes Turn for War

186,000 Mine

Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round

(Trade Mark Registered)

By DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN

EDITOR'S NOTE—(A brass ring and a free ride on the WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND goes this week to John L. Lewis, the man who has done more to build up labor and tear it down than any man in America.)

John L. Lewis was two years old when his family, in Lucas, Iowa, participated in a labor strike. He was 7 years old when he left school to work with his father in the mines. He was 21 years old when he left home to roam through the mining areas of the Far West, and later to become a tough union organizer.

Fabulous stories were told about him even at that time. That he ate three raw beefsteaks for breakfasts, that he had once felled a mine mule with a blow of his fist, that he pounded on the desks until trembling State legislatures passed the labor laws he demanded.

In this mythology was a certain core of truth. John L. Lewis got what he wanted by letting no man stand in his way, and he gloried in that reputation.

Furthermore, he was fighting mine owners who were just as tough as he.

It took a tough man to fight for the miners in those days and John L. Lewis was equal to it. He lifted the wage level in an industry which desperately needed lifting, and the miners have been forever grateful.

Roosevelt Saved Lewis

In 1933, however, John Lewis was very near the bank. The depression had closed mine after mine. Almost half his miners were out of work. Nonunion miners had taken over great areas. And his treasury was almost flat.

The story of how Roosevelt saved him, and adopted a liberal labor program, is too well known to need retelling here. And with that new surge of power, John L.'s old egotism soared to fuller and greater heights. He was crusading for labor; it was true; but it was a personalized crusade which was wrapped up in the glorification of one man.

The fact that John L. bought out the University Club in Washington and transformed it into a wood-paneled sanctum as ornate as any big business office along Wall Street was relatively unimportant. It indicated however, his personalized rule over the miners. The United Mine Workers always had been a one-man machine, but now John L. reached out and built up the CIO. And the CIO became a one-man machine.

For instance, when Carl Holderman, head of the New Jersey CIO, fired a suspected Communist, the latter came to Washington and got a job from John L. Lewis's CIO headquarters, which promptly assigned him right back to New Jersey as an organizer where he could embarrass Holderman.

The miners liked to think of their chief as sitting in a huge office and riding in a limousine as long as any mine owner's; but many times during recent years they have sat in the outer office holding their hats, while "Their John" spent his time negotiating strikes in CIO unions which had no relation whatsoever to the Mine Workers.

Lewis' CIO Empire

This is one thing the miners have not liked. However, they have not known much about it. They have not known in any detail, for instance, that "Their John" has used miners' funds to

nanced a man to operate inside the Newspaper Guild, a union far from the coal industry.

This was how John L. continued his great personalized power. He maintains it also by playing close to his district coal leaders. They eat out of his hand. And he feeds them well.

Not many miners know it, but shortly before the present strike was called, Lewis summoned his district presidents and gave them an unexpected and handsome boost in salary, from \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year. With the boost, Lewis warned that he would expect them to collect the increased dues and see that the men stood behind the expected strike in the captive mines.

These district presidents are the men who keep the miners in line locally and operate Lewis' personal machine. And with lush pay fed from the hand of their master, they seldom fail to do his bidding.

John L. has other means of keeping his glorified ego in the driver's seat. One is elections.

Elections in the United States of America have come to be a sacred mandate, jealously guarded. Even inside big corporations today there is supervision of elections. Many State laws require that when a corporation votes on an important issue, not merely a majority, but two-thirds of the stockholders must approve.

No Inspection of Books

But the voting in John L. Lewis' powerful organization is above State or Federal regulation. There is no public supervision to see how the vote is taken.

Likewise there is no outside supervision of John L. Lewis' books. The books of Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, or of David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers, are subject to inspection. Every telegram and stamp is accounted for. But no outsider, except his intimate friends and family, can tell for what strikes John L. Lewis spends U.M.W. money.

Today, the head of every big insurance company is subject to State and Government regulation. So are the banks. They are semipublic institutions. The funds and fate of many people are involved. The unions also are great public institutions. John L. Lewis has at his command an army three times the normal peace time army of the United States. The U. S. Army is subjected to the strictest supervision from the War Department. Everything it does, every cent it spends, is checked and double-checked not only by trained public servants, but by both houses of Congress.

But John L. Lewis has a private army of his own, subject only to his command and drilled by the little group of district presidents whose salaries he so conveniently raised.

The Congress of the United States is subject to re-election every two and six years. The President can be turned out every four years. But John L. Lewis has been in office around 20 years, and no miners' group had the power to oust him.

In other words, the CIO czar, who calls Roosevelt a dictator, himself has dictatorial powers which no other one man in this country can equal. He has the power to stall national defense. He has the power to play into the hands of Hitler. And most tragic of all he has the power to crucify the patriotism and progress of the workingmen whose champion he is supposed to be.

As a result, all of the labor gains made under Roosevelt may now vanish on the wave of

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just tect in this an want be the recd Mr. W master w It is a r in glass stone steel, eloquent the prais other tects wonder the olter doe About time a ago. Lloyd V District somethi Commis mission, ity, in build a He cal City," an that. It yet grace hotel out It was so have bee any of d Better have been

November 24, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Erich Leinsdorf

Erich Leinsdorf (Metropolitan) should have been added to the group of names of people worth a couple of hours of a Sunday morning or a Saturday afternoon. He has some extremely advanced ideas regarding the ultimate of music in national life, and regarding education in the state-- nothing practical at this time, but stimulating as relaxation.

You will find your own practical ideas on these two subjects and getting work out by sincere communication with the extreme left. And your music stretch may be aided if you wish to keep the conversation on the history of music and the personalities who have made it, with probably this spirited man reaching instinctively to your piano to illustrate, much as you and I would reach for a pencil. That is what he did for me in Salzburg in 1937.

November 24, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Air Travel Post War

We are to have air passenger, express, and freight lines post war in the same development progressively as railroad operation accelerated by war pressure and invention.

England knows this. What nation shall control the lines? What do present contracts for bases provide? Shall England hold on to landing fields used in peacetime now leased and improved by America in war? Who can give the Vice President the best picture of the ten-year future of peacetime air transport? Perhaps Trippe, of Pan American, for the world outside of the United States. He might be checked by Smith of American Airways. Both of these men are young, have fine imaginations, and are well balanced by performance.

Two such reports on conditions and prospects as of January 1, 1942 and ten years ahead should be in the Vice Presidential files. The English report is most immediately necessary, as all trading agreements with England and Russia from now on should be considered in the light of peace and permanence, and certainly transportation control of air in the future will be as important as sea and air bases will be the key.

November 24, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Where is the average mind of those who do major things in Washington?

The average mind is too old. Contrasted with 1933, it is a more experienced and a more careful mind. It is also a slower mental operation.

The spring of 1942 needs an effort by this average mind comparable to that of 1933. How may this average mind be made ready?

The average mind should be younger. There is no need for a purge, or a New Deal, or a new set-up. But there is definite need of personnel house cleaning before spring--probably at once--on the psychology that the new year and the big year is here. Any radical change in set-up of machinery probably would be considered by the average American to be a confession by Roosevelt that he was uneasy regarding progress, so personnel changes also should be made with skill so as not unduly to disturb the confidence of the average man (and also the average Washington major operative) who in final analysis depends upon the President. Best operation depends on continuous operation in confidence by good operatives. Improvement in average operatives should be continuous.

The Rosenman gesture was good because not too strenuous. It did strengthen the average American's belief that the President was not over-satisfied, and it worked. It probably quickened Washington operatives who felt complaisant or too secure.

The phase now, while people are happy with Russia, fairly satisfied with war production and the President's strength regarding labor, would be to move out deadwood near the top between Thanksgiving and Christmas. This is natural in every business operation around the first of the year.

And if there are any settled needs for the enlarging of powers of men who have not failed and look like good bets for 1942, December is the month, while people generally are thinking of Christmas.

If Stinson has done his major job of virtue and wisdom, he may know it--may want less strenuous exercise by a mission to South America or Australia or China, particularly if Patterson is competent. It might not even be necessary to announce title changes except substituting "Acting" for "Under."

If the combination of Knox and Forrestal has proved this year to have been inexperienced and therefore subservient to elderly Navy bureaucracy, another problem of shift is called for.

There must be still definite need for a clarification of Army operations. The personell should be shifted downward probably eight years among the Colonel to Major General groups--this by retirement and the simpler and semi-judicial machines to foreign countries--observation and report jobs. The Russian surprise now justifies a smaller and more effective Army, and a careful re-checking of Army stockpiles, supplies, and contracts being fulfilled.

Undoubtedly Army procurement may have been hasty and hysterical in specification and quantity of orders--particularly as last spring's effort was toward a three million possibility. The check up of supplies would run all the way from quinine to socks. There may be much salvage in switching to Lend-Lease, Navy, and civilian necessity, if over-purchases are really true. Keeping Army and Navy procedure in tact is one thing; improving personell and readjusting to today's military and production facts is quite another. Present personell will not admit mistakes. The two methods to help Army, other than personell adjustment, would be:

1. To get SPAB into more direct action with the Army by throwing a hundred good civilian production and procurement full-time, fully paid, men under Nelson to be in at the base along side of the initial Army decisions of plant and procurement so that the SPAB-Army team could direct what would be left of OPM, Treasury, and RFC Defense Corporation supremacy.

2. Have the President tell the people of the country and his own operatives in definite terms that he proposes the finest two million Army as the probable maximum necessity in whipping Hitler, and, therefore, the good news, by the way, would be of political and propaganda value. The Axis and the Allies would see in such a statement that a Roosevelt who has never been a figure conservative must know or believe that he has Hitler in the bag, and that Lend-Lease and the Navy are the two arms, rather than five million men and an AEF. This finishes America First, quiets the emotional mothers, helps solve the labor supply by stabilizing confidence and causing fewer men to be withdrawn from civilian and defense work, and, as a matter of truth, is more effective as it certainly will take twelve months of hard work to get two million bang up soldiers well trained and well equipped. A quality two million, perfectly equipped, is better than a quantity three million sparsely equipped. The basis of the German first year drive was one hundred thousand perfectly trained Germans who became the officer class and very rapidly trained and directed beautifully the privates as men and material were assembled for war.

Perhaps body training of prospective draftees (those already with numbers) in civilian communities might be made a dramatic part of the "Spring Health Offensive" designed to take in the entire civilian population. For no one knows how far this will go. The greatest reserve behind two million armed men will be the health reserve of men and women who may have to work harder at war or making war material and producing civilian supplies and food.

This readjustment job in personell and planning and simplification is a daily evolution job, rather than a grandiose shake up announcement of revolutionary character.

Nelson's temperament and Roosevelt's are both spectacular—of the big stick variety. The other thing is called for, whether in getting rid of dollar-a-year drones, quacks, and grafters, or in adjusting age limits, or in the elimination of men and bureaus for simplification. Rosenman should be followed up very soon with clarity of authority and functioning.

November 24, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

1. The congressional campaign--where may I help to hasten a good plan and personell?

2. Should I see Nelson more as a prospective personal worker in public information?

3. Corcoran should have a courtesy decision--thirty days about gone? If nothing can be done now, the man should be told the truth, which probably is that it is hoped that he is cleaning up his business affairs, and that of his brother, as far as they pertain to Washington procurement, and that certain wide changes should open up a better view for Corcoran after the first of the year. In effect this is a renewal of the thirty-day option. If he says "no", the incident closes in good taste and with sincerity. If he says "yes", there is merely friendship and good treatment. Do you want a meeting to be arranged?

4. Should I become acquainted with Niles through Harold Young, for instance?

5. Shall I drop down South to the Carolinas and Tennessee to find out how the folks feel?

6. Will a general sit around conversation with Perkins help my mind and his looking to the long range?

November 24, 1941

Memorandum on Musical Education

By: Erich Leinsdorf

Musical education should be a part of general education, and general education should be controlled and directed by government. This seems to be the only guarantee that people will be given the opportunity of equal rights.

The Musical Education: Music has reached its highest creative force under a system of aristocratic sponsorship where individuals sponsored it for their own enjoyment and entertainment. In our time this sponsorship has gone into the hands of a small class of the privileged bourgeoisie, or, to be specific, the rich bourgeoisie. In a democratic world the special privilege should not exist as far as necessities of life are concerned. Music is a necessity to the musical person--which means that everybody who wants to study music should have the chance to study music, and that everybody who has the desire to hear music should have the chance to hear music.

But since music is supported and maintained and sponsored by a small group of privileged people, these very people see to it that the benefit comes almost exclusively to privileged people--namely to people who can pay highly for their admissions. The poor who want to enjoy music can receive it only in "canned" form. The fresh vegetable which contains the vitamins should be only for the wealthy? And the poor should be satisfied with the canned vegetables which give an illusion of the right taste without having all the vitamins and nourishing values of the fresh ones?

Government will be ready to take over only after it has been generally recognised that: (A) Music, like all other education, is a necessity in the lives of people who are supposed to be created equal.

(B) After it has been generally agreed upon that the private sponsorship which controls the activities today is not broadminded enough to permit us to leave the control in their hands.

November 24, 1941

Equal Rights in Education

By: Erich Leinsdorf

The most important single item in the realization of the thought to give all men equal rights is an equal chance for education. The future of democracy depends upon it.

It is true that the extraordinary talent has a chance to get as much as possible even without financial means, but it is also true that there is a sad discrepancy between the chances given to the rich mediocrity and the poor mediocrity. If this system of private education, with its necessity for tuition and living expenses, were abolished and the government were to take over the entire education, then there might be a chance to achieve the status where people could be distinguished according to their different abilities. If the curse of money were taken off the field of education, the more proper distribution of superior and inferior positions in life would be assured.

From the first grade to the last examinations, education should cost absolutely nothing, but the selection of people to be educated above the age of fourteen should be subject to a most rigorous and most severe selection. Far from being a step toward Fascism, it will be a great step forward toward the realization of a truly democratic world. The college diploma and the doctor's degree should become signs of real distinction. The man of the middle classes who has a gifted child should not have to worry about whether he will be able to let his child study, and the parents of the rich moron should know that they can't buy his college degree.

The exceptions to this system would be the education in the theological faculty--the training of the priests of the different religions--which should be settled between the government and the central headquarters of the respective religious organizations.

The system of free enterprise has achieved a miraculous development, but often at the expense of the third of the inalienable rights-- pursuit of happiness. It should be possible to combine evolutions and the pursuit of happiness. The greatest retarding factor is the existence of people who have arrived through personal salesmanship by means of the ability to sell themselves at places which are higher than their actual abilities deserve. These people will exert all their energies to hold their jobs and to hold others down, and they are one cause of serious and justified discontent and unrest.

If the highest authority--the government--regulates and manages education, it will be much clearer and much easier to determine how far people's abilities can go, since their educational accomplishments will not be influenced by their material background.

Concerning Personnel in 1942

November 24, 1941

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The average mind should be younger. There is no need for a purge, or a New Deal, or a new set-up. But there is definite need of [^]personnel house cleaning before spring--probably at once--on the psychology that the new year and the big year is here. Any radical change in set-up of machinery probably would be considered by the average American to be a confession by Roosevelt that he was uneasy regarding progress, so personnel changes also should be made with skill so as not unduely to disturb the confidence of the average man (and also the average Washington major operative) who in final analysis depends upon the President. Best operation depends on continuous operation in confidence by good operatives. Improvement in average operatives should be continuous.

The Rosenman gesture was good because not too strenuous. It did strengthen the average American's belief that the President was not over-satisfied, and it worked. It probably quickened Washington operatives who felt complaisant or too secure.

The phase now, while people are happy with Russia, fairly satisfied with war production and the President's strength regarding labor, would be to move out deadwood near the top between Thanksgiving and Christmas. This is natural in every business operation around the first of the year.

And if there are any settled needs for the enlarging of powers of men who have not failed and look like good bets for 1942, December is the month, while people generally are thinking of Christmas.

If Stimson has done his major job of virtue and wisdom, he may know it--may want less strenuous exercise by a mission to South America or Australia or China, particularly if Patterson is competent. It might not even be necessary to announce title changes except substituting "Acting" for "Under."

If the combination of Knox and Forrestal has proved this year to have been inexperienced and therefore subservient to elderly Navy Bureaucracy, another problem of shift is called for.

There must be still definite need for a clarification of Army operations. The personnel should be shifted downward probably eight years among the Colonel to Major General groups--this by retirement and the simpler and semi-judicial ^{missions} ~~machines~~ to foreign countries--observation and report jobs. The Russian surprise now justifies a smaller and more effective Army, and a careful re-checking of Army stockpiles, supplies, and contracts being fulfilled.

Undoubtedly Army procurement may have been hasty and hysterical in specification and quantity of orders--particularly as last spring's effort was toward a three million possibility. The check up of supplies would run all the way from quinine to sox. There may be much salvage in switching to Lend-Lease, Navy, and civilian necessity, if over-purchases are really true. Keeping Army and Navy procedure in tact is one thing; improving personell and readjusting to today's military and production facts is quite another. Present personell^u will not admit mistakes. The two methods to help Army, other than personell^u adjustment, would be:

1. To get SPAB into more direct action with the Army by throwing a hundred good civilian production and procurement full-time, fully paid, men under Nelson to be in at the base along side of the initial Army decisions of plant and procurement so that the SPAB-Army team could direct what would be left of OPM, Treasury, and RFC Defense Corporation supremacy.

2. Have the President tell the people of the country and his own operatives in definite terms that he proposes the finest two million Army as the probable maximum necessity in whipping Hitler, and, therefore, the good news, by the way, would be of political and propaganda value. The Axis and the Allies would see in such a statement that a Roosevelt who has never been a figure conservative must know or believe that he has Hitler in the bag, and that Lend-Lease and the Navy are the two arms, rather than five million men and an AEF. This finishes America First, quiets the emotional mothers, helps solve the labor supply by stabilizing confidence and causing fewer men to be withdrawn from civilian and defense work, and, as a matter of truth, is more effective as it certainly will take twelve months of hard work to get two million bang up soldiers well trained and well equipped. A quality two million, perfectly equipped, is better than a quantity three million sparsely equipped. The basis of the German first year drive was one hundred thousand perfectly trained Germans who became the officer class and very rapidly trained and directed beautifully the privates as men and material were assembled for war.

Perhaps body training of prospective draftees (those already with humbers) in civilian communities might be made a dramatic part of the "Spring Health Offensive" designed to take in the entire civilian population. For no one knows how far this will go. The greatest reserve behind two million armed men will be the health reserve of men and women who may have to work harder at war or making war material and producing civilian supplies and food.

This readjustment job in personell and planning and simplification is a daily evolution job, rather than a grandiose shake up announcement of revolutionary character.

Nelson's temperament and Roosevelt's are both spectacular--of the big stick variety. The other thing is called for, whether in getting rid of dollar-a-year drones, quacks, and grafters, or in adjusting age limits, or in the elimination of men and bureaus for simplification. Rosenman should be followed up very soon with clarity of authority and functioning.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1941

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

Dear Mr. Marsh:

The enclosed is a description of
"Sinarquismo" as it appears in the magazine
"Hoy". My guess is that probably somebody
paid \$50.00 or \$100.00 to get this article
run.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

H. A. Wallace

Enclosure

Suggestions Concerning Taxation 1942-1943

November 25, 1941

Problem: It is all very well to say that we are to SPEND 40 per cent of total income for war. To realists spending means using up man-hours and material. To Morgenthau it means getting the money or borrowing it. So, watching Morgenthau's position in the year ahead, we see Morgenthau stemming out of Roosevelt pressure moving his tax experts over to the House leadership, attaching at Ways and Means, and the more political base of the triangle by a Rayburn and Ways and Means contacting the President with an election year on.

Who takes the rap as the big hearts of all the people grope for victory and look for leadership on money matters, knowing there is a bill to pay, and hoping for the frankest and simplest statement of the account so that they can fix up their own affairs within the need?

Tax Reform: (Two year tax program which may or may not be indicated in a two year victory speech.) How much cash can be collected in 1942? This is the simple business man's way of saying, "How much can I take out above operation without destroying the productive structure?" The estimates of the Treasury Department on all federal taxation under present laws is the first sheet. The proposals of Treasury tax experts and Ways and Means experts should be in by December 15 in major outline. They should not be trial ballooned as was Morgenthau's recent payroll tax speech.

When the Congress meets in January, the President's mind must be made up and a clear budget message ready. Since all taxes are unpleasant, and the President's popularity inside America is affected by this budget message, it must be determined how far he shall go in detail. But the broad policy of any fundamental changes should be stated by the President

in recommendations to Congress. He should not this time merely state that he needs so much money and that it is up to the Congress.

An Example: Suppose conferences on money raising have gone on between Ways and Means and the Treasury and the President and the Director of the Budget; suppose the President's mind settles on one major change; suppose he decides because this is a congressional election year that the national value of the return of a Democratic lower house precludes the old standard formula of simply piling stiffer taxation on existing sources and the Treasury search for new sources; suppose the President says there are to be no new taxes, but that a reform in income tax procedure definitely is necessary because of the war, and that the impact of peace and post-war conditions must not leave our citizens owing large sums to government earned during a year of great activity and paid for out of a lean year following; suppose he says that this change should be gradual--then his proposition:

1. Corporations, partnerships, or individuals doing a gross business of \$100,000.00 in 1941 shall set aside on the first of February and each month following, and make available for the treasury, 1/12 of income tax assessment of 1941.

2. Beginning February 1, 1943, all income tax payers shall set aside and make available to the Treasury 1/12 of their 1942 income tax assessment.

Comments on Proposal: (A) Exceptions: Corporations affected in 1942 may show cause at District Internal Revenue offices why the setting aside of taxes as scheduled should be delayed, and obtain permission according to the discretion of the District Revenue office, should the peculiarities of the business warrant--this is designed to affect seasonal

profits in luxuries and instalment business, such as grain elevators, cotton gins, radio and jewelry and furs.

(B) By leaving the tax structure entirely alone except for the establishing of the principle that profits and income should be provided during the year of the making, and not from the year following. The effect will be to prevent run-away buying, provide more actual cash in 1942, increase citizen confidence in government finances, making tax anticipation short term borrowings a prime security, thereby solving Treasury pressure. It will lessen the necessity of either an enforced monthly or weekly payroll withdrawal at the source (politically very bad) and give the banks a new source of business in short term loans from the 90 per cent of business which will be very solvent until material shortages lessen civilian activity.

(c) The effect on business activity will be much less harmful and much less disturbing to corporations and individuals because:

1. Corporations and individuals are largely the same inasmuch as the corporation is first taxed and then the individuals, and

2. Any complex activity in taxation which includes many movements, such as stiffer taxation, a multitude of patriotic national loan drives, and the finding of new sources, tends to paralyze activity because business is left uncertain as to whether actually to increase or diminish activity due to the uncertainty of future assessments, and

3. The longer the actual increase of taxation can be delayed, the better the information will be as to just how much and how far we must go to win the war, for certainly by next November we will know more about Hitler than this spring.

In general the proposal provides for several billion more of cash this year out of business activity this year, and which is truly the property of the United States this year as it is made. It provides a

cushion of safety for post war deflation by bring the tax payer up to date on his government obligations by the end of 1943, when we presume we will have reached within the sight of victory.

If this proposal is adopted, the Treasury may estimate an enforced saving of the two years of from five to ten billion by corporations and the people, and with greater values that the government won't have to borrow this money and then collect it when they can't, and the morale effect on the people both as to spending unnecessarily and in removing fear from millions of the government as a tax collector whom they will not satisfy with all the post war miseries and suits and lawyer and income tax and political entrepreneurs begging relief from government due bills.

November 25, 1941

Concerning an A. E. F. and the Future:

Inside America, with Hitler slipping and labor getting ironed out, the four things ahead of maximum concern to American people are:

1. What do we need, and where can we get it? (Shortages)

2. What do we have to pay, and when do we have to pay it?

(Taxation)

3. Speculation on how long Hitler can take it, and the effects of peace on the individual. (Armistice and peace plan.)

4. The Congressional elections. (Vote of confidence for or against Roosevelt.)

But the biggest, and most unspoken, thing is human life itself-- death or life. The four things are general and effect everyone. This specific thing of whether our boys do or do not fight with their bodies in an all out war probably doesn't affect over ^{twenty} ~~two~~ million people directly in the relationship of principal, father, mother, sister. So, if there can be any sincere clarity of statement or plan of action on this, it should be examined.

A detailed proposal: Ask South America to help police the Western Hemisphere, instead of having United States do it 100 per cent. Wherever actual territory in South America is policed, the reaction in South America to Yanqui flags in control below the Panama Canal may be politically unwise when the same control could be exercised by asking collaboration from the countries nearest the present European possession which must be policed. For instance, Dutch Guiana is to be policed by the United States with the permission of the exiled Dutch government at London. This first step should be followed by requesting Brazil and

possibly Columbia to send some men and flags over too. This is the Good Neighbor Policy, and answers the political Nazi-brewed storm which we will otherwise have under the slogan "South America for South Americans, and the hundred millions down there who will be saying that the Yanqui is on the march south.

If we have to go to the East Indies blocking the Japs, have a token Australian and greater Indian collaboration with possibly a bit of Philippino.

The over all thought is that the United States is ONE of the Allies of freedom fighting slavery--not a supremacy protecting an inferior position. This thought must carry on into the peace itself, and might as well be started now, inspite of the other considerations of moving in with the American flag alone and the knowledge we all have that ~~two~~ many cooks may spoil the broth. I know that the Navy and the Army will insist that they can't do anything else by go it alone, but I believe the bigger picture has been written here. The political effect inside of the United States will be better that way, as people have a concern about an A. E. F. and will see in the plan a lesser use of American boys, and also will agree, where American boys go some other country's boys also are going.

The wisecrack of today on Broadway has a hundred forms, but the essence of it is, "When are Roosevelt and Stalin going to get England into the war?"

November 28, 1941

If attached is correct, the government is faced with readjusting downward the victory program; pushing steel shells, particularly in substituting steel for copper in shell-making where the big trouble lies. That can be done with real pressure upon the ordnance specifications groups.

Believe report down to action steps needed on lower half of page two is self explanatory. The broad approach is that if the victory program is one-third bigger than possible, the President could properly say that only a two million army is now needed in the light of present knowledge. That automatically cuts the program material needs, and puts in balance with an optimistic note of readjustment instead of a constant opposition pounding through the months of 1942-43, as the editorial and column writers pull out their worksheets each month and say, "The government is behind."

The quicker the truth--the quicker the readjustment statement--between now and January first, the better everybody will take it, and the less hysteria in civilian life as the impossible is attempted.

Concerning action steps needed, there is nothing new in 2,3,4, and 5. Under (1) the writer suggests a concentration of civilian durable goods production with equal concentration of war work according to plants, indicating 100 per cent concentration of Ford for pleasure cars and General Motors and Chrysler for defense work. I believe this is impractical because of the lag in 100 per cent change-overs and the terrific labor readjustments and the post war economic confusion. What is proposed, however, can be accelerated by becoming quickly specific

about autos, for instance, and calling in the three big makers who control 90 per cent production, using allocations of material as government's "ace in the hole" within which the auto bosses must function and agree, just as labor and capital are being made to agree.

The Practical Victory Program

It is now feasible for the first time to announce with some precision a Victory program so that the American public and the whole world may know it. Heretofore a program big enough to do the job would have been politically unacceptable because people were not ready to take it.

Elements of the Victory program

First peak production must be reached not later than March of 1943 and if possible by December of 1942.

Second this production taken in conjunction with the British must be so much greater than the German flow and so certain in continuance of large flow that victory will come in late 1943 or the spring of 1944.

Third we must be producing defense items to the value of at least \$ 3 billions a month by the end of 1942.

Fourth we must mechanize and train to the utmost in mechanized and density of fire terms an army of two million. To mechanize fully more than two million is waste because we need the men in industry and on the farm rather than in the army and, much more important, we need the tanks, bombers, and ordinance which they would use in the hands of the Russians and English rather than in the hands of an army of more than two million men.

Fifth we must break down the \$ 3 billion of defense materials monthly in a balanced way between the army, the navy and the merchant marine program.

Sixth we must discover on the basis of the ideal balanced program as to whether shortages of any particular raw material ~~make~~ make the program impractical.

Seventh we must get hold of those who draw specifications for the army and navy and discover why it is that Germany can make a pound of copper ~~go~~ go ten times as far in producing defense materials as we. What modifications can we make in design? What practical substitutes do we have available?

~~Eighth~~ It seems impossible to get details of the specific Victory program within a month. The broad outlines, however, should be announced before Christmas. The broad outlines must be known so that Don Nelson can allot the scarce raw materials with greater certainty. Don must get in this position before January 1.

Ninth About \$5 billion of goods will be available monthly for the civilian economy. This is perhaps 30 per cent less than we were consuming per capita in the middle summer of 1941 and perhaps 10 per cent ^{less} than we consumed per capita during the 1935-39 period. The 10 per cent shortage or 30 per cent shortage whichever way you look at it must be born as nearly equally as possible, keeping in mind always in order of importance, first national defense- second protection of human rights such as small business and maximum employment of labor

Tenth the over- all program must be adopted as soon as the various departments and agencies can be brought into agreement but in now case later than January 1.

Eleventh. The President should present the program to the country in a most solemn way on New Year's Eve and should be followed in a coordinated way by the heads of the various agencies and by the leaders in Congress. The governors also should perhaps be brought into the program as well as eventually the Rotary clubs, Chambers Of Commerce, etc.

November 28, 1941

C.E.M.

Nothing new in attached Kelly letter to Odlum.

The German armament was one of having the small factories make the particular bit or part that they might do best with least conversion, and according to the workers' experience. The government allocated the material needed. The small factories did the work, shipping an uninterrupted stream of nuts and bolts, for instance, to a central assembly. Men were thus evenly employed throughout the country, and the new plants were largely assembly plants. In quicker production this is the best way anyway, as against either the building of great super-structure plants which take much material and time, or the re-location of great masses of labor with family establishments to be kept up in one place, and men working and the provider keeping himself up in another place.

Odlum is working in this direction by breaking down major contracts to sub-contracts. The Army and Navy procurement divisions were not equipped, and had no census of industry to start right in the first place. Nor did they have the money allotted for the specific purpose of big assembly plant structure as they made their parts contracts for planes, tanks, shells, and the like.

Kelly's cost-plus without a ceiling would be suicide, but certainly two steps may be taken:

1. Specify percentage of sub-contracting on major contracts according to the contract itself.

2. Accelerate government controlled and financed assembly plants to take care of the great horde of special parts that can and must be made by small manufacturers if the ghost town business is not to be with us.

November 28, 1941

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about autos, for instance, and calling in the three big makers who control 90 per cent production, using allocations of material as government's "ace in the hole" within which the auto bosses must function and agree, just as labor and capital are being made to agree.

December 1, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Some Political Notes

Watch out for Aubrey Williams and Mrs. Roosevelt assembly of all youth agencies, including CCC. Roosevelt says he has bigger things for Congress, but Mrs. Roosevelt insists that twenty-seven million young people should have unity with and under the government. McNutt has said that he wants to close them out, saying economy requires it. Believe McNutt is a good politician and expects that the record of McNutt will come out that he was WILLING to close them, but that others insisted that he go ahead running them. The bill will be introduced with a very fair possibility of passage, with the word "economy" its first noun. Justice Douglas and Speaker Rayburn are sympathetically behind Mrs. Roosevelt to push her, with probably Aubrey Williams the lady's closest contact and inspirer.

The two closest presidential influences, Rayburn says, are Hopkins and Douglas. Rayburn says that Douglas has the better brain and is considered more politically wise by the President, and that Douglas' main power is that he speaks very seldom to the President, but when he does, it is with clarity and on something significant.

There is much more revolt against Roosevelt in the House now than in the Senate, because, probably, House members are 100 per cent up for re-election next year. Younger members are more violent than the responsible chairmen of the big committees. So the President may be unaware that the Speaker continues an official position of loyalty wrapped up in both spoken and spiritual criticism of the President as a man "going about the same way as Wilson,"—already licked by illness and the wear and tear of political life. Speaker very gloomy about outcome of the congressional elections.

Rayburn still believes Roosevelt will determine next democratic presidential nominee. It is probable he sees himself first, Douglas second, and would be willing to see a ticket of Douglas and Rayburn, as he has a Garner complex to fill out. Incidentally, he is acting a little like Garner about six months before the public reported the break. Possibly he is merely looking for a goat in the event a Republican Congress costs him his speakership.

Overall comment spoken near the speakership is that the legislative branch must take leadership in domestic affairs because of the lack of leadership at the White House. The labor legislative delay is merely the lash. It extends back six months since the President's mind has fixed upon foreign affairs and his secretariat has prevented senators and congressmen from seeing him about the many things which seem to them so important. The plan is to push through labor as a congressional demand upon the President, and then to follow under this active cloak with a slow down strike, leaving presidential requests in committees and only becoming active on matters the House leadership itself wants, but not to the point of getting the country mad at Congress, and always with a clear out support of foreign policy. This plan is designed to make the President aware of the stalemate, and to call in the House leadership and ask them the trouble, and thus force a stronger House recognition.

When the President asks what is the matter, Rayburn will say, or have said: "We haven't taken your bills to the floor because we can't pass them, and we can't pass them because of your neglect of the democratic congressional leadership and rank and file." The business comes out of a sincere belief that the President must be spanked in order to

see and clear up his party leadership, rather than a desire to bring about a public split between congressional leadership and the President.

Rayburn has already been reported as running out two of Hopkins' men. It is possible that several men left from the original New Deal and still fairly close to the President have resented Hopkins and are playing a little congress politics to adjust a Hopkins over-balance. It might not be fair to say that this looks beyond the present and the congressional election ahead into 1944, but human nature must be valued by realists.

I believe an intelligent observer might be of service by circulating a bit near the focal points of the congressional independent movement, and also among the professional Republicans who may know of it, such as McNary and Martin. The early stages of the Garner revolt were so similar that one might put an Ichos where Farley was, and a Rayburn where Garner was; and believe McNutt and Douglas not unaware, but in the broad middle; and McNary-Martin playing the same minority strategy of splitting the majority by supporting the majority rebels. The high spot of the last revolt was the Neutrality repeal defeat of Roosevelt by Garner at midnight, backed up by House leaderships, in a White House conference where Garner is reported to have said to Roosevelt, "Sorry, you haven't got the votes."

It happens that I was Roosevelt's first caller the next morning. The President said, without any introductory remarks, "I want to tell you as a party leader, and talking to you as a Texan, that Garner will not be the nominee, and I tell you that simply because we could not win with him."

If Rayburn, a younger and a quieter man, has the same conference this spring on a tax bill or a price bill or whatever, he will not pull a Garner. He will say: "I am sorry that I cannot get the votes for you unless, etc. etc."

Question: How much does the President know of the seriousness of this? Is not the best way to stop typhoid the clearing out of the water supply? Remember that both Garner and Rayburn believe that they are patriots, that Garner was not susceptible to flattery, but that Rayburn is as weak emotionally as a woman, and needs as much attention as a young and sexually inexperienced boy. He will get that attention and that emotion from somebody or sombodies.

Douglas believes government is drifting and that chaos must come before betterment. What relation has there been between Douglas and the Department of Agriculture since 1933? Is there any basis for Douglas to doubt this department's sincerity in being for government control of water power? Has there been, for instance, a general harmony between Agriculture and the TVA expansion. Has the 1933-40 administrative over-all been so pro public power that occasionally there has been injustice and inaccuracy to the private power which you have become aware of? I remember Frank and Black in the early New Deal days, as well as Hobson and others of the very bad boys on the private side. I am merely asking your evaluation of the over-all tactics when seen from the standpoint of the country as a whole.

And, incidentally, where do we go from here, not only in '42, but in '42-'50?

December 3, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

Re: Attached Clipping from New Republic

The attached is from the current New Republic. I am wondering whether a friendly telephone call, or a note, to Messersmith, is desirable--also the same to Daniels, if you do believe that he has been an over-all good man. I like both.

December 3, 1941

Memorandum to: H. A. W.

I quote a single sentence read as I sought sleep last night after hearing much pessimism:

"People knew the price of everything and the value of nothing."

And to the pessimist of the day I said as I closed my eyes: "Things are to be much better soon as people realize things are lost and other things are gained."

Your business in watching the proportion of things in use and need is a protective business involving millions. Those men carrying out the details will become uneven in performance and sometimes irritated under pressure. But I feel that you shall have the over-all sincerity and serenity, even if you are from time to time accused of weakness and indecision.

Around the White House such a man is much needed now--an optimist of clear thought and courage for the over-all. The physical condition of your two great partners needs you because of your noiseless health and clean spirit seeking nothing. From this mixture of three there is much hope that the irritations of the Chilean incident and the Tennessee fracas may not too frequently occur.

It seems a queer time to sell active philosophy (serenity in action), but this product may keep smiling unity at the top as the spring pressures of taxation and shortage and the congressional campaign irritate all.

How about an early Christmas letter from you to Hopkins and the President in appreciation of the spirit of their labor before the avalanche of Christmas letters and telegrams pours in on tired minds?

December 4, 1941

Comments on S.P.A.B. Minutes, November 26, 1941

S. P. A. B. Minutes says "Acting Secretary of War" Patterson. Is this a new title? What significance, as Forrestal is labeled "The Under Secretary of the Navy" in the same minutes?

Re: Machine Tools: A news release that Russia had been moderate in requesting only \$33,000,000 worth of machine tools, of which \$10,000,000 were (if true) on the way. This might be an item of a Chairman's first press meeting, as it is a constructive thing.

Page three, item four: Steel for Canada: The Chairman might tell the press that an American policy is that Canadian and American shipyards are to get steel from the United States on an equal basis of need--the Canadian requirement being 3,000 tons monthly for Canadian shipyards, and that by January first, through the shipment of 5,500 tons in December, the Canadian shipyards would be 100 per cent effective on steel.

Note: The above release is within the facts up to January first. The general statement of Captain Vikery that he wasn't sure that American shipyards were not more efficient than Canadian, and that our own Maritime Commission program should come first, is but an opinion of Captain Vikery, and is not in conflict, and would have a constructive effect even if in January there were a change due to Canadian inefficiency. That fact could be ironed out between the Maritime Commission, Vikery, and Canada by the first of January.

Aluminum to Russia: The Chairman might state that five million pounds of sheet, rod, and tube aluminum is on the way to Russia, having been released through S.B.A.P. as part of a total request of 10,100,000 by Russia for airplane manufacture and other war uses.

R. E. A. Copper Requirements: S. P. A. B. is providing (better word than "releasing") 10,500 tons at the rate of 1,500 tons of copper per month to complete all R. E. A. projects upon which construction has commenced and funds allotted and bids accepted. And, if the Chairman could announce the general future policy that, regardless of inventories in the hands of private utilities, no copper shall be used for the construction of duplicating lines where territory is already served by either the R. E. A. or a private utility--in effect there shall be no civil war between R. E. A. and private utilities during this emergency so that copper shall not be wasted.

The press would report this: "Wallace orders civil war between private and public power systems must cease during war effort to conserve copper for shells."

December 4, 1941

Note on Public Relations:

If not too time killing, a custom of meeting the press the morning following each SPAB meeting, at ten a.m., Vice President's office.

Subjects discussed might come either from SPAB or Economic Defense Board. Different personalities might sit with Chairman. First time, perhaps Nelson; second time, perhaps Perkins; third time, any person who might contribute authority to the major discussion, or might assist the Chairman in answering specifically any public inquiry.

No "planted" questions. As little as possible "off the record" stuff. The attached from SPAB minutes, November 26, is an example written without regard to anything that may have reached the newspapers.

This is a repeat of mutual ideas--the point being that news is news while it is news, and a hit-and-miss on dates is hard on the press.

Somehow I am not afraid that a new, active, and unfolding pair of agencies won't have weekly news, or that they won't provide a constructive position for the Chairman. The petty and necessarily unpleasant orders, even if decided in SPAB meetings, can come out of the agency routine through Nelson and Perkins. Hoover had an unpleasant food restriction agency, but "Hooverize" must have had a good press.

There is something to the argument for irregularity, as it is more informal and doesn't force routine attendance into the minds of the press itself; also the Vice President is more than a Board Chairman, and, if the scheduled meeting is always the morning following SPAB meetings, it might become too much SPAB. Probably a time might start the morning after SPAB until February, or until Economic Defense Board becomes a more active news value. But the broad line should keep the conferences those of the Vice President for any purpose, whether political, economic, on peace, or South American relations.

December 4, 1941

Further Comments on S. P. A. B. Minutes, November 26, 1941

Railroad Equipment: The Board has decided definitely against the use of wooden box cars in an effort to save steel. The reason is that such equipment would be dangerous to the workers in the event of wrecks, and a complete economic loss to the stockholders of the railroads following peace. Steel requirements for 125,000 freight cars, from October 1941 to October 1942, and 900 new locomotives are being worked out. It is hoped that this number may be reduced, and steel conserved for war munitions and machines, by a series of meetings between the railroads and their employees and the government for the purpose of making more effective the present equipment. Better freight loading and dispatch operation, and closer co-operation between competing railroads, is the object sought.

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Subjects discussed might come either from SPAB or Economic Defense Board. Different personalities might sit with Chairman. First time, perhaps Nelson; second time, perhaps Perkins; third time, any person who might contribute authority to the major discussion, or might assist the Chairman in answering specifically any public inquiry.

No "planted" questions. As little as possible "off the record" stuff. The attached from SPAB minutes, November 26, is an example written without regard to anything that may have reached the newspapers.

This is a repeat of mutual ideas--the point being that news is news while it is news, and a hit-and-miss on dates is hard on the press. Somehow I am not afraid that a new, active, and unfolding pair of agencies won't have weekly news, or that they won't provide a constructive position for the Chairman. The petty and necessarily unpleasant orders, even if decided in SPAB meetings, can come out of the agency routine through Nelson and Perkins. Hoover had an unpleasant food restriction agency, but "Hooverize" must have had a good press.

There is something to the argument for irregularity, as it is more informal and doesn't force routine attendance into the minds of the press itself; also the Vice President is more than a Board Chairman, and, if the scheduled meeting is always the morning following SPAB meetings, it might become too much SPAB. Probably a time might start the morning after SPAB until February, or until Economic Defense Board becomes a more active news value. But the broad line should keep the conferences those of the Vice President for any purpose, whether political, economic, on peace, or South American relations.

December 6, 1941

Comments are from conversations with a rayon executive, formerly a cotton mill laborer, and a publisher, formerly a coal mine laborer. Both are in their early forties.

A publisher from Uniontown, Pennsylvania, center of number one soft coal labor concentration (John L. Lewis), says: "All Roosevelt had to do to settle Pennsylvania captive mines strike was to hold up one finger, asking the men to go back to work--and, incidentally, show the country that John L. Lewis had slipped so far that he was riding on a big bluff." The publisher added, "These miners see Roosevelt first, Lewis second, and God third."

A man back from a national swing, whose job depends upon administration continuity, says: "People much more comfortable than six months ago. They feel the President broadly has whipped Lindbergh, Wheeler, Lewis, capital, and his enemies in Congress; that the war machine is beginning to function of itself; that Roosevelt has demonstrated his political leadership and far sightedness. A year ago people were saying, 'Suppose Roosevelt dies?' Today they are not afraid should Roosevelt die."

Roosevelt's labor position is based on his own conscience and his view of his own place in history. Negotiations still going on between Roosevelt and Lewis. Roosevelt has sent word to Lewis: "Congress, and with my passive approval, under war pressure may easily destroy by law the basis of unionized labor gains once firmly fixed in law. I may go down in history as the President under whom labor went up the hill and then got knocked down again. I don't like the knocking down. A voluntary meeting of the facts of today and the needs of today by you, John L. Lewis, will save the rigidity of legal action."

Whether Roosevelt the political leader has decided that the thing has gone too far and he could not veto legislation now sure to pass is another question. His today's negotiations with Lewis may be merely for his personal conscience and his personal history, as he knows he must permit labor legislation now bundled in the Vinson-Smith bill to become law.

A liberal manufacturer's comment: "Roosevelt certainly is sincere in wanting to be in history the man who helped labor gain on capital, but I think he has two other things more important than that right now. One is to whip Hitler, and the second is to whip John L. Lewis, and I can't see him letting John L. Lewis become a great 'giver-uper.' He wants Lewis eliminated.

An average citizen says: "I believe Roosevelt has always been for mankind as a whole and the measures that would help mankind, and that he would be quite capable in a broad labor policy in war time to let Lewis die or remain alive according to what he thought was good for the people."

Small business dislocation through shortage is one of those things which is not so acute as the noise makes out, but fear in Class C towns is beginning to affect the citizens of hundreds of communities of from five thousand to a hundred thousand which have small diversified industry at their base. The people simply do not know what is to happen. They only know that their weekly pay envelope may cease because they haven't the material to work with. This fear may conceivably be a greater political concern than even taxation by next June. The fact that Kelly and La Guardia are jumping to the front, and that the Chicago Tribune is pushing Kelly, and that one hundred fifty congressmen are saying that

their letter files are topped with this one subject, shows the probable growth and depth of this as the January calendar turns. Coupled with high cost of living, and high taxes, the situation is most serious inspite of Roosevelt's personal popularity. Democratic congressional leaders are saying privately that the South and the West will bring in a Democratic Congress this year. Martin, G. O. P. leader, is wearing a pessimistic face, but is internally very confident that he will be the next Speaker. He even considers Willkie an asset, knowing that new Republican congressmen will on organization be party regulars as that is the only way they can get patronage and position. Statesmanship and political leadership both require that the head of the country frankly discuss and talk to the average American family of his economic position in regard to materials and jobs. He must be shown that there is enough raw material for civilian needs in 1942 which will be properly distributed to equal the average annual amount of material available in the period from 1936 to 1940. He must be assured by Roosevelt that this material will be equitably distributed throughout the United States--that the large industries shall not be permitted to hold inventories just because they bought early in large quantities with full pocketbooks. The President must say there will be no ghost towns in America, that he knows all America will tighten its belt if and when necessary to whip Hitler, but that the people have a perfect right to expect their President and their government to deal fairly with all people within the limits of the national capacity. And then the government agencies, such as SPAB and Odlum, etc., must function--probably with a more simplified and less duplicated set up.

Personal suggestion is that a single agency, such as SPAB, be given full and final authority over distribution for civilian needs, and that the organization line up be according to industries rather than sections of the country, and the break-down of shortage goods be according to

industry needs and then through individual executives divided among the component parts of the industry involved.

For instance, sulphuric acid is short so that the rayon industry, using 400,000 tons, can only have 300,000 tons. Neither Dupont nor Viscose should be permitted to exceed their inventory position as against other units of the industry. Proportions of production should be frozen if necessary. This particular product is used because it cannot be stored in any great quantity. Wherever products may be hoarded, such as cotton linters (also used in rayon), an executive pro-rating materials for rayon plants would demand and check existing inventories of all plants before approaching an apportioning according to the month's production needs.

The lumber executive, obviously, would check southern pine supplies of northern distributors of building projects with the thought of making them use up their inventories under shortage, and not give them their expected premium position of having been far-sighted business man.

In the publishing business the publishing executive would have the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times, for instance, file inventory of news print, which consumes great quantities of sulphur in manufacture.

Obviously the executive in charge of sulphur production would be co-operating both with the rayon executives and the newsprint executives. There is a rhythm between production and consumption which calls for the closest co-operation, for, obviously, with increased production there is a lessening of acute shortage, and the immediate possibility of lessening the severity of the shortage orders. But I don't see how any plan to co-ordinate agencies, one engaged in production and one in distribution under shortage, can have any sense come out of the orders of either. This means that the defense financing under Jones, the Economic Defense Board bringing in imports, and SPAB as the umpire over shortages must

get an executive head in a central room with lots of clear driving expert delivery executives operating with a battery of telephones throughout the United States, where the answer can be "yes" and "no" before the telephone conversation ends. I see this room with a central executive brain function on "yes" and "no" with balance sheets of material in front of him and an assistant adding to production and subtracting from available quantities as "yes" and "no" puts the figures down. It will not be sufficient to have leisurely weekly meetings and monthly reports of stockpiles. The Germans haven't done it that way, and there will not be time for such executives to go around the country making speeches.

Question: It is said that Germany, England, Canada, having been in this thing from the beginning, are now putting 50 per cent into war and 50 per cent into civilian. It is said that America is putting between 20 and 25 per cent now into war. So I ask whether we are not merely putting 20 to 25 per cent in dollars into war, rather than wage-hours? And if that is true, how can America actually ever put 40 per cent wage-hour and material into the war as long as the war effort is preferred in dollars over the civilian effort. In other words, shipyard workers work forty hours a week for \$80 a week. We cannot use dollars as a significance of percentage of effort as against Meridian, Connecticut, civilian factories making spoons forty hours a week for \$40.

The answer: Obviously forget dollars in government statistics in measuring percentage of war effort as against civilian effort, and, second, prepare for the consideration of the national effort as an all-out effort which may require fifty per cent of the real effort, and, third, when we begin to measure our war effort in wage-hours be prepared if necessary in preserving civilian health to stretch out the wage-hours of the individuals; to add into the worker effectives the great reservoir of young

untrained men now blocked by union card and apprentice restrictions,
and eventually, if necessary, women prepared this year in health and
next year for work. We must remember that England this week is conscript-
ing women for civilian work. A year from now we must be ready.

December 9, 1941

Re: Corcoran

By telephone he said that the shooting put him willingly into public service anywhere, any time, any place. He said he had talked with Jones, and, I believe, Clayton, and that Jones spoke of an East Indies assignment. Corcoran said he told Jones that he thought he would be better, now that the shooting had started, inside America, because, "I am a provincial boy, and have never traveled anywhere."

I asked, "Do you mean your first statement? And do you wish to see the Vice President?"

Corcoran said that he would be back in Washington Tuesday, and that I could tell you that his written note to you stands, and he is at your service if you wish to see him, and that I should tell the Vice President of the telephone conversation. (Believe Corcoran's wife pregnant caused his suggestion to Jones.)

Before hanging up, he asked whether I could review his position before the investigating committee on December 16. I answered that I did not think the meeting would be held because of the shooting, and I thought the committee would temporarily cease sessions, and that, if I heard anything about the committee's broad plans, I would let him know. He said, "Please do so, as it will save me a week."

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 man, 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 cannon. 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 know. 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

1. All possible frankness with our people.

2. Every possible improvement in leadership manpower through evolution and not revolution. No France, kicking out Generals wholesale in retreat with confusion everywhere; no Russia, killing purges in the military; but an American democratic but very rapid evolution half way between the Chinese Mexican, kicking upstairs and the direct frank retirement of the aged and the infirm by the Army and the Navy themselves, with the leader always thinking that way in kindness and speed for us, and beginning in his own house and his own cabinet, unifying for positiveness, speed, accuracy, and unity.

3. A minimum of Congress investigations. If a Congress, restive and unmanageable, kicks over the traces, a Christmas recess until January first is immediately in order through House and Senate leadership.

Thus they shall see the people, feel the people, and come back cleaned up and less egoistic

The catastrophe of the Pacific is the dignity of the United States.

Our Commander-in-Chief, who may go down in history as the greatest of all Americans, works at his desk today for the world, for America, and for you.

Tonight you will hear him over the radio. Your own judgement as one American will be added to the judgement of all America, and of the world. And so tonight you and your Commander-in-Chief will be spiritually and actually in communication. The two ~~million~~ peoples of this earth, either tonight or soon, through word of mouth, even to the remote mountains of the Andes and the depths of the African jungle, will know that here in these free states there is a great soul.

On Sunday, seeking peace, this man sent word for peace to the Emperor of Japan. Hours before the message was sent the yellow assassin struck.

Yes, we all may say that we should have been prepared at Pearl Harbor. Yes, we all may say that Guam should have been awake, and that preparedness should have had planes flying over Manila. All of us may say that the Pacific could, and should, have been patrolled so that no aircraft carrier ~~was unpassed and its location~~ ^{be} unknown.

But who shall say today or tomorrow that he knows who and what and when and where?

This is the hour to stand behind our leader in peace and war. The vote of eighty-two senators to none was taken by men who knew the disaster ^{of Hawaii} and many of the details. They rightly said, both Republicans and Democrats, that the first duty and the first proud privilege of every American is to

let the world know that no Sunday morning assassin can stop America.

The matter of the blame for any neglect in the fortification of Hawaii, the matter of the blame for any unpreparedness of our merchant shipping, the matter of the blame that may eventually be placed on the Intelligence Department of the Navy; the necessity of younger men in service, perhaps, to replace minds stagnant, hide-bound, and crystalized, all these things are in the order of business of ^athe United States willed for the victory of free men.

Your President speaks tonight. Action of an America, secure at least in her past performances, and in the cleanness of her soul, assures an effective and progressive efficiency for ultimate victory. The voices of Roosevelt and Churchill reached you twenty-four hours ago. These men constitute the twin hope of the high peak of all the millions seeking a free and happy life for all who live on this earth.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Saturday
afternoon papers, December 13.

SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE OF MAN

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, on the occasion of the celebration of the 20th Anniversary of Science Service, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1941, 1:30 p.m. EST, broadcast over CBS.

Science Service today is celebrating its Twentieth Anniversary at the same time as the people of the United States are rejoicing in their one hundred and fifty years of democratic life under the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Science has flowered in the United States as in no place else in the world and in my opinion its flowering has been due in large measure to the freedoms of speech, press and thought which are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Today the whole world is joined in grim combat as never before to determine whether science shall be the servant of the few or the many. Certain nations, believing in the unscientific doctrine of master races, would use science to exploit so-called inferior races. They would use science to set up a master class in their own nations to exploit their own people, who have been taught to think just as the people at the top want them to think. At the moment there is totalitarian science and democratic science. We know that in the long run totalitarian science cannot survive because it has no roots. Democratic science can and must survive by serving all the people, not merely in terms of comforts but also by means of widespread diffusion of knowledge.

True science, true democracy and true religion have much in common. A great prophet in the Old Testament said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." And from the New Testament comes an even greater appreciation of the unity of democracy, science and religion: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall

make you free."

Believing that the wide dissemination of truth is fundamental to democracy and religion, we endeavor to use the privileges given us under the Bill of Rights to make education rather than propaganda freely available to our people. But truth is not easily obtained nor is the dissemination of it readily brought to pass. Willful men with strong prejudices try to substitute their passionate views for the truth in all parts of the world. They have worked out systematic distortions which they have spread through the press and over the air and thus we find ourselves in a state of mind where we especially appreciate the statement of St. Paul in his Letter to the Ephesians:

"For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

"Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

"Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness;

"And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;

"Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

"And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

One of the splendid agencies for the dissemination of pure truth is an organization affiliated with the Academy of Sciences, known as "Science Service." Science Service is not a money-making corporation but the non-profit institution for the popularization of science founded by the late E. W. Scripps when, during the first World War, he realized that the safety of democracy in the future would depend on all of the people knowing more of the facts of science. Scripps was a newspaper man himself and knew what some scientists do not know, that truth can be popularized. And so the ideal of the newspaper man has been joined with that of the scientist and Science Service has been making available in a most unusual way the facts of the ever-

advancing science of our day.

Science Service is animated with the ideal of serving the people and not exploiting them. The scientists who express themselves through Science Service know how important it is that the science of the future should be the agent of peace and abundance instead of warfare and exploitation. In the year or two immediately ahead, we have a tremendous job to do in defeating those who are using science for propaganda and destruction. In that job our own scientists will play an extremely vital role. When that job is done, science, properly directed, will open a new day, a day of abundance and peace for all the people.

December 16, 1941

The man of slow mind who puts a measuring stick merely of mathematics and force to this war picture will say that radio and long distance can give unity. He will take the position that the practical objections outweigh the practical advantages. He will say that in the last war the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio were not in as perfect idea communication position. Above all he will say that more speed will be lost in getting the detail of the unified command set up than conceivably will be lost in going along as we are with evolutionary changes moving toward the central command, perhaps a year from now.

No one will deny the value of a unified allied command. The plans and the necessity simply will be sabotaged. So, time is the essence of this contract.

The cool and firm authority of Churchill and Roosevelt, acting in common, must start moving down the lines of the civilian and the military objections. The egotism of many bureau chiefs; the secret lust for fame and power of many a civilian must perish before unity of a high command in a world wide battle of mobility shall succeed in beating Hitler.

The rigid axis now runs from Berlin to Tokyo. Our axis is fundamentally London to Washington. If our axis does not rotate as well as the Berlin-Tokyo axis, if there are two or three or four or five different o.k.'s necessary for every time the axis turns, we may resign ourselves to another year of Tokyo-German expansion.

The question even of Russia is a secondary one. It is certain, however, that Russia as a voluntary collaborator will synchronize her special problems for the all-out victory, just as definitely as Hitler has now forced Italy in an involuntary way to work with Berlin. If any Russian begins to feel provincial, it is obvious that in an involuntary way he would be forced to change his mind.

December 16, 1941

The Dardanelles is the battle ground of this moment. Russia wants above all things freedom of the seas from the Black to the world, knowing that she never will have any certainty out of the Baltic.

Turkey knows that without sovereign Dardanelles control she is little more important than Syria, and that a free Dardanelles spells the end of Turkey.

Both countries know accurately the history of this battle of the Dardanelles, so there is no need to go into that now. For three hundred years Russia has needed this strait. For three hundred years Turkey has defended this strait. Now, today, is the time that one seeks to take, and one seeks to keep.

Russia is saying to Churchill and Roosevelt today: "Do we get the Dardanelles? Does the world get the Dardanelles?"

And Turkey is saying today to Churchill and Roosevelt: "Do we keep the Dardanelles?"

Roosevelt-Churchill has said to Turkey: "We cannot take that up now." And the same has been said to Stalin.

And Hitler is saying today: "Turkey, you shall have the Dardanelles, and much more in Asia. As backed by me, you move down the ancient kingdoms and the Euphrates and the Tigris to your old destiny."

And Hitler is saying to Russia: "You have been a tough baby, and I respect you as a co-equal, and you may have the Bosphorus, and much more. You may have India, with three hundred million people as customers."

Turkey has just declared neutrality between Japan and the United States, while two weeks ago moving with great rapidity toward London and Washington. And Russia is much closer today as the winter and the German difficulties come. It is Stalin's time for trading now.

Should not all of us remember that Russia changed sides seven times in the Napoleonic Era? Is this not because Russia is not fundamentally tied up in ambition with either Western Europe bossed by Hitler or the others fighting Hitler? Russia must know that there is something to talk about now, and that she has two customers now.

One customer is London-Washington, just as it was before Hitler broke loose, although then it was London-Paris.

And Hitler, with only the small disadvantage of being a liar, is only relatively so. Stalin has his own private book on Paris and London, and was once a train robber.

So one who would turn the future page must see Stalin now--Hitler now--and Turkey now--and get very definitely sure of the cards being played, otherwise, the Germanys may leave the winter Russian line more rapidly than military necessity requires. The Russian people may be told that they have won their war and are through, and Hitler may have the time to move south upon the Bosphorus, send Japan south, and immobilize Russia for 1942.

Let us all remember that Stalin made a speech about four years ago to all the Russias at the Soviet Grand Council. He spoke his foreign policy, saying that Russia must be prepared to defend itself from two enemies--one on the west, and one on the east, and that only thus could Russia grow and be at peace. Now, if Stalin can turn Hitler loose and Japan loose on others than himself, what have London and Washington to offer to stop it?

London and Washington have two main trumps. The real ace in the hole is that Stalin is probably smart enough to know that he stands ultimately to lose less and gain more from victorious London-Washington

than he could possibly gain from a victorious Germany-Japan on either side of him.

And, second, relatively he may trust treaty obligations and general understandings from London-Washington with much more assurance.

In its last analysis every treaty and every understanding is a trade among sovereign peoples, generally made by diplomats. Today such is not the case. The trade is being made by one man sitting in Moscow, probably using Litvinoff at Washington as one of his two or three "eyes". We, unfortunately, have two major countries having to make our side of the trade, while Hitler can speak alone, as Japan can't operate except as a subordinate.

Let there be as little delay and hesitation and vagueness as possible with honor. Even if Turkey has to go.

Of course, if the Turks go to the other side now, there is hell to pay. It would be perfect if there were time for more collapse of the Germans on the Russian front so that the Russians would be able to take care of any trouble south. But in the last analysis, all should remember freedom of the seas for all peoples, including the Suez, the Bosphorus, Panama, Singapore, regardless of who polices the same. And so it must be an international order with no robber barons at any straits anywhere, any time. We can promise all that to both Russia, Turkey, and all the world. If we don't promise that, there is no reason to fight at all.

This problem, in other words, when carried to its final analysis, is only one facet of the control of the sea by the United States and Great Britain after this war, which will be the cornerstone for the time being of the international peace structure, and it will be an instrument for the maintenance of peace, whereas in war no one can move upon the sea without our permission anyway.

December 18, 1941

The Dardanelles is the battle ground of this moment. Russia wants above all things freedom of the seas from the Black to the world, knowing that she never will have any certainty out of the Baltic.

Turkey knows that without sovereign Dardanelles control she is little more important than Syria, and that a free Dardanelles spells the end of Turkey.

Both countries know accurately the history of this battle of the Dardanelles, so there is no need to go into that now. For three hundred years Russia has needed this strait. For three hundred years Turkey has defended this strait. Now, today, is the time that one seeks to take, and one seeks to keep.

Russia is saying to Churchill and Roosevelt today: "Do we get the Dardanelles? Does the world get the Dardanelles?"

And Turkey is saying today to Churchill and Roosevelt: "Do we keep the Dardanelles?"

Roosevelt-Churchill has said to Turkey: "We cannot take that up now." And the same has been said to Stalin.

And Hitler is saying today: "Turkey, you shall have the Dardanelles, and much more in Asia. As backed by me, you move down the ancient kingdoms and the Euphrates and the Tigris to your old destiny."

And Hitler is saying to Russia: "You have been a tough baby, and I respect you as a co-equal, and you may have the Bosphorus, and much more. You may have India, with three hundred million people as customers."

Turkey has just declared neutrality between Japan and the United States, while two weeks ago moving with great rapidity toward London and Washington. And Russia is much closer today as the winter and the German difficulties come. It is Stalin's time for trading now.

Should not all of us remember that Russia changed sides seven times in the Napoleonic Era? Is this not because Russia is not fundamentally tied up in ambition with either Western Europe bossed by Hitler or the others fighting Hitler? Russia must know that there is something to talk about now, and that she has two customers now.

One customer is London-Washington, just as it was before Hitler broke loose, although then it was London-Paris.

And Hitler, with only the small disadvantage of being a liar, is only relatively so. Stalin has his own private book on Paris and London, and was once a train robber.

So one who would turn the future page must see Stalin now--Hitler now--and Turkey now--and get very definitely sure of the cards being played, otherwise, the Germans may leave the winter Russian line more rapidly than military necessity requires. The Russian people may be told that they have won their war and are through, and Hitler may have the time to move south upon the Bosphorus, send Japan south, and immobilize Russia for 1942.

Let us all remember that Stalin made a speech about four years ago to all the Russias at the Soviet Grand Council. He spoke his foreign policy, saying that Russia must be prepared to defend itself from two enemies--one on the west, and one on the east, and that only thus could Russia grow and be at peace. Now, if Stalin can turn Hitler loose and Japan loose on others than himself, what have London and Washington to offer to stop it?

London and Washington have two main trumps. The real ace in the hole is that Stalin is probably smart enough to know that he stands ultimately to lose less and gain more from victorious London-Washington

than he could possibly gain from a victorious Germany-Japan on either side of him.

And, second, relatively he may trust treaty obligations and general understandings from London-Washington with much more assurance.

In its last analysis every treaty and every understanding is a trade among sovereign peoples, generally made by diplomats. Today such is not the case. The trade is being made by one man sitting in Moscow, probably using Litvinoff at Washington as one of his two or three "eyes". We, unfortunately, have two major countries having to make our side of the trade, while Hitler can speak alone, as Japan can't operate except as a subordinate.

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This problem, in other words, when carried to its final analysis, is only one facet of the control of the sea by the United States and Great Britain after this war, which will be the cornerstone for the time being of the international peace structure, and it will be an instrument for the maintenance of peace, whereas in war no one can move upon the sea without our permission anyway.

The attack of Japan should not be considered as an unfortunate occurrence. All the cards are now on the table.

Our best information is that the war will end the sooner. The Jap question would have been with us after we licked Hitler. It is better to clean up the Pacific while we are a united and gaining force with two strong allies than to have the job to do all alone after we have been more or less exhausted with beating Hitler. So, I am glad the Japs have struck.

Our job is now clear. All Americans must be prepared to make on a twenty-four hour schedule every war weapon possible, and the war factory line will use men and materials which will bring the war effort home to every man, woman, and child in America. All one hundred thirty million of us will be needed to answer the sunrise stealth, the sabbath day assassin.

December 16, 1941

Memorandum: War Labor Management

What is the difference between a rifle maker and a rifle user? Is the vast difference between the draftee and the munition maker either fair or honest in an all-out and long effort?

Obviously custom, private industry, private management, labor union, the American tradition of free men at work to seek jobs and locations of their choice--all these make vast differences. Changes for the better must be evolutionary, but as rapid as possible.

Controls must be much firmer, and more efficient in mobilizing manpower, because, first of all, in a democracy public sentiment is a prime consideration.

But certain public opinions are being tested. I have not found any one who wasn't willing to be registered for war service. That includes from sixteen to sixty, both sexes. Why shouldn't this country now have a single card on every individual's history of both sexes? They should give prime data of age, health, work experience, the usual weight, height, intelligence tests, plus family data such as the census takes. These cards, taken this spring, and properly cross indexed, should serve much in saving precious time in need, and psychologically prepare our people for any positive step in labor and management mobilization.

It is doubtful if we can maintain the pure volunteer system behind a fighting line. The more we can maintain it, the better, perhaps.

So, following registration, selectees outside of fighting units might not have to be drafted, if we know how to ASK service and give time for social adjustment.

I feel sure volunteer female power is available at least two million strong at moderate wages. These volunteers should be trained and card indexed for a time that may come, especially trained now in body health.

We have five labor agencies functioning in Washington now, as per the attached. SPAB is a step in material co-ordination, which in evolution shall be simplified and strengthened. A manpower agency starting with the census, and then with voluntary training is probably as far as public opinion will now go. It is possible the first actual draft should come on management, which can best afford as units to get on the direct line of government need and government pay. Trained men not needed for fighting units would get placement assignment to direct government action according to the over all need, with due regard to the prejudices and customs of a peacetime America, and the knowledge that we are to return to a free initiative for the average man.

The uniform fills an obvious need of active warfare. But a patriotic insignia of equal status is possible for those preparing for work behind the line on the industrial front from mine to battleship. Psychologically and sentimentally the government's acknowledgement of the individual's war status would immeasurably add to the efficiency and correct placement of manpower.

Attached is the list of conflicting and duplicating peacetime agencies which were set up to fill individual peace needs, and which now are possible of streamlining into a single manpower agency for all out war.

Present Manpower Agencies

1. The United States Bureau of Employment Security registers workers and refers them to jobs upon orders received from employers.
2. The Selective Service System registers and selects persons for military service. (There is no effective coordination of effort between the two agencies, even though the registration of the two agencies reflect a great deal the same information.)
3. The OPM Labor Supply Committee operating through regions studies labor conditions of defense industries and investigates the operations of functional agencies.
4. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor, assembles pertinent statistics concerning labor resources and the utilization of labor throughout the United States.
5. The Office of Education through vocational schools, and N.Y.A., the CCC, and the WPA, each operates a training program designed to prepare workers for jobs in defense industries.

December 16, 1941

The man of slow mind who puts a measuring stick merely of mathematics and force to this war picture will say that radio and long distance can give unity. He will take the position that the practical objections outweigh the practical advantages. He will say that in the last war the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio were not in as perfect idea communication position. Above all he will say that more speed will be lost in getting the detail of the unified command set up than conceivably will be lost in going along as we are with evolutionary changes moving toward the central command, perhaps a year from now.

No one will deny the value of a unified allied command. The plans and the necessity simply will be sabotaged. So, time is the essence of this contract.

The cool and firm authority of Churchill and Roosevelt, acting in common, must start moving down the lines of the civilian and the military objections. The egotism of many bureau chiefs; the secret lust for fame and power of many a civilian must perish before unity of a high command in a world wide battle of mobility shall succeed in beating Hitler.

The rigid axis now runs from Berlin to Tokyo. Our axis is fundamentally London to Washington. If our axis does not rotate as well as the Berlin-Tokyo axis, if there are two or three or four or five different o.k.'s necessary for every time the axis turns, we may resign ourselves to another year of Tokyo-German expansion.

The question even of Russia is a secondary one. It is certain, however, that Russia as a voluntary collaborator will synchronize her special problems for the all-out victory, just as definitely as Hitler has now forced Italy in an involuntary way to work with Berlin. If any Russian begins to feel provincial, it is obvious that in an involuntary way he would be forced to change his mind.

December 16, 1941

This man sees Halifax at lunch, Hull this afternoon, and possibly Litvinoff on Wednesday. The attached has been written for him.

He is of the balance-of-power school, believing in balanced forces under American-English control until a permanent peace. He believes in buffer states, such as a Yugoslav Balkan control south of Germany and north of Turkey, and the same sort of movement that the State Department is for, but he also sees the big line, and took this writing well.

Have I anything further to do about him other than to support him in his present specialty of a unified allied command, with Beaverbrook and Litvinoff and you, perhaps, controlling the military in the world war of movement to decide where to push and where to hold the line through 1942?

December 16, 1941

It is obvious, and we would insult you to say that you don't know your Hitler and what he will do.

It is certain that we see the freedom of the seas for all peoples as the ultimate method of freeing the world from the hell of war.

And so we say to you that we will not hurt the Turkish people, and they will be given those things in territory and money and prosperity and materials that they need for a greater and richer life.

If any inter-nationalization has to be done at the Bosphorus, it has to be done, and it will be done, at Suez and at Gibraltar and at Aden.

December 20, 1941

The Litvinoff Build-up

Connally breakfast. Sunday, December 27, preferred, with invitation Monday to Litvinoff.

Connally loves to give breakfasts Sunday morning, and does it well. It should be informal, no agenda, merely get acquainted. Invited: all members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Wallace.

Wallace says to Litvinoff informally, talking alone over the breakfast cakes: "I wish Stalin and F. D. R. could shake hands somewhere. Can you work it out? I'll help. Would London be most convenient for Stalin?" (This gets Churchill in inferentially)

If you get encouragement, say: "Telephone me, and I will drop around to see you."

All this given Stalin and, even if abortive, keeps Litvinoff active in Stalin's mind to offset Rippentrop, who is fighting this week for Russian rapprochement, also might affect Russian-Turkey attitude indirectly.

December 20, 1941

Roosevelt's direct voice is now the most powerful single force we have, and is worth many a battleship in action, if it is not misused or over-used. The time has passed for diplomatic exchanges through usual channels. The race is swift for Vichy and Moscow. Stalin may be reached silently and quietly, by telephone or through Litvinoff. But, unfortunately Vichy may best be reached by Roosevelt to the French people to Petain.

Attached is what one might say in French now.

December 20, 1941

These words taken from Shelley's Ode to the West Wind may be worth reading by one who sees France:

O! lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!

A heavy weight of hours has chain'd and bow'd
One too like thee--tameless, and swift, and proud.

Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is:
What if my leaves are falling like its own?
The tumult of thy mighty harmonies

Will take from both a deep autumnal tone,
Sweet though in sadness. Be thou, Spirit fierce,
My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!

Drive my dead thoughts over the universe,
Like wither'd leaves, to quicken a new birth;
And, by the incantation of this verse,

Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!
Be through my lips to unawaken'd earth

The trumpet of a prophecy! O Wind,
If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?

December 20, 1941

France shall live again in liberty, if now she lives in manhood. With confidence based on her glorious past and her present leader, I say that France will stand firm. Times will be very tough, but French blood has battled through the centuries. Invaders are nothing new to France. Ravishers of liberty have crossed and re-crossed her beautiful land. But France has stood. The hearts of Frenchmen still beat to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Hitler's heel may crush, but all the horror and all the threats of this murder shall not still the manhood and the glory of the French spirit.

The very great soul that won at Verdun will not lose at Dakar.

By every drop of French blood that flows in my veins, I promise that the French fleet and the bastions of the French nation shall not fall into Hitler's hands. The despot is demanding of Verdun's victor that he collaborate at once. "Collaboration" is Hitler's soft word for total slavery. France has a hard word. Nazis who glory in ruthlessness now need a tough word--a "no"--the word is "Viva la France."

Bullies are never appeased. Liars are never dependable. Murders do not provide for the peace of our children, and our children's children. I promise you by the history of Lafayette, I pledge you by our Statue of Liberty, I say to you before God that France, if brave, shall be again the France of destiny and nobility and beauty.

We are not helpless. I stretch my arms across the sea. Behind Hitler's murder wall, I may not shake your hands, but I say in all solemnity, the final victory shall give to France what now she pays for through her bravery. In the spirit of humanity, and in the calm knowledge that there is to be a better and a richer world, men of France,

women of France, fathers of France, mothers of France, say today with me, for your children and their children under the sun of France, in the days to come, that that godless man spawned in hate shall not take all and give nothing to you. Even slaves lashed on bare and bleeding backs know how to win the victory of the spirit in dignity. Brute force never beat a brave soul. The day is not far off. The signs are here. Stick it out, my French friends, until together we meet under God.

From ancient France shall arise a young France. A poet in youth wrote an Ode to the West Wind. He sang: "The trumpet of a prophecy! O wind, if winter comes, can spring be far behind!"

My friends of Liberty in France, may you sing in unity your song so that all forces of evil may know that their winter is now upon them, and that your spring is to be. And may your great chief, in that insight and patriotism which has thus far held in dignity the little that remains of our dear friends--may this chief, inspired by your song--say bluntly to Hitler: "The wind is blowing from the West!"

December 22, 1941

Africa: Hitler stopped in Russia. Not sure of Turkey. Must turn southwest because: (a) it is the weakest offensive, and (b) it will be the biggest prestige divided inside Germany, and (c) it will divert most allied forces to defensive from offensive work.

Tangier: This should be the advance American front point. Psychologically and politically we should stay out of Europe leaving Spain and Italy to the British. We should send a couple of token ships to join the Mediterranean-British fleet to make it harder for Darlan to fire for Hitler at sea.

Surprise by proper equipment followed by landing 50,000 American Marines plus a tank division and supported by proper air force based on Madeira Islands first and Tangier second should hold opposite Gibraltar and give necessary air force bases to fight the battle of Gibraltar as the German air force moves over Spain toward Africa.

An American type fifth column should land with the surprise Tangier move (detailed data available.)

Casa Blanca should be next with Dakar isolated by land and sea to be taken in the march of events.

All movements toward Tangier would be covered up by apparent movements to protect West Indies and Brazil from attacks. Press and officialdom should be of assistance.

We may lose the Phillipines. Prestige of surprise success in Africa will balance.

December 22, 1941

Re: Chautemps

When it was suggested that it might be worth an afternoon to spend on Chautemps, former French Premier, now supposed to be in Washington as Darlan's personal man, supposed to be working on the bridge between the Free French and Vichy, it was agreed that conversation with a very intelligent man who could not be improved would be a waste, and that only elimination from America was a proper answer.

We can't kick out the French Ambassador, but there ought to be many ways of handling Chautemps--an unofficial person.

December 27, 1941

In connection with letter one:

It is suggested, on my question, that men of value now in the State Department are:

1. George Messersmith
2. Dean Acheson
3. Stanley Hornbeck

This man, as Adviser on Political Relations for the Far East, has fought appeasement in Japan consistently.

Outsiders, not now in the Department but with diplomatic experience, are:

1. Hamilton Fish Armstrong

Armstrong is author of "We or They" (MacMillan) which I shall review and digest, and

2. Nicholas Roosevelt

Former Minister to Hungary, former Vice Governor in the Phillipines, and now an editorial writer for the New York Herald Tribune, and a "first class guy." He is a Republican. He is a distant cousin of F.D.R., and there may be a personal animosity, as the two branches of the Roosevelts have been bitter. It is stated that this Roosevelt is not bitter and is not partisan, but on any Roosevelt at all, I would check the presidential mind.

December 29, 1941

The great formal church life of America is about to become noisy in many meanings writing the peace. These men have much energy and practically nothing to do on an active fighting front. They are like women, one of whom I saw in Culpeper County, Virginia, Sunday afternoon, perched solo on a watch tower looking for airplanes under a Civilian Defense set-up, supplied with cigarettes, reading matter, and maybe a telescope, and a boy friend calling to keep her company on the lonely mountain top.

In a Democracy, it is everybody's war, and if your non-fighting unit, the preacher, like the woman, has to become fashionable in his specialty, which is as a follower of the Man of Peace, it is easy to say, "So what?" and, "What of it?" But I see the great dignified structure that is to be being soiled in the building by the silly and loud talking ones. Public sentiment can be badly distracted and possibly wrongly crystallized unless the better leaders of Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic faiths are encouraged to take hold as against the demagog and the radio quack.

Could you not assist by giving some sort of semi-official encouragement to the formation of a national top body of religious elements, meeting with not too great frequency but often enough to get a national press and a continuous effect upon the millions who look to their religious leaders through habit?

Protestant loud mouths are apt to shout for killing Germans under the banner of Christ in order to have a world peace. The Jews may have the "eye for an eye" attitude. The Catholics, fearing the Red Giant, may be whipped up in 1942, should the Russians be forced into a new Crusade for Christ skillfully maneuvered by those seeking a premature peace for the Axis.

The elements seeking a negotiated peace are obviously big business with European investments and long range trade position; certain sections of the Catholic intelligentsia seeking the earliest possible re-establishment of their revenues from Bravaria and Poland, and honestly believing that the common man under a Catholic Christ is more important than the form of his government; the German and Italian emotional nationals throughout the two hemispheres, particularly in the United States, Brazil, and the Argentine.

We are all so busy that it is natural to say that this thing should wait, but the leadership on the non-fighting front among the unofficial public will loom up as most important leaders, and is always a matter that should be attended to at the roots. I don't believe it would take but a day or two to sow the seed.

If our national policy calls for no peace with Hitler, and no negotiated peace which leaves the Nazi-Japanese force idea represented at the peace table, then we should have all forces contrary to this concept spiritually policed. We can take care of the legions of hate seeking to corrupt. At the present time these people are active and constitute a fighting value, but I am not so sure we should ignore now the possible spiritual rallying points which would form a cloak for those who would step very short of the government policy. The mass should be led now in order that they may keep in step and not hinder the latter phases of the war effort by squealing for a premature peace. Were nothing else done, it might be put aside in your future book with a date line to review it.

I would start with the private invitation to about six high religious liberals, and perhaps six religious editors, and possibly a couple of college presidents. Certain names occur:

1. Rabbi Stephen Wise, of New York
2. Conant, of Harvard
3. Waymack, of Iowa
4. Milo Perkins (The names of Waymack and Perkins are suggested to give a practical flavor to a predominantly religious and educational discussion.)

The people that I have spoken of above have their own ratings in our government--that they put Roosevelt high, Hall probably next because of his length of service and his photographic type, and you third. So any one of the three of you could unofficially call in their natural leaders--the seed sowing business--but I think that you are the best operator because of your personality.

December 31, 1941

Steinhardt still gets a bad flavor as a loud talker who thinks he is clever, and who considers diplomacy successful if secret and devious. He now wants to outwit the Nazis in Turkey, and says so at dinner parties. Before Steinhardt goes to Turkey, certainly a casual check through Litvinoff as to Russia's opinion of him is in order. Do you want it?

Tome 1 tableta de Bromural
«Knoll»
varias veces al día.
Sus
ánimos inquietos
se calmarán.
Es un preparado químicamente reforzado de valeriana, que no daña nunca.
Tubitos de 10 y 20 tabletas

Reg. No. 7383.—D. S. P.

LEA UD. "HOY"

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Puede degenerar en algo más serio.

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Si, hay un buen medicamento auxiliar contra las almorranas...

UNGÜENTO PAZO

Ayúdese a aliviar de los dolorosos síntomas de **almorranas** sangrantes, internas o pruriginosas. Innumerable personas han hallado más confort aplicándose Ungüento Pazo, que disminuye la picazón, desinfla y ayuda a calmar el dolor de las partes afectadas.

El Ungüento Pazo, en tubos con una manuable cánula perforada, es un amigo de los que padecen de **almorranas**. Pruébelo hoy mismo.

Reg. No. 18,310 D.R.P.
Prop. No. 21437

UNGÜENTO PAZO

TEMAS DE ACTUALIDAD COMUNICACIONES

Por ANTONIO MANERO

La característica de la civilización actual es la eficiencia, multiplicidad y rapidez de las comunicaciones. La mayor parte de nuestro territorio nacional se consume en la miseria por falta de ellas. Un plan de comunicaciones es la base de cualquier política económica moderna. Este es el tema de este nuevo artículo del señor Manero.

ANALIZANDO cuidadosamente lo que distingue a la civilización actual de las precedentes, se llega a la conclusión de que son pocos o quizá nulos las conquistas que se han hecho en la esfera espiritual o filosófica y que el progreso contemporáneo se caracteriza, más bien, por los descubrimientos científicos y sobre todo por la aplicación industrial de éstos, siendo quizá la más importante de tales aplicaciones, la que ha dado por resultado cubrir todo nuestro planeta con una red de comunicaciones múltiples, que ha transformado todos los principios de la actividad individual y colectiva y dado una nueva fisonomía a la vida de la Humanidad.

Los cuentistas orientales que poblaban el mundo de genios, poderes ocultos y maravillas, han quedado olvidados ante las realidades científicas de hoy que permiten escuchar, tan sólo por medio de un estuche misterioso, en los últimos confines de Patagonia, la voz de un cantante en el Parlamento de Londres o los sonidos de una sinfónica ejecutada en Nueva York; que hacen posible cruzar el océano en poderosas aviones estratosféricos en pocas horas; que nos dan el poder de hablar de un hemisferio a otro, directamente; y que, por caminos de hierro y carreteras, permiten movilizar rápidamente la riqueza llevando la civilización y aun la vida a lugares destinados antes al aislamiento y la miseria.

Desde este último punto de vista interesa al economista enfocar el problema de las comunicaciones, en los cuales se encuentra uno de los principales medios, si no el principal, del engrandecimiento de las naciones modernas, y sobre todo del desarrollo de su economía y de la cultura especial que los hombres necesitan para contribuir a ella. El territorio de una nación, con su sistema de comunicaciones, podría compararse al cuerpo humano con su prodigiosa red arterial y venosa que permite llevar a todas sus partes la renovación y la vida. ¿Qué sucedería con un miembro del cuerpo humano, desprovisto de un eficiente sistema circulatorio? Sencillamente que la sangre vital no podría nutrirlo y pronto sufriría con la debilidad, la descomposición y la muerte. Así vemos también lugares apartados de la tierra, donde las comunicaciones no llegan, consumirse en la ignorancia, en la enfermedad y en la pobreza.

¿De qué servirá a un país poseer un territorio incommensurable lleno de riquezas, si las comunicaciones no permiten al hombre llegar a ellas para explotarlas y explotadas y para derramar sus productos en los centros comerciales donde pueden ser consumidos?

Toda política en los tiempos actuales, implica una vigorosa política de comunicaciones; de otra manera, los más grandes proyectos y las mejores posibilidades se reducirán a los estrechos límites del territorio controlable, permaneciendo las riquezas incommunicadas exactamente como si no existieran. La producción, distribución y consumo de las riquezas, que en su totalidad debe comprender una amplia política económica, tienen un solo y único medio de hacerse realidades tangibles: este medio es el sistema de comunicaciones, desde aquellas elementales que permiten la movilización de los productos, como ferrocarriles, ca-

reteras y puentes, hasta las más avanzadas, como aviones, telégrafos, teléfonos y radio, que multiplican el número y velocidad de las transacciones, haciéndolas más útiles, eficaces y seguras.

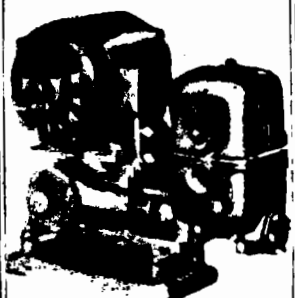
En nuestro país, la política de las comunicaciones no ha tenido nunca un plan integral y definido, que sirva de medio esencial de una política económica de producción. Desde los días en que se discutía la conveniencia de mantener entre el fuerte y el débil, el desierto, la red de comunicaciones ha ido por caminos vacilantes, en los que con frecuencia se han encontrado los obstáculos de la pobreza y la especulación.

Basta colocar un plano de cualesquiera de los países cuya extensión y riqueza son semejantes a las nuestras, junto a un plano de nuestro país, en que se muestren las respectivas redes de comunicaciones, para llegar a la conclusión de que, hasta recientes años, habíamos olvidado por completo esta base esencial e insustituible del fomento económico.

Multitud de yacimientos minerales y de terrenos cultivables son inaccesibles a la mano fecunda del trabajo; grandes riquezas del subsuelo y productos de los bosques y de la flora tropical, se destruyen y consumen imposibilitados de transporte y de puertos acondicionados para su comercio exterior. Por ello la inseguridad, la ignorancia y la miseria reinan en la mayor parte de nuestra extensión territorial. Por ello se congestiona la capital de la República, mientras los Estados se sostienen con miserable población y escaso desarrollo; por ello hay multitud de poblados pequeños y dispersos donde sólo imperan la enfermedad y la miseria. Y sin embargo, la planeación de una política de comunicaciones es quizá uno de los objetivos más accesibles a la acción gubernamental; debiendo comprender no sólo las obras de ingeniería para desarrollar ferrocarriles, carreteras, telégrafos, teléfonos, radio, etc.; sino discutiendo simultáneamente el plan financiero necesario para hacer factible la realización de esas obras y dentro del cual puede considerarse esencialmente el aumento de los recursos económicos que el propio desarrollo de las comunicaciones está llamado a producir; recurso éste, que como lo ha probado el financiamiento de los bonos de caminos por medio del incremento fiscal de los productos de la gasolina, es de un resultado práctico y eficiente.

Por fortuna para nuestro país, el Presidente de la República ha puesto en manos de un hombre de extraordinaria energía y dotes constructivas, la resolución de este problema fundamental de nuestro progreso. Las facultades demostradas por el secretario de Comunicaciones general Avila Camacho en el Gobierno de Puebla, como administrador, y su carácter rectilíneo y decisivo, forjado en el ejercicio del mando militar, harán que bajo un plan cuyas líneas generales ya ha definido públicamente y que revela, sobre todo, la acción metódica y práctica, nuestro país cobre unidad y fuerza, movilizándose su riqueza potencial y dando ancho curso, dentro de nuestro territorio, a la acción fecunda de los productos económicos y culturales de los demás países de la tierra.

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QUIEN ES SALVADOR ABASCAL

EL SINARQUISMO Y SU LIDER

Por **IGNACIO LEON**
Redactor de **BOY**

EL señor licenciado Salvador Abascal es el primer jefe de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista, de esto que los adeptos llaman **NUESTRO MOVIMIENTO**, así con mayúsculas.

En el común de las entrevistas lo natural es procurar pintar una semblanza del hombre, de sus ideas más íntimas, de sus ambiciones, de sus reacciones ante los hechos más trascendentes de la historia contemporánea; en el caso del licenciado Abascal no hace falta tanto; todo está dicho en la primera línea de esta página: es el primer jefe de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista; nada más que esto, pero nada menos.

Sus ideas sobre los problemas de la cultura, sobre las distintas formas del arte, sobre sus esclarecidos contemporáneos, no tienen en realidad importancia para él ni para los demás; lo único que en él cuenta, lo único por lo que él se interesa y por lo que él interesa, es como él mismo dice, "el ideal sinarquista", el "movimiento sinarquista", los "compañeros sinarquistas", y todo lo que tenga relación con este agrupamiento de denominación extraña y de perfiles nuevos en este país.

Pero para satisfacer la muy natural curiosidad del lector, vamos a procurar decir cómo es este abogado sin más causas que la del grupo político que encabeza: su tez es ligeramente bronceada; los ojos tienen un color verde oscuro; su pelo, echado hacia atrás y plantado en lo alto de una frente ancha, es negro; usa un bigote juvenil, negro y delgado, y es de estatura regular; con agregar que tiene una pequeña cicatriz en el lado izquierdo de la cara, se tiene el retrato completo del líder sinarquista. Viste con sencillez: un saco de paño negro y una camisa "haki", tipo Ejército Nacional, cubren sus hombros; camisas idénticas, del mismo color, envuelven los de muchos de sus compañeros que encontramos accidentalmente en el local de la Unión, en las calles de Venustiano Carranza.

Es tal y como lo acabamos de describir; nada lo distingue, mientras no está hablando de los asuntos de su grupo, de cualesquiera de esos miles de hombres jóvenes de la clase media mexicana empobrecida; tiene uno la sensación de que algún "ruletero" de reciente "dejada"; o que el practicante del hospital que hace poco tiempo nos puso una inyección, o que el peluquero de la esquina, podrían ser él mismo. En una palabra, no tiene nada en su aspecto exterior que lo distinga del común de los mestizos mexicanos.

Su modo de vida y sus ideas, sus actividades, son, sin embargo, totalmente opuestos a los del resto de los mexicanos; es a este respecto lo que suele llamarse "uno en un millón".

Lo acompañaremos durante un día entero, un día como cualquier otro.



Arrodillado devotamente momentos antes de recibir la diaria obla de la Comunión. Abascal pide a Dios por todos sus hermanos en Sinarquismo. Es uno de los más tempranos visitantes al templo de San Felipe de Jesús.

A las 6.45 horas aparece en el umbral de una antigua casa de las calles de Mártires de la Conquista, en Tacubaya; lleva un libro bajo el brazo, su breviario; a la hora en que los lecheros están dedicados todavía a la realización de su primer reparto matutino, Salvador Abascal aborda un camión en el que procura, salvando sacudidas y apretones, leer el Evangelio del día, su lectura predilecta e infalible; minutos después recoge un poco de agua bendita en la entrada del templo de San Felipe de Jesús, donde oye todos los días la Santa Misa y donde todos los días recibe la Sagrada Comunión; (se confiesa solamente cada ocho días, tiempo suficiente para que pueda

incuirse en la confesión uno que otro pecado mortal).

Una vez recibida la obla, y después del necesario momento de recogimiento posterior, se dirige hacia un café de chinos en las calles de Bolívar, donde va a desayunar de verdad y a leer los periódicos; son entonces las 8.20 u 8.25 a. m. y ha terminado de consumir su taza de café con leche y sus dos piezas de pan, ocasionalmente también, un par de huevos tibios. Faltando un cuarto de hora para las nueve llega al local de la Unión, cuyo elevadorista nos declara que "el licenciado es siempre el que llega primero".

Desde esa hora hasta las 14.30 horas en que sale a comer (calles de Cinco

de Febrero, comida corrida de a \$0.80 sin incluir la propina) se dedica a leer la correspondencia de la Unión, a dictar sus contestaciones, a firmar papeles—escribe con tinta roja—, a recibir informes de los distintos grupos sinarquistas, a cambiar impresiones con los jefes del "Movimiento" y a recibir visitas (el día que nos dedicó fue fatal para sus visitantes, muy numerosos, todos los que, salvo Diego Arenas Guzmán, director de "El Hombre Libre" y ex director del ex "Nuevo Día", tuvieron que esperar en la antecala horas enteras). Después de la comida del mediodía, el ritmo de trabajo es el mismo que el de la mañana; recibe nuevos informes, dicta y firma más cartas y recibe nuevos visitantes. No sale de la oficina hasta las 21 horas pasadas, cuando se dirige directamente hacia su casa, en la que encuentra, casi siempre, algunos de sus compañeros que han tomado alojamiento allí. Se acuesta a las 22 horas.

Fuera de lo apuntado, Salvador Abascal, que no es otra cosa que un ministro laico de la Iglesia Católica, que ejerce su misión a través de la Unión Sinarquista, no hace absolutamente nada. No fuma (desde el primero de mayo, día internacional del trabajo, no ha probado un solo cigarrillo); no bebe una gota de líquido que contenga alcohol (desde que supo que se decía "por ahí" que le gustaba la bebida); nunca va al cine ("una mona desnuda hace más daño que un discurso comunista"), ni al teatro, ni baila, ni practica deporte alguno; no tiene hijos (salvo un pequeño de cuatro años que ha adoptado por ser hijo de "uno de nuestros muertos"); no está casado (su novia y él se han puesto de acuerdo para no casarse mientras el "Movimiento" lo siga necesitando) y vive en la más absoluta castidad, cosa que, según él, no cuesta ningún trabajo.

Salvador Abascal, que da toda la impresión de sentirse un predestinado, un instrumento de la mano de Dios, y que seguramente agradece infinito a sus padrinos el nombre de pila que le han puesto, demuestra tener un profundo desprecio por el dinero; "no me interesa—dice—, no me hace falta, todo mi haber cabe en una petaca, etc."

Salvo la lectura del Evangelio, de los periódicos, de los documentos sinarquistas, ninguna obra literaria distrae su atención; Abascal no hace más que sinarquismo.

Lo pudimos comprobar en el curso de la conversación de cerca de seis horas que sostuvimos con él, durante la que no habló prácticamente más que de sinarquismo, y no pensó más que en decir exactamente lo que podía convenir a este movimiento del cual es uno de los fundadores y el más reciente jefe nacional.

No obstante los multiformes ataques de los que la Unión Sinarquista se que-

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ja haber recibido por conducto de los periódicos, su jefe no parece tener ninguna resistencia para dejarse entrevistar; muy al contrario, nos trata con mucha amabilidad. Cuando paseamos la mirada sobre su cuarto de trabajo y al detener los ojos en un Cristo de plata colgado sobre un calendario, Salvador Abascal nos observa con una sonrisa discreta. Y así principia nuestra conversación.

Procede de una de las más antiguas familias del Bajío. Nació en Morelia el 18 de mayo de 1910, durante los agitados días del levantamiento maderista. Tuvo una infancia difícil, debido a la ruina económica en la que cayó su familia —“yo llevé guaraches durante un año, dice, y más tarde fué un lujo extraordinario estrenar zapatos cada dos meses”. Los años más felices de su vida fueron los seis que pasó en el seminario de Morelia, donde recibió entre otras cosas, una buena instrucción militar que proporcionaba un teniente del Ejército Nacional.

A nuestras preguntas sobre sus estudios predilectos, sus lecturas, sus autores más amados, contesta en los siguientes términos:

—Los estudios a los que mayor empeño dediqué fueron los de sociología e Historia, y los libros que me son más caros son, en primer lugar, la Sagrada Escritura, El Quijote, La Ilíada, y las tragedias de Shakespeare; pero más que nada, la doctrina de Cristo, los Santos Evangelios y Baltasar Gracián.

Pero en la actualidad solamente queda tiempo, en realidad, para lo estrictamente indispensable: los Santos Evangelios... y los periódicos.

He aquí un extracto de sus opiniones sobre Historia: el hombre más admirado, después de Jesucristo, naturalmente, es Hernán Cortés, el conquistador; y después de él, los mistoneros Motolinía, Vasco de Quiroga, el padre Ugarte y otros. De la historia mundial, las épocas más brillantes son, en su opinión, el siglo XIII, desde el punto de vista de su concepción filosófica y teológica, definitiva en la Historia, y el siglo XVI, debido al descubrimiento de América, que fué “el primer paso de importancia de la cultura occidental fuera de Europa”.

Podemos resumir en los siguientes términos y utilizando sus palabras textuales, la visión del licenciado Abascal respecto de la Historia Patria:

“La época más grande de México fué la de la Conquista, que acabó con el culto a Huichilobos y que hizo de muchas tribus que se destruían, una sola nación; la fecha más gloriosa de la Historia de México no es el 16 de septiembre, sino el 12 de diciembre de 1531, por la conversión de los indios a la fe católica, gracias a la aparición del Tepeyac.”

—¿Qué opina usted, licenciado, de la influencia que tuvieron sobre el curso de nuestra historia —preguntamos—, los movimientos de la Revolución Francesa y de la Revolución Americana?

Sin detenerse mucho para pensar, y jugando distraídamente con una cadavita de “clips” que ha ido formando en el cajón abierto de su escritorio, el licenciado Abascal contesta, rotundamente:

—Para mí, no existe como influencia sobre el curso de la lucha por la independencia más que la de la Revolución Francesa, la que fué altamente perjudicial para nuestra patria en el siglo XVIII...

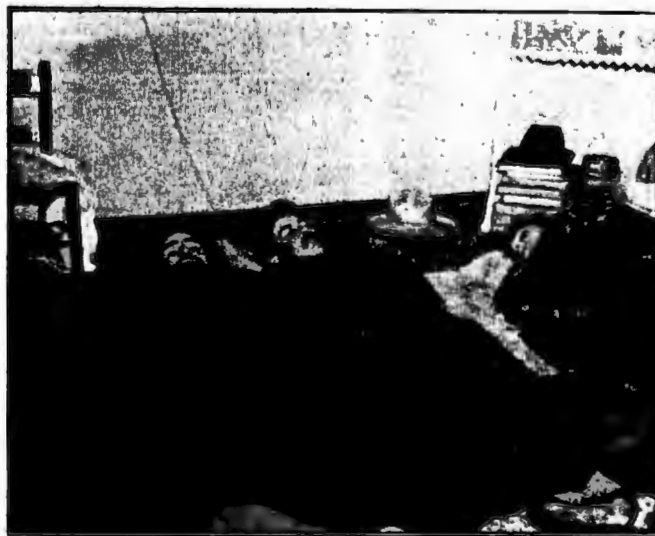
—¿Y cómo interpreta usted el hecho de que haya sido precisamente un sacerdote católico, Hidalgo, quien al hacerse eco de los ideales de la Revolu-



En el local de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista se encuentran en constante reunión, los propagandistas de ese Partido. Aparecen en esta gráfica, de izquierda a derecha, los señores Felipe Navarro, Horacio Chenchalla, Salvador Trueba, Leopoldo Padilla, Salvador Zermeno y Feliciano Manrique.



A veces el camión que lleva al licenciado Abascal hasta el templo de San Felipe de Jesús está vacío; resulta entonces un verdadero placer leer cómodamente, con completo recogimiento el Evangelio del Día, que es la literatura predilecta del líder de los sinarquistas.



Al llegar a su casa a las 10 pm. el licenciado Abascal se encuentra sistemáticamente rodeado como ésta: compañeros sinarquistas que han venido a informarle y a recibir instrucciones, reciben también alojamiento.

ción Francesa haya iniciado el movimiento de independencia?

—Determinados elementos del clero no son de la Iglesia Católica. Esta no es responsable por lo que hacen todos y cada uno de sus miembros, y a pesar de sus errores, Hidalgo tiene, de todas maneras, el papel de iniciador de la independencia; carecía de facultades para el mando, no era el caudillo, y por esto no pudo impedir que sus hombres fueran chusmas, a las que no supo reprimir. Morelos, en cambio, fué un gran caudillo militar, pero un mal político, cosa que demostró al colocar el mando que tenía en sus manos, en las del Congreso de Chilpancingo.

* * *

Antes de pasar a enjuiciar, con la misma seguridad en sus apreciaciones, a los hombres de la Historia Nacional, el licenciado Abascal se extiende sobre el tema que acabamos de proponerle: el papel del embajador norteamericano Poinsett en México:

—La pregunta es de las difíciles —añota y piensa un momento—; el primer embajador de la Casa Blanca (no sé si se llamaba así entonces) envenenó las relaciones entre México y los EE. UU. con perjuicio inmediato para ambos países. Nos puso como gallitos de tepalcate, dividiéndonos en dos bandos, haciendo el mismo cabeza de uno de éstos. Pero no les guardamos rencor por esto, pues ellos también sufrieron, ya que la Guerra de Secesión no fué para ellos más que el castigo supremo; a nosotros nos vino la anarquía, el separatismo de las provincias, Texas... Respecto de esto último, lo damos por definitivamente perdido; hemos de olvidar y perdonar la ofensa, y sacar del mal las lecciones para el futuro, en el que debe reinar una verdadera amistad, limpia y fuerte... Y en seguida pasamos revisión a las figuras de la Historia Patria.

Santa-Anna, el fatuo más grande de la historia de América; Agustín de Iturbide, el padre de la patria y consumador de la independencia; Benito Juárez, el “benemérito”, uno de los mayores traidores de la Historia al ser responsable del tratado McLane-Ocampo, y de la destrucción de los bienes de la Iglesia (“es un culpable! De vivir entonces, es muy probable, que yo lo hubiese combatido con las armas en la mano”); la Reforma fué la consecuencia fatal de las luchas anteriores, no es más que un episodio de la revolución que empezó desde el siglo XVIII, rompiendo la unidad nacional y causando un gran desnivel económico; sus dirigentes fueron individuos ambiciosos, carentes de ideales nobles y con una característica: su sed de poder, de dinero, de honores...

Y siguiendo el curso cronológico de los hechos llegamos a la iniciación del movimiento maderista, que dió vida a la Revolución Mexicana.

Al referirse a esta etapa de la Historia que se prolonga hasta estos días, es cuando el licenciado Abascal pone la mayor cantidad de violencia en sus palabras y de odio en su expresión; cuando dice “revolucionario” quiere insultar; cuando dice “revolución” quiere decir antítesis de lo bueno, de lo noble, de lo sano.

—Porfirio Díaz —dice— fué un revolucionario vestido de etiqueta, pues la revolución para el sinarquismo no es sólo la lucha armada sino el trastorno social. Porfirio Díaz fomentó la injusticia en el campo y en la ciudad, no permitió que el pueblo eligiera a sus gobiernos...

—Pero, licenciado, —interrumpimos— no es acaso un hecho histórico que la Iglesia Católica apoyó a Por-

firio Díaz y después a Victoriano Huerta?...

—No, porque la Iglesia no puede ligar su vida a ningún poder constituido...

—¿Pero es que no se puede apoyar un poder constituido sin ligar a éste su existencia?

—No.

—Recientemente, a raíz de la toma de posesión del actual Presidente de la República, si no nos equivocamos, S. E. el arzobispo de México hizo declaraciones públicas saludando efusivamente hechos o palabras del señor general Manuel Ávila Camacho. ¿No es esto apoyo de la Iglesia...?

—...Yo creo en la sinceridad del señor Presidente; creo que si es creyente; pero para ser católico hace falta practicar la religión católica, a lo que los revolucionarios llaman fanatismo.

Resultaría engorroso insistir, y volvemos a los hombres de la Revolución Mexicana.

“Emiliano Zapata—declara el primer jefe de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista—fué el gran sacerdote de Huitzilopochtli, representante de la barbarie antigua, fratricida y sanguinaria. Venustiano Carranza y el general Alvaro Obregón también fueron representantes de Huitzilopochtli. Calles también representó la negación de la obra misionera; resultó un azote de Dios muy necesario.”

Preguntamos entonces al señor Abascal si había participado en las luchas cristeras, a lo que dice que no “porque no tenía la edad”. “Sólo conozco accidentalmente—declara—al licenciado René Capistrán Garza.”

—¿Abelardo Rodríguez?

—Está trabajando y si bien es cierto, ha muchas familias.

—¿No podrá darse el caso de algún antagonismo de intereses entre él y los sinarquistas por la colonización de Baja California?

El licenciado Abascal contesta con un ademán afirmativo, agregando luego:

—Pero ya ve usted, no queremos atacarlo.

Lázaro Cárdenas, a quien el sinarquismo llama el “Presidente comunista”, proporcionó, o al menos su régimen, dos experiencias trascendentales en la vida de Salvador Abascal, a las que él cataloga, una como el hecho más doloroso de su vida, y la otra, como el momento en que vio más cerca la muerte. Lo primero fué el cierre de las escuelas privadas en Michoacán “y el encarcelamiento de los sacerdotes”; a partir de este momento Abascal juró “dedicar la vida a impedir la repetición de estos hechos”, por lo que él le está “infinitamente agradecido” al general Cárdenas; lo segundo sucedió en Villahermosa, Tabasco, cuando en 1937, al frente de 5,000 bombas desarmadas, se enfrentó a fusiles que eran apuntados a su pecho, con cartucho cortado. “Pasamos, a pesar de la amenaza, y desde entonces me di cuenta de la gran fuerza que da no estar armado. Supimos, entonces, que el arma mejor de los sinarquistas era no tener ninguna.”

Como un paréntesis abierto a propósito de la lucha por la libertad religiosa, le preguntamos al señor Abascal cuál es, en su opinión, el papel desempeñado por la Iglesia Católica en México; obtenemos la siguiente respuesta:

—Le contestaré con la frase pronunciada hace tiempo en Morelia por el embajador del Perú, señor Rafael



Salvador Abascal, jefe sinarquista, en el momento de conculgar antes de salir a dedicarse durante el resto del día a los tareas propias de su organización.

Belaunde: “Si se suprimiera la obra de la Iglesia Católica en México, no quedarían más que las bellezas naturales”.

Y ahora los hombres de la presente Administración.

Del Presidente de la República Abascal opina, textualmente:

“El señor Presidente de la República ha dado dos o tres pasos de rectificación. Es natural que siga diciendo que admira la obra de Cárdenas y que es su continuador; pero él y todo el mundo sabemos que ningún Gobierno puede continuar la obra nefasta de Cárdenas. El pueblo empieza a creer en el general Manuel Ávila Camacho, después de la expulsión de los comunistas de la Secretaría de Educación y por haber retirado el apoyo del régimen a Vicente Lombardo Toledano; pero no tiene aún en él confianza entera. Necesita lograrla para que se llegue a la unidad nacional”.

—Y de su trato personal con el señor Presidente, ¿qué impresiones recogió usted?

—Es un hombre sincero; es el primer gobernante, desde el año de 1767 en que se produjo el divorcio entre el pueblo y el Gobierno, que no hace dis-

tingos entre los mexicanos, a pesar de que no comparten sus ideas.

Sobre las más discutidas personalidades de la vida nacional, el licenciado Abascal declara:

General Maximino Ávila Camacho: “es una amenaza para los líderes; su nombramiento fué un hecho acertado del señor Presidente; le deseo que haga en la Secretaría de Comunicaciones una limpia de líderes y no conceda contratos gravosos para la nación, y con esto se habrá immortalizado.”

Vicente Lombardo Toledano: “es un mentiroso que sabe que miente. Tiene una vanidad infinita y sed de poder y de honores; su finca, su casa, con ser lo que son, todavía no le presentan nada para él, estoy seguro de que ha perdido confianza en la inmortalidad del alma (y esta inmortalidad puede demostrarse científicamente)”.

A este respecto preguntamos:

—¿Usted cree que el licenciado Lombardo Toledano le “tiró” a la Presidencia de la República?

—Peor que esto; no le tira a la Presidencia de la República, sino que quiere quedar en la historia como el genio revolucionario marxista de América.

—¿Pero no le parece mejor para us-

tedes que el licenciado Lombardo Toledano se preocupe más por la gloria histórica que por el mando del país?

—No, porque pretende conquistar ese título a base de pregonar ideas falsas, venenosas, en algunas de las cuales ha llegado a creer él mismo a fuerza de repetirlas.

Licenciado Octavio Vélaz Vázquez:

“Por sus palabras y sus hechos promete ser el continuador de don José Vasconcelos, y, por lo tanto, un ministro decente, que va a acabar con la podredumbre” (esto fué dicho antes de que, en efecto, el Secretario de Educación Pública hiciera declaraciones públicas en este sentido) “y con la inmoralidad y la tiranía de los líderes sindicales”.

Luis N. Morones: “el padre de los líderes, es decir, de los explotadores; es el digno maestro de Lombardo Toledano”.

Narciso Bassols: “un desequilibrado a fuerza de ambición”.

Aún nos falta por abordar con el jefe de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista dos temas fundamentales: sus opiniones en materia de política internacional, y su participación en el desarrollo del movimiento sinarquista y en su programa. Nos vemos obligados a acelerar el ritmo de la conversación. (Hemos ido a comer, entre tanto, y acabamos de regresar para dar fin a nuestro trabajo).

Al tratar estos problemas, que con justa razón el jefe de los sinarquistas considera como fundamentales y muy delicados, notamos en el mayor precaución para escoger las palabras adecuadas. Sentimos que sufre el temor constante de que lo que él diga pueda ser utilizado en contra del sinarquismo. Nos da la impresión de que, al abordar estos temas, algo así como un complejo de inferioridad fascista; queremos decir que se ha dicho tanto que el sinarquismo es un movimiento fascista, que su jefe vive en el constante temor de aportar, involuntariamente, nuevos materiales que corroboren esa interpretación del sinarquismo. Este mismo sentimiento se reproduce tanto cuando se refiere a la organización de la Unión, a las personas que en ésta participaron, como cuando interpreta la situación internacional, donde su temor toma la forma concreta de un inesperado antifascismo, que sufre, sin embargo, en el curso de la conversación, algunas interesantes contradicciones.

Veamos:

Sobre el Presidente Roosevelt dice, por ejemplo, que “no hay derecho a juzgarlo todavía, sobre todo, no siendo uno ciudadano norteamericano; la Historia lo juzgará”. Al comentar la personalidad de Francisco Franco dice: “Un genio militar y un patriota. Durante la guerra oré por el triunfo de sus armas”, y luego, como temiendo haberse comprometido, agrega: “le deseo se libre totalmente del contagio fascista”. Churchill, según Abascal, “tiene derecho a defender a Inglaterra contra Alemania”. Hitler es “el fenómeno de la guerra, algo que era indispensable, es el gran azote de Dios, es un genio militar y un gran organizador. Cuando haya cumplido su misión (la destrucción de Rusia) le pasará lo que a todos los instrumentos de Dios: se romperá en dos pedazos”.

A una pregunta sobre el movimiento “apaciguador” de los EE. UU. A. el Comité “America First”, catalogado por los sectores rooseveltistas como compuesto por personas que hacen el juego del nazismo, Abascal contesta que no sabe casi nada sobre ellos, pero que “su sola existencia demues-

tra que Roosevelt es antitotalitario". Este desconocimiento del juego de las fuerzas políticas norteamericanas es puesto en duda, sin embargo, momentos después, cuando uno de los ayudantes del licenciado Salvador Abascal interrumpe la entrevista para traer al jefe, con gusto visible, un ejemplar del periódico norteamericano "Social Justice", cuyo director es el famoso padre Coughlin, conocido como antisemita y partidario de una alianza con Hitler. En la contraportada de esa publicación (en uno de cuyos artículos leemos una nota en la que se dice textualmente que "millones de seguidores de Cristo están siendo asesinados en Rusia, en España, en México y otros lugares") aparece, a plena entera, un artículo de publicidad al sinarquismo y a sus dieciséis puntos programáticos, cuyo texto fué adquirido por "Social Justice" a través de una cadena católica de noticias administrada por el Concilio Nacional Católico de los Estados Unidos.

Pero esto no merece ya mayores comentarios.

Para calificar a José Stalin, Presidente de las Repúblicas Soviéticas, y para pronosticar los resultados de la actual guerra germanorussa, el líder sinarquista no vacila un solo momento. Dice:

—Stalin es el zar rojo de todas las Rusias; lo vamos a ver como oso de feria, objeto de todas las miradas en los EE. UU. A., cuando Rusia haya perdido la guerra; es un tirano, un farsante, un cobarde, (etc.); fué una torpeza de las democracias aliarse con él, ya que el odio del mundo contra Rusia es muy justificado. Su caída es inevitable. Lo que debieron de hacer las democracias era esforzarse por haber cambiado el régimen ruso. La

marcha de la guerra misma demuestra que se han equivocado.

—Entonces, ¿qué opina usted de la propaganda hecha, por diversos medios, por el Comité Parlamentario Antifascista para lograr la reanudación de relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales con la Unión Soviética?

—Es totalmente extemporánea, ya que le queda muy poco tiempo de vida al actual régimen ruso. Solamente los intereses comerciales de México hubiesen podido justificar esa medida. Pero actualmente sería, además, impolítico, porque el pueblo lo interpretaría como una absolución al régimen de Stalin y sería darle fuerza a los comunistas.

—¿Y cuál es su opinión sobre la reciente reanudación de relaciones diplomáticas de México con Inglaterra?

—Para mí, fué mala; pero es difícil juzgar un paso como ese desde la

calle o desde un escritorio. Pudieron mediar circunstancias especiales que no sabemos.

Después de anotada esta reflexión que demuestra que el jefe de los sinarquistas es un político realista, pasamos a la etapa final de nuestra entrevista: el desarrollo del movimiento sinarquista, su programa, y la carrera de Abascal como su jefe.

Antes de que surgiera la idea sinarquista, el licenciado Abascal había alimentado "una honda repugnancia por la política, porque no conocía más que la política sucia".

Entre los meses de noviembre y diciembre de 1936—"interpretando el descontento popular contra la Revolución que ha vivido en México por más de siglo y medio y particularmente contra su fase actual"—varios jóvenes se reunieron en Querétaro, en

León y otras poblaciones. Se vieron varias veces, cambiaron cartas, y así surgió la idea de hacer cuajar sus ideas en una materialización organizada. Eran José Antonio Urquiza, José Trueba Olivares, Manuel Cernieño y Salvador Abascal. Se organizaron varias asambleas en las ciudades del Bajío, particularmente con obreros zapateros y campesinos.

El 23 de mayo de 1937, en una asamblea con obreros zapateros realizada en León, quedó fundada la Unión Nacional Sinarquista. Como a esta junta, por motivos imprevistos, no pudo asistir Abascal, fué designado como primer jefe el señor José Antonio Urquiza. Abascal salió a los EE. UU. A., a visitar los grupos de mexicanos, fundando algunos comités que funcionan hasta la fecha en Los Angeles, San Diego y otras poblaciones del sur. Ciudad Juárez fué la primera ciudad mexicana donde se escuchó, públicamente, la voz del que iba a ser el jefe del sinarquismo, mientras tanto, en el Bajío la organización se desenvolvía y como, por razones familiares, renunció a la primera Jefatura el señor José Antonio Urquiza y después también su sucesor el señor Manuel Cernieño, desde el 6 de agosto del año pasado Salvador Abascal fué designado para la elevada posición que ha venido ocupando desde entonces.

Por temor a sufrir "influencias extrañas", los fundadores del sinarquismo no quisieron consultar estatutos de organizaciones similares del extranjero; "todo fué de nuestra propia inventiva", declara Abascal, y también "por temor a que se diga que estamos manejados por ellos, no se admite a los sacerdotes en la Unión Nacional Sinarquista", tampoco a los masones ni

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ESTIMULA - PUEBLO

PRELADOS EN TLACOTALPAN



Para bendecir las obras del templo parroquial de Tlacotalpan, Veracruz, estuvieron recientemente en aquella ciudad los excelentes señores arzobispo de México, monseñor Martínez, y el obispo de Veracruz, don Manuel Pío López, quienes aparecen aquí entre la multitud recorriendo las calles de esa ciudad.



Don Luis María Martínez, arzobispo de México, y don Manuel Pío López, obispo de Veracruz, con otros prelados que los acompañaron en su viaje a Tlacotalpan, posan antes de abandonar esa ciudad después de haber bendecido las obras del templo parroquial.



Los ilustrísimos señores monseñor Martínez y Pío López, en el momento de desembarcar en Tlacotalpan, recibiendo la bienvenida del señor Cecilio Lara M., prominente católico de esa ciudad.

a los comunistas, ni a los revolucionarios en general.

La cifra dada por el señor Abascal por lo que hace al número de adherentes es la de medio millón, aproximadamente, residentes particularmente en los Estados de Guanajuato, Querétaro, Michoacán, Aguascalientes y Jalisco. Están organizados en la siguiente forma: el comité nacional, comités regionales, de distrito, de sector y comités locales —particularmente agrarios—, grupos de fábrica y otros. Cada año se reúnen todos los dirigentes; el sostenimiento económico de la organización se logra a través del pago de cuotas, de las que determinado porcentaje queda a los distintos organismos inferiores, hasta llegar al organismo superior, cuyos miembros son sostenidos económicamente por la organización y cuyos gastos de oficinas —aproximadamente \$1,000.00 mensuales— son cubiertos en forma idéntica. Los sinarquistas tienen cursos regionales y ocasionalmente conferencias de dirigentes nacionales, durante los que se procura formar nuevos dirigentes y educar a los ya existentes dentro de las normas del sinarquismo; en varios lugares tienen escuelas regularmente establecidas, pero de carácter privado, naturalmente, y como es de suponerse, no incorporadas a la Secretaría de Educación Pública.

El tiraje de su periódico, "El Sinarquista", y su venta total permiten su completo sostenimiento y dejan todavía algunas utilidades. Al confesar la suma del tiraje, el propio señor Abascal teme provocar la ira de sus enemigos ante circulación tan considerable.

—¿Cree usted que nos convenga decirlo?—nos pregunta.

—¿Por qué no? ¿Cuánto?

—\$5,000 ejemplares semanarios.

—¿Y qué sistema de régimen interior se practica en la Unión? ¿Son electos los jefes, hay castigos disciplinarios?

—Los jefes no son electos, tampoco designados, sino seleccionados después de un acuerdo de unidad; en cuanto a la disciplina sólo practicamos la expulsión y la degradación, las que, por cierto, sólo hemos tenido oportunidad de emplear en dos ocasiones.

—Antes de terminar necesitamos hablar del programa de la Unión Nacional Sinarquista, de sus puntos de vista ante los más importantes problemas nacionales...

Por lo visto, en orden de importancia, el licenciado Abascal enumera los puntos de su contestación.

Ante el problema agrario, opina que el ejido no es la forma definitiva de la organización del campo; en primer lugar, según él, para lograr el desarrollo de la agricultura hay que lograr la confianza de las instituciones y de las personas que puedan aportar créditos, y para esto, lo primero que hay que hacer es suprimir las "defensas rurales", que son "grupos salvajes de abigeos e irresponsables", y lo segundo, convertir la propiedad ejidal en propiedad individual. Con la ayuda de los técnicos que deben de ser producidos por la Universidad, en vez de elementos muchas veces inútiles, se logrará el aumento de la producción agrícola, y con ello, un mayor bienestar general.

En el campo industrial, el jefe sinarquista opina que los sindicatos deben seguir existiendo, como instrumentos de coordinación y control obrero-patronal, y que las huelgas deben ser impedidas por representar la guerra civil entre los dos elementos fundamentales de una misma in-

dustria. El licenciado Salvador Abascal es ferviente partidario del arbitraje obligatorio, y el primer paso que aconseja es que "se enferme" definitivamente el licenciado Ignacio García Téllez. A una pregunta sobre las formas de entendimiento obrero-patronal, el licenciado Abascal contesta con la afirmación de que debe existir una mayor participación del Estado.

"México debe producir lo que come y lo que visten sus habitantes—declara Abascal—y no depender tanto de su comercio exterior, como en el caso de la venta de plata a los EE. UU. A., que al representar en realidad un subsidio es una soga amarrada al cuello de México."

Agrega:

"Nuestro país se está transformando en una gran Tijuana. Necesitamos turismo; pero, antes que nada, industrias productivas de objetos para el consumo del pueblo."

Antes de que Abascal nos hable de sus planes para la colonización de la Baja California, que hará brevemente, define con las siguientes palabras el papel de la mujer en una sociedad de tipo sinarquista:

"Debe de estar dedicada a la formación y al robustecimiento del hogar. Queremos mujeres de hogar. La mejor riqueza del país son sus hombres. Sin hogares, no puede existir esta riqueza, y no puede haber hogar cuando la mujer trabaja fuera de la casa."

—¿Tendría derecho a votar la mujer en una sociedad de tipo sinarquista?

—Nosotros no creemos en el voto universal; no creemos en el régimen parlamentario democrático; quizá solamente sea bueno en algún país de cuyas tradiciones arrancamos. El nuestro sería un régimen republicano, sin voto universal, sino en el que los ciudadanos honestos designaran limpiamente sus autoridades.

—¿Pero ustedes participan actualmente en las elecciones municipales, por ejemplo?

—No, ni tenemos candidatos, ni apoyamos a otros. No lo haremos, mientras subsista el actual régimen de cosas.

—¿Y en Baja California ustedes van a implantar este sistema?

—Por lo pronto, van a irse solamente 100 familias. Lo invito a que las acompañe para que se dé cuenta de cómo está surgiendo en la Unión Sinarquista un nuevo tipo de ciudadano. Lo primero que vamos a hacer será instalar una fábrica de hilados con un personal compuesto por 73 trabajadores a los que se aplicó la cláusula de exclusión por ser sinarquistas. Ya contamos con el apoyo de algunas personas de los EE. UU. A. Algunos de nuestros amigos nos han escrito para decirnos que están deseosos de irse con nosotros, con su maquinaria agrícola, sus animales, etc. Tenemos, además, el ofrecimiento de 500,000 metros de tierra para el cultivo de la vid.

Preguntamos entonces al jefe sinarquista su opinión sobre la actitud probable que llegue a tener el general Francisco J. Múgica, gobernador de la Baja California, en relación con su colonización. Recibimos la siguiente respuesta:

—Yo he sabido que él está bien impresionado. En dos ocasiones se ha expresado bien de nosotros.

—Por lo visto, está usted muy optimista.

—Sí, tengo una fe absoluta en nuestro triunfo, y este no podrá hacerse esperar más allá de veinte años...

REFUTANDO A ESPINOSA MIRELES IZQUIERDISMO Y REACCION

Por el Lic. ALFONSO ECHEVERRIA

EN el número 246 de esta misma publicación, correspondiente al día 8 del mes en curso, aparece un artículo titulado "Neurosis Política" del que es autor un joven abogado mexicano, político por vocación: Gustavo Espinosa Mireles. El prestigio de la revista que acogió el citado artículo le dió inmediata importancia, dado que teniendo en cuenta su contenido ideológico, debió haber sido publicado en alguno de los dos diarios públicamente subvencionados que existen en México, que son el natural destino de ese millón de improperios que lanzan a diario nuestros hombres llamados "de izquierda", y que yo, llevado del reaccionarismo que me honra llamo "comerciantes en ideología"; improperios lanzados siempre en tono ronco, con voz de amenaza y en postura de combate, en contra, siempre también, de un fantasma: la "reacción". Últimamente, a la sombra protectora de la política panamericana que ha derramado sus dólares generosamente, estos buscadores de espectros le han acomodado a la reacción dos nuevos fantasmas vocablos que le hacen compañía: nazifascismo y quintacolumnismo.

Y a tratar de acabar, de una vez para siempre, con estas monsergas de los izquierdistas, se encaminan estas líneas. Esta refutación a un repentino izquierdista que desciende de burgueses de los "de lanza en ristre, adarga en capillera y galgo corredor"; es, principalmente, dirigida a todos los del partido especializado en atacar fantasmas a golpes de jabla llámense omnipotente Lombar-do Toledano, o servilmente Fidel Velázquez, o ridículamente Bassols, o canallescamente Félix Díaz Escobar. Veamos esa "Neurosis Política".

El artículo, a sobre de una, presenta dos tesis: a).—Que "la reacción" y el "quintacolumnismo nazifascista" encabezados por asociaciones tales como Falange Española, Acción Nacional y la Unión Sinarquista, provocarán, de no ser aplastados, el dominio absoluto de los Estados Unidos sobre la América Española y, b).—Que siendo las agrupaciones de izquierda el más fuerte sostén del Gobierno de Avila Camacho, toda intención de rectificar el programa del general Cárdenas, toda tendencia a la derecha, es labor antipatriótica y es traición al Gobierno.

Creo firmemente que no me costará mucho trabajo demostrarle al señor Espinosa Mireles, y a los de su esforzado partido, que se ha equivocado de medio a medio; que pretendiendo halagar a los Estados Unidos, no ha hecho sino atacarlos tonta e inoportunamente y que, finalmente, si es que en verdad las organizaciones de izquierda desean la prosperidad del país, lo que tienen que hacer es retirarse, dejar de cometer barbaridades y con su retiro ver si es posible que el pueblo mexicano olvide las muchas que cometieron ya. Voy a proceder, para la rectificación, de acuerdo con mi derecho; es decir, voy a ordenar las cosas.

Veamos los primeros yerros, que son garrales: Llama quintacolumnistas a los falangistas. Esta es una consideración sencillamente fuera de lógica, porque los falangistas no son mexicanos, sino españoles.

Y llama nazifascistas, quintacolumnistas, traidores, complotistas, peligrosos agitadores a los señores de Acción Nacional. ¡Pero, mi señor Espinosa! La asociación que preside el señor licenciado Gómez Morín, para quien van por medio de estas líneas mi admiración por su talento y su cultura, atributos éstos que desde luego lo incapacitan para dedi-

carse a la original política mexicana, que requiere de sus iniciados la condición expresa de la majadería, y ya Unamuno ha dicho que: "ningún majadero es bueno"; Acción Nacional es una asociación de intelectuales, es decir, de gentes carentes de acción política, que periódicamente se reúnen para decirle dos o tres insultos clásicos a la administración pasada y obsequiar después con un banquete que es círculo de elegancias a los oradores en turno. Esa es la verdad sobre Acción Nacional. Son gente decente, culta, que a falta de obrar, habla.

Y "las palabras son aire y van al aire". ¿Y el sinarquismo? El sinarquismo, señor Espinosa Mireles, es el producto de la labor latidica de los izquierdistas! Los campesinos de México que fueron a partirse el pecho a los montes cuando la revolución; que dieron hasta la última gota de su sangre y hasta la más pequeña probabilidad de seguridad de sus familias por seguir a los revolucionarios; esos miserables campesinos nuestros, cuando se hizo la paz, ¡encontraron dispersa o muerta su familia, improductiva la tierra, hipócrita la promesa de reivindicación! ¡Y desde Ursulo Galván, a quien reverencian por haber iniciado el liderazgo, hasta el exprofesor rural, cedillista incondicional Graciano Sánchez, que se encarga en la actualidad del "ganado electoral" comprando, nuestros ancestrales tatemones sólo han conocido la explotación inlcua, despiadada y bestial, agravada tanto más cuanto que quienes la llevan a cabo son quienes los enrolaron en las filas de un movimiento que hicieron aparecer como libertador!

El sinarquismo es eso: reacción. Reacción ante la explotación, ante el crimen material y espiritual, pues le quitan al campesino sus ganancias exiguas y le arrebatan la fe en Dios, que alcanza, por lo menos, a consolarlos de su triste situación. El sinarquismo es eso: reacción. Es eso: esperanza. Porque un pueblo que es capaz de reaccionar es un pueblo que puede alcanzar la felicidad. ¡Reacción es sinónimo de virilidad! ¡Y es esa reacción la esperanza de los mexicanos! ¡Reacción ante el líder que roba, ante el cacique que estupra, y asesina hombres indefensos, ante el agitado que

niega la existencia de Dios! Reacción de un pueblo, señor Espinosa Mireles, que acabará con los izquierdistas a golpes de lanza y a botes de machete si los izquierdistas no emprenden prontamente la retirada.

Eso es el sinarquismo. Reacción. Y témalas, usted que pasa por revolucionario y témalas Graciano Sánchez, que ha explotado el indio y témalas Lombardo Toledano, que ha desquiciado la incipiente industria nacional. ¡Témalas todos los izquierdistas, porque el pueblo de México, a través de su síntesis, de su mayor y mejor parte, la más abnegada y productiva, está despertando! ¡Y a la luz de la reacción se verán los crímenes impunes, los robos sin castigo, las propagandas malditas!

¡Y no me diga usted, por Dios, que los sinarquistas son nazis emboscados! No. Los sinarquistas son rancheros mexicanos dispuestos a sacrificarse por el país, como lo demostraron con su resolución de colonizar la Baja California. Los sinarquistas no son nazis, no saben ni siquiera qué es el nazismo, como de seguro tampoco lo sabe usted. Y si usted, que ha estudiado en las aulas para predicar una teoría de ignorancia puede muy bien ignorarlo, ¡qué puede saber un pueblo ignorante, esclavizado siempre al que, cuando se le dió educación, fué para inyectarle el veneno del marxismo, la apostosa teoría que trajo al país ese predicador de crímenes que se llama Lombardo Toledano!

Dice usted que la labor de esta gente puede traer el dominio de los Estados Unidos sobre México, y aquí vuelve a caer en error. Las condiciones del Continente en la actualidad son, al producto del nazismo avasallador, y del imperialismo japonés, pero resulta ridículo de toda ridicez mezclar a los agentes de la Gestapo con nuestros ingenuos rancheros, a los terribles espías japoneses con los dulces creyentes en Dios de nuestras serranías. Y ¡híjese usted, además, que si México tiene un grave problema con los Estados Unidos, éste dimana de la expropiación petrolera, llamada "la máxima aspiración de la Revolución". ¡Y no fueron los sinarquistas, ni los de Acción Nacional, ni mucho menos los falangistas, quienes expro-

piaron el petróleo, sino ese dios revolucionario de Iiquilpan por quien usted suspiró!

Y ahora veamos la segunda tesis:

El viaje que recientemente hizo el general Avila Camacho a Iiquilpan, para visitar a Cárdenas, que se hallaba enfermo, ha dado alas a los izquierdistas, como si la correcta interpretación de una amistad personal permitiera creer que ello significa la involucración de los destiños de la Patria, superiores no digamos a amistades, sino a sacrificios.

El general Avila Camacho puede ser muy amigo del general Cárdenas, y eso apenas si es tema de corrillos de politicastros o de lambiscanes, pero en nada importa a la opinión del país. ¡Avila Camacho tiene la obligación, fíjese usted bien, la definitiva obligación de procurar el beneficio del país, y si es preciso barrar ya no con la amistad, sino con cualquiera otra consideración, se barrará! Se barrará, porque los destiños del país están en sus manos, y sus manos no deben tener hilos que las manejen, sino son los hilos nerviosos que vienen de su cerebro, que es, finalmente, la parte que debe estar a la completa, a la definitiva atención en el mejoramiento de la Patria. Y si usted cree falsamente que una visita de amigos no es una rectificación de políticas, diametralmente opuestas, yo le voy a recordar dos o tres cosas:

La mayor cantidad de comunistas estaba en Educación Pública, y o su frente el más científico de todos, aunque no el más inteligente: Sánchez Pontón. Bien: Avila Camacho hizo que se enfermara Sánchez Pontón, con una enfermedad de distinta naturaleza de la del general Cárdenas, y puso en su lugar, con el aplauso de toda la nación, excepción hecha de los matafantomas, a un hombre moderado, capaz, Véjar Vázquez.

En Comunicaciones, un sindicato comunista tenía esa dependencia en un estado de desorden típicamente ruso. ¡Pero ahí fué Maximino Avila Camacho, entre aclamaciones del pueblo!

La C.T.M., la proxeneta de cuanta acción malévola ha sido realizada a últimos fechas en México, ha perdido su poder. El Ejército ha vuelto a ser una institución digna. El Departamento del Trabajo está pendiente de enfermedad, créame usted. El tiempo ha de darme prontamente la razón. Los campesinos, al recibir, poco a poco, ordenadamente, la titulación definitiva de sus parcelas, están escapando a los tentáculos, o los bigotes, de don Graciano, y en esas dos infelices regiones en la actualidad, antes prósperas, del país, La Laguna y Yucatán, puede usted creer también, que pronto aparecerá la escoba higiénica del Presidente de la República.

¿Esto es, o no, rectificación? ¿Es o no, ataque a las doctrinas y a las acciones izquierdistas? Y si estamos otra vez con su tesis, de que atacar al izquierdismo o inclinarse a la derecha es labor antipatriótica y traición al Gobierno, resulta que usted dijo, por supuesto sin darse cuenta de ello, nada menos ¡que el señor Presidente de la República está haciendo una labor antipatriótica y traicionando al Gobierno!

Pero no le dé usted importancia a estas cosas, señor Mireles. La ideología izquierdista está, como las vestides iamonas, pasada de moda, y ya nada tiene qué hacer, ni qué decir, y si algo hace o dice, ya no hay nadie que la tome en cuenta.

Pero acabar de una vez con usted y sus correligionarios (A la página 82)



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ORIGEN DEL SINARQUISMO

Por ALEJO LLAMAS SUAREZ

La idea del sinarquismo surgió hace 26 años, y su autor, el ingeniero topario don Tomás Rosales, fué nada menos que uno de los colaboradores de don Venustiano Carranza, en cuya administración ocupó puesto de importancia, especialmente en el ramo de Comunicaciones.



Ing. Tomás Rosales.

El ingeniero Rosales, hombre idealista y honorable a carta cabal, publicó en 1915 un folleto, bajo el título de "El Gobierno de mañana, República Social Sinarquista", uno de cuyos ejemplares, ya muy raros, vino a nuestros manos por una verdadera casualidad.

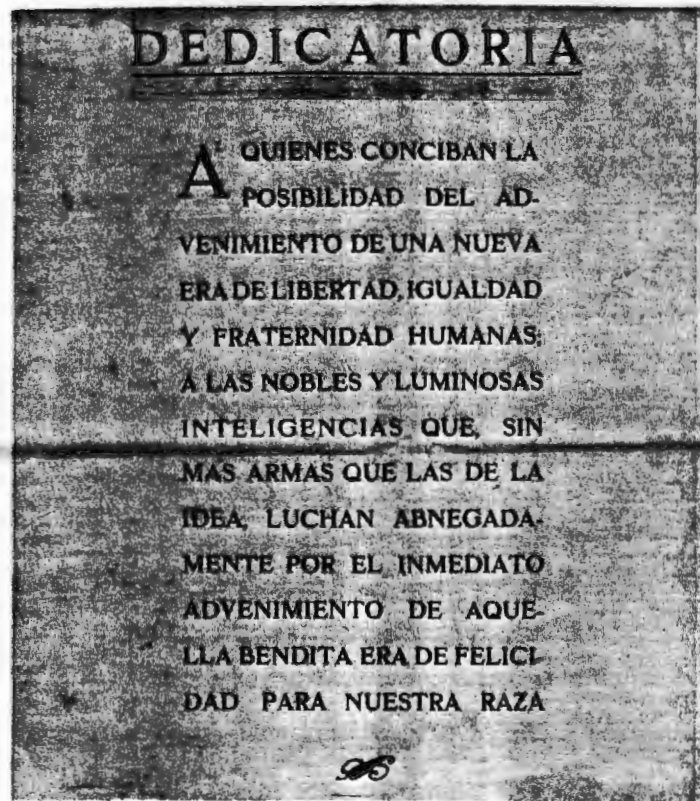
En plena época de agitación revolucionaria y cuando se demostraban las facciones villistas y carrancistas, el ingeniero Rosales, pugnando por la concordia y la unificación de los mexicanos, lanzaba la idea del sinarquismo, dedicando su folleto: "A quienes conciben la posibilidad del advenimiento de una nueva era de libertad, igualdad y fraternidad humanas, a las nobles y luminosas inteligencias que, sin más armas que las de la idea, luchan abnegadamente por el inmediato advenimiento de aquella bendita era de felicidad para nuestra raza."

Su llamado a la concordia y a la buena voluntad debe haberse perdido en el tumulto de las pasiones desencadenadas amenazadoramente en aquella época sangrienta y tormentosa y sus ideas deben haber sido tachadas de utópicas; y ahora—26 años después—, hemos desempolvado el viejo folleto que, con fines de propaganda, hiciera circular el autor de la idea del sinarquismo, tema llevado al tapete de la discusión y que ha dado origen a tantas exaltadas opiniones.

No se trata en el presente artículo de producir un juicio sobre el sinarquismo, sino simplemente de hacer una referencia que sirva para conocer el verdadero origen de esa tan debatida doctrina.

El ingeniero Rosales presentó sus primeras ideas sobre el sinarquismo en el seno de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, con el carácter de trabajo inédito de introducción y en acatamiento a la disposición reglamentaria respectiva, al ser recibido como socio el 25 de junio de 1914; y más tarde, el 3 de octubre, del mismo año, sometió a la Convención Militar Revolucionaria, reunida en esta ciudad y que después prosiguió sus labores en la de Aguascalientes, una iniciativa inspirada en las mismas ideas. Tal iniciativa se publicó en alguno de los periódicos de aquella época, entre ellos "El Radical", "Nueva Patria" y "El Liberal".

Posteriormente, el ingeniero Rosales dió pasos para la organización de la "Liga Sinarquista Amigos del Pueblo", cuya directiva estaba integrada por el propio ingeniero y los señores licenciado Leopoldo Vicencio, ingeniero Mario Calvino, José Romano Muñoz, José Antonio Garro y Román S. Álvarez, declarándose que el objeto de la Liga no era otro que el de "impulsar eficazmente el progreso nacional, por medio de la ilustración y moralización del pueblo, sobre la base de una armónica colabo-



Portada de la obra del ingeniero Tomás Rosales "República Social Sinarquista", (1915).

ración de todas las energías directrices y mantenedoras de la vida social".

"¡Sinarquia!"...
"¡Anarquía!"...

Tales son los términos del dilema—dice el ingeniero Rosales en su folleto—, o somos sinarquistas y nos declaramos colaboradores de nuestra buena madre la sabia Naturaleza en su obra de armonía y equilibrio sociales y damos a cada quien lo que le corresponde; o somos anarquistas y nos juramos enemigos de la solidaridad universal y transformamos la Sociedad en un monstruo y abominable desacierto.

Y después de abundar en consideraciones filosóficas y de hacer un detenido examen de la situación que prevalece en el país, pasa a formular el siguiente Proyecto de Reformas Políticas, Económicas y Sociales:

I. REFORMAS POLITICAS. 1a. Depositar la soberanía popular en un Parlamento integrado por tres grandes comisiones de diputados, como sigue:

a) Una primera gran comisión o "cámara orgánica", integrada por representantes de la clase social que se dedica a los labores meramente materiales, como el comercio, la industria, la agricultura, las artes manuales, etc., debiendo estos representantes ser electos por los ciudadanos pertenecientes, exclusivamente, a la misma clase social. Esta primera gran comisión conocerá de todo lo relativo al fomento, industria, colonización,

viás de comunicación, obras públicas y, en general, al desarrollo de las riquezas materiales del país.

b) Una segunda gran comisión o "cámara profesional", que estará integrada por los representantes de la clase social que se dedica con preferencia a los labores mentales, quienes serán electos por los ciudadanos de esta misma clase, tales como abogados, escritores, artistas, filósofos y, en general, los llamados profesionistas. Esta segunda gran comisión conocerá, de los asuntos relacionados con la política nacional, los problemas llamados del capital y el trabajo, las relaciones internacionales, los asuntos hacendarios y, en suma, aquello cuyo estudio y resolución reclaman conocimientos especiales sobre ciencias políticas, históricas y económicas.

c) Finalmente, una tercera gran comisión o "cámara magistral", que conocerá de lo relativo a las más altas funciones sociales, como las de justicia e instrucción pública, integrada por diputados electos por los miembros de los dos grandes comisiones anteriores, con titulación en colegio electoral.

2a. Para realizar las funciones que hasta hoy se han encomendado al llamado Poder Ejecutivo, se organizarán diferentes departamentos de Estado o Ministerios, a cuyo frente se pondrán ministros responsables ante el Parlamento y elegidos libremente por éste, los

cuales constituirán el "Gabinete Ejecutivo Nacional", cuyo presidente lo será también de la República Social Sinarquista, turnándose el cargo entre los miembros, cada año.

3a. Establecer el jurado en todas las jurisdicciones. Abolición del monopolio de la justicia, actualmente en manos de abogados. Los tribunales serán fácilmente accesibles al pueblo.

4a. Descentralizar la administración. al Estado los intereses generales y al Municipio, los municipales. Organización del Municipio Libre y elección de los Ayuntamientos en forma sinarquista, análoga a la adoptada para el Parlamento, según la cláusula primera de estas reformas.

5a. Igualdad civil y política de la mujer con el hombre. Representación de las minorías. Multa a los electores que no voten. Pena de prisión para los que exploten en las elecciones, las ideas religiosas, las supersticiones o la ignorancia del pueblo, o exijan, de cualquier manera, el cumplimiento de un voto religioso o de otra clase que oculte la libertad de los electores en favor de alguna u otra asociación o individuo.

6a. El pueblo armado substituye a los ejércitos permanentes. Obligación de todos los individuos de servir a la patria con las armas. Convertidos los talleres y escuelas nacionales, desde el punto de vista de la educación intelectual, moral y física, sin perjuicio del servicio militar y reducido el activo, según el grado de instrucción del interesado.

7a. Las concesiones gubernamentales lucrativas se harán siempre en pública subasta y por un tiempo no mayor de diez años, prefiiriéndose en igualdad de circunstancias a los mexicanos.

II. REFORMAS ECONOMICAS. 1a. Establecimiento del "impuesto único" sobre el uso de la tierra o más generalmente sobre el uso de las fuentes naturales de producción. La nación, por medio de los Ayuntamientos, distribuirá la tierra entre todos los que soliciten su uso, conforme a la Ley y mediante el justo tributo que fijará la misma Ley.

2a. Supresión absoluta de todos los impuestos que gravan el trabajo, la industria o el comercio. La propiedad social cubrirá los gastos sociales.

3a. Abolición de todos los monopolios en poder de los particulares, los que ingresarán en el patrimonio de los Ayuntamientos y serán administrados por éstos.

III. REFORMAS SOCIALES. 1a. Libertad perfecta de asociación entre todos los elementos individuales o gremiales del país, quienes siempre serán autónomos, dentro de las federaciones o confederaciones que organicen.

2a. Limitación de los horarios de trabajo. Legislación protectora de los niños, de las mujeres, de los ancianos imposibilitados. Indemnización por accidentes durante el trabajo. Inspección de talleres. Arbitraje en conflictos de huelga.

3a. Reconocimiento del derecho a la vida. Como consecuencia de ese reconocimiento, asistencia por parte del Estado, en favor de los que acrediten su incapacidad para el trabajo y su falta de recursos para subsistir.

4a. Establecimiento de sociedades de resistencia y de socorros mutuos; cooperativas de producción, de consumo y de crédito; cajas de ahorro seguras para los casos de fallecimiento, de enfermedad, de accidentes, de falta de trabajo o incapacidad prematura.

5a. Prohibición absoluta del juego ilícito y de la producción y venta de bebidas alcohólicas, a no ser las indispensables en caso de enfermedad y en virtud de prescripción facultativa.

6a. La enseñanza integral, práctica y laica. (A la página 82)

DATO PARA...

(De la página 66) bien remunerado, respetado y libre.

7a. La pena como reparación del daño y medio de corrección del culpable. Establecimiento de penitenciarías agrícolas e industriales, donde el delincuente se regere por medio del trabajo. Como consecuencia de ese concepto: abolición de la pena de muerte.

8a. Indemnización a las víctimas de errores judiciales.

9a. Leyes en favor de la raza indígena para su educación y progreso.

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Tal fue el origen del sinarquismo. Quien lo concibió fue un revolucionario y, a mayor abundamiento, colaborador del señor Carranza, hecho este último que consta a todos los que figuraron prominentemente en la administración del ex gobernador de Coahuila y primer jefe del Ejército Constitucionalista.

