

Introduction--Necessity for a National Morale Service

January 17, 1941

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- I. America is threatened by totalitarian aggression.
- II. National safety requires total defense.
- III. Total defense means the prompt, efficacious mobilization and coordination of every resource.
- IV. Of these resources, morale is the most indispensable. Citing Napoleon, the collapse of the French morale under the blitz, and Italian defeats and Greek successes, etc.
- V. A high morale releases and multiplies human energies. It creates a dynamic, purposive, effective unity.
- VI. A low morale is marked by apathy, etc., distrust of self, of leaders, of the group, and of its objectives.
- VII. Morale is not merely indispensable in a crisis, it is a condition of a vigorous national life.
- VIII. To establish a high morale is a vast, difficult, and urgent task.
 - A. Morale is responsive to an intricate variety of factors many of which are insufficiently understood.
 - B. Although experience, good political judgment and sound attitudes will often suggest excellent morale policies, superficial or erroneous theories which are often most plausible can be damaging and even self-defeating.
 - C. To neglect the problem might be to risk disaster.
 - D. Present war shows that hurrkily improvised morale services may be worse than useless.
 1. At the outbreak of war, England had no morale service. In some instances her amateurish tactics were definitely damaging to the home morale and favorable to that of the enemy.
 2. France neglected the problem completely.
 3. Germany began building a large and expert morale service during the first war which was never allowed to lapse, but expanded on a tremendous scale after the advent of the Nazis.
- IX. Hence there is an urgent need for the establishment of a national morale service that shall deal with the problem in a comprehensive, systematic and scientific way.
 - A. Organize and appraise all relevant information on every aspect of the morale problem.
 - B. Should plan and supervise research, seeking better definition of general principles, discover of new techniques of control.

- C. Be responsible for the formulation of policies, have right to comment on proposed legislation, policies and administrative functions affecting the national morale, or the morale of any branch of service.
- D. Should collect from all government agencies problems bearing on morale, or difficulties that can be facilitated by morale improvement; these to be correlated, investigated, the results interpreted and recommendations for procedure submitted.
- E. Exercise control over morale policies in all branches.
- F. Defend foreign language and culture groups from psychological and propaganda offensives directed against them by totalitarian agents.
- G. Have principal responsibility for devising major policies and technique directed against the morale of potential enemies.
- H. Encourage local agencies.
- I. Staff of a morale service should include specialists:
 - Psychologists, psychiatrists, social scientists, political scientists, public administration experts, anthropologists, educators, historians, military scientists, opinion and attitude testing specialists, radio, art, drama, law, public relations and presentation experts.
- J. Include in its governing board representatives of all major government departments; and should be responsible to the Chief Executive.
- K. Should utilize existing facilities, institutions and special agencies, concerned with the morale problem which are equipped to provide solutions of special problems either of research or administration.
- X. As the principal source of high and sound morale is to be found in the sense of valued and effective participation in a defense or promotion of some common ideal or goal that is involved in the tradition, character and ideals of any group, the true basis for American morale is to be found in the principle of democracy. Hence a morale program must be thoroughly democratic in character, seeking to preserve, extend and realize the full implications of the democratic ideal. A morale project must defend and promote all the essential freedoms and seek for a new and dynamic interpretation of American democracy that shall promise a concrete realization of its value to all citizens.

The Organization at Work

Problems:

Discontent Resulting from Draft Uncertainties.

From the Public : Uncertainty about when they are to be called is creating undesirable anxiety and planlessness among the young men who have numbers which fall due a few months hence.

A. Notice is sent into the Division of Incoming Problems. The Division first makes a preliminary test of statements of discontent. If it seemed reasonable to believe that it was true, it would be sent up to

B. The Director and the Coordinating Committee. The Committee would decide whether any special research needed to be done, or whether it was primarily a technical problem involving:

1. New planning by the Draft Board, etc.
2. Public Relations work.

If it was found to be primarily a problem which demanded no further research but immediate action, it would then be referred to the General Committee who would decide on the most appropriate measures.

To the Division of Domestic Moral and Public Relations would then go the problem of putting the suggestions of the General Committee into effect. These might be of the nature of:

1. Radio, press, moving pictures, on ways of handling a plan of life which involved a year of training and an engagement to be married.
2. Counteraction of such movements as naming a style of wedding dress the "draft dodger."
3. Encouragement of movements to facilitate flexibility of planning in families effected by the draft, e.g. clauses in leases which made it possible for drafted men to terminate a lease without loss.
4. Establishment of voluntary associations in local community of the men who were going to be called up at about the same time, to constitute groups of men with common problems and interests who could find solidarity in trying to solve these problems together.

(The outline then goes into a similar discussion of such sample problems as the following:)

II. Friction Between Camps and Adjacent Communities.

III. Minority Groups of Foreign Origin Within the Army.

IV. Public Attitudes Toward Government Methods of Raising Money.

V. Extravagant and Inappropriate Emotional Scenes on the Departure of the National Guard for Training.

M O R A L E I N G E R M A N Y
(Defensive and Offensive Technique)

- I. Changes in German Ideas and Theories
- II. German Theories of Morale
 - 1. Military Morale
 - 2. Conflict and Contradictions
 - 3. Morale in the Nazi Society
- III. Morale Operations
- IV. Morale Offensive Against the U. S.
- V. Avenues and Chances of Morale Offensives Against Germany

Committee for National Morale

February 18, 1941

I. Changes in German Ideas and Theories

The success of the German war-machine is explained by the simple fact that Nazi Germany is the only belligerent which made systematic preparations for this war on the basis of an unbiased critique of the last war.

Germany, for all practical purposes, is still fighting the last war after an expedient pause of twenty years during which all defaults were made up for, the mistakes studied and experience utilized.

A. Lessons of the last war.

1. Lack of economic preparations.
2. Lack of psychological preparations caused the collapse of the home front.

When Hitler's advent to power enabled Germany to begin her rearmament, the critique of the last war supplied the clues to all preparations for this war.

1. Inspired the establishment of the so-called Fast Troops, placing the accent on mechanized and motorized divisions.
2. Gave impulse to establishment of an Economic General Staff, assigned to task of industrial mobilization, accumulation of raw materials and food supplies, regulation of labor market, etc.
3. All these studies preceded and ultimately superseded by the comprehensive critique of psychological factors which were found to be of decisive importance in modern wars.

B. Emergence of Psychological Considerations

The obvious conclusion was that wars, long considered to be combinations of military, political and economic acts, are but sequences of psychological phenomena.

C. Psychological factors found to dominate modern warfare

It was found that frictions occurred and mistakes were made because of ignorance and underestimation of psychological factors on the part of military leaders.

Military events may be effects of certain psychological conditions, but the mental state of an army may also be the result of military events.

A knowledge of the laws (governing friction) should not only enable the leader to cope with frictional situations, but also to reduce them to a minimum.

1. The organization of masses made considerable progress during the last war.
2. War aims expanded beyond political interests and material demands to include an ever increasing degree of ideological claims as well.

D. Origins of Psychological Strategy

France, around 1900, introduced the study of discipline of mass psychology. The United States, too, made considerable contributions toward this new military-social science; also Britain. But the Germans gathered the scattered efforts and co-ordinated them and developed them into a comprehensive strategy of psychological warfare both defensively and offensively.

The Germans were a group who could not understand the suddenness and magnitude of the German defeat. They were: Col. Walter Nicolai, wartime chief of Intelligence of the Imperial High Command; Capt. Kurt Hesse; Maj. Herbert von Hentig; they were later joined by Ewald Banse, a scientific privateer, who provided these largely military theorists with the essential link to social sciences. The largely incoherent, and frequently contradictory theories were moulded by Banse into a dynamic program for eventual action. He brought to the new discipline an impudent approach and reckless planning.

1. In 1924, Col. Walter Campbell Sweeney, of the U. S. Army, said, "A new agency with a new method of attack has come into existence. It was born out of the modern industrial necessities of the armies and the need for having full support of the public in prosecuting the war. The new weapon--has brought us to the point where we must create a new agency and method of defense."

SUMMARY:

1. Progress of military technique, advanced organization of the masses, and the extension of war's spheres and aims to include ideological concepts, brought about total war.
2. An unbiased critique of the last war revealed that psychological factors predominate in cause and effects of total war.
3. A group of German military theorists perceived in a psychological amplification of military strategy the best means to assure a victory of the revamped German war machine.
4. Controversies over the new strategy led to repeated clashes between conservative and radical elements within the German army but the conflict ended with the triumph of the radical element which allied themselves with Hitler's Nazi Party.
5. With man as its natural centre, a comprehensive strategy of psychological warfare was worked out for future practical application.
6. The new strategy aims at the strengthening of one's won power of morale resistance, while diminishing the morale resistance of actual and potential enemies. It is designed either to forestall, or facilitate the actual passage at arms, but its primary object is to bring about final decision by psychological means alone.
7. Psychological war was first tested on the German nation in a grandiose civil war between Pro-Nazi and Anti-Nazi elements. It wound up with Hitler's victory without the necessity of staging open rebellion.

8. The sweeping success of the tryout convinced the army clique of the practicability of the new strategy and induced them to work out a definite strategy of general application against Germany's future enemies.

9. Psychological warfare, to forestall or to facilitate armed military operations, was employed on the largest possible scale and with spectacular successes in the present war.

II. Morale in Germany

SUMMARY:

1. German theorists define morale as the state of mind stimulated by the presence of the traditional soldierly virtues and stimulating will to personal sacrifice.
2. However, they differ in their respective approaches to the formation and preservation of morale.
3. The mass-psychological school places morale in the community and preserves it with enforced discipline, terror--if need be.
4. The rational-individual school recognizes appeal to reason and the individual approach as primary morale-producing factors.
5. The Luftwaffe adopted the mass-psychological theory, while the army endeavors to reconcile the two theories which it regards as parallel rather than conflicting schools.
6. The formation and maintenance of civilian morale is in the hands of the Nazis who adapted the mass-psychological approach with their own principle of leadership and selection to the German people at large.
7. Since a conscript army embraces all strata of the population and a total war involves the whole nation, the Army is apprehensive of possible conflicts which may arise from the Nazi approach to civilian morale as it confines its morale--preserving activities to intimidation and terrorism.
8. Although German civilian morale is still excellent, Karl Pintschowitz, qualified spokesman of certain Army circles temporarily silenced by the Nazis, warns that "THE FIGHTING MORALE OF THE PEOPLE HAS BECOME THE MOST SENSITIVE SPOT IN OUR FRONT, THANKS TO SO-CALLED 'TOTAL WAR', WHICH IS FAR MORE LIKELY TO PROVE OUR CURSE THAN OUR SALVATION."

NOTES:

Number 5 above: "The existence of two opposing theories may be taken for a basic weakness of Germany's whole military morale-policy. It is indeed possible that an inevitable clash between the two schools will contribute to the eventual undermining of Germany's military morale."

III. German Morale Operations

A. Defensive and Offensive Techniques

Introductory:

Behind Germany's immense morale operations is the "discovery" of a simple formula which the Germans accepted as an answer to the eternal question: how to win a war? The safest guaranty of military triumph is an army's, or, in total war, a nation's will-to-victory. They believe that morale can be built, promoted, and preserved in an artificial manner, just as it can be impaired and disintegrated by a systematic and concentrated attack.

1. Morale Re-Armament of the German Nation.

Means of morale re-armament were:

- a. Military Training and Indoctrination, (Wehrerziehung);
- b. Military Propaganda, (Wehrpropaganda).

2. Military training begins within the mother's womb, with a far-reaching and exhaustive protection of German mothers, in which all public and private health and welfare organizations co-operate. This is followed in the child-welfare, and continued in the schools where German children are educated in a planned effort to imbue them with the spirit of militarism and to strengthen their bodies. All schools are supervised by the High Command of the Armed Forces and the German Propaganda Ministry which exercise a joint control over the Nazi Alliance of Teachers.
3. Military Indoctrination is chiefly concerned with the building of character and strict regimentation of the new generation's intellectual interests and attitudes. The following characteristics are considered essential:
 - i. self-discipline;
 - ii. secrecy;
 - iii. loyalty;
 - iv. readiness to sacrifice
 - v. courage to acknowledge guilt;
 - vi. resolution;
 - vii. willingness to share responsibility;
 - viii. national pride
4. Military Propaganda.
 - A. To create and maintain a spirit of belligerency in all strata of the population:
 1. The armed forces--parades, mock-battles, manoeuvres, military bands to which the general public must have free access.
 2. Ex-Service Men organizations and Military Museums to preserve the spirit and history of former wars;
 3. The Press and Radio.
5. Organizations for Morale-Re-Armament
 - A. The Pre-military and semi-military training of German youth: Hitler Youth movement, the Alliance of German Girls, the Storm Troops (SA), the Protective Echelons (SS), and the Labor Services.

Digest of
MEMORANDA SUPPORTING PLAN
for
A NATIONAL MORALE SERVICE

1. Necessity for a National Morale Service
 - A. High morale releases and multiplies human energies
 - B. Principle source is values and effective participation in a defense or promotion of some common ideal.

2. Organization of work
 - A. Outlining various committees and stating some problems which need handling, such as:
 - I. Discontent resulting from draft uncertainties
 - II. Friction between camps and communities
 - III. Public attitudes toward Government methods of raising money, etc.

3. Morale in Germany
 - A. German study of all errors made in last war, and the consequent growth of the use of psychology in all lines of mobilization for "total war".

 - B. Quoted Ewald Banse, one of group who moulded Germany's contradictory theories into a dynamic program for eventual action: (In 1932) "The coming war, the great war that will decide the fate of the German people, will ultimately be fought out in the souls of the belligerent nations."

4. II. Morale in Germany
 - A. A discussion based on, and quoting from, some fifteen German works on the subject

5. III. Morale in Germany
 - A. A discussion of the defensive and offensive techniques, and the German use of Propaganda in the military and morale re-armament, with a discussion of the organizations used.

6. IV. Morale in Germany and German morale and propaganda offensive against the United States, with discussions of methods used against this country within her own borders, and in building anti-American propaganda elsewhere.

- 7 .

April 22, 1941

Memorandum:

Perhaps this document is valuable in parts as a work sheet for departmental organization. It will tell many men what to do in many little ways, and will keep them occupied. Results should be good.

If there is a weakness in it, it is that it is an expression in writing of an uninspired reporter who seeks to tell us how some one else functioned-- a sort of Ph. D. Thesis.

We all know that the German Nazi gangdom tells its controlled peoples how and when to think and speak and act in unity through monopoly of the eyes and ears of the controlled peoples.

We all know that if we are to meet such a unity in the same way we must have the same monopolistic control. We do not have it.

Our people are not trained that way. The democratic process fosters the projection of many ideas in conflict for ultimate mass acceptance. The democratic process of the mass is that of the man from Missouri with the tendency to accept slowly and reject quickly.

For instance, Lindbergh, a hero, proposes his brand of nationalism. The mass rejection destroys the proposer with the proposal. The mass does not steal buttons from his coat any more.

Wallace proposes a voluntary association of farmers in the new agrarian economy beginning in '33. It is slowly accepted into a fabric to balance the high tariff disease through antidote, and Wallace slowly is accepted and becomes the Vice President.

The American millions may not be smart. They certainly are not gullible. They sense artificiality. They smell indirection of approach. They want no fixers for their ideas. They take their's straight. They need no thousands of mercenaries heading petty branches of thought manufacture. And what remains of their honest press, and what remains of critical--often unfair--

columnists will attack through millions of readers any uninspired and indirect approach to the morale problem. And with such an attack may come the lessening of the value and the true worth of the man who heads up the wrong machine.

I believe these psychologists in this report are self-psychologists--system psychologists--men who might teach psychology in the universities to make budding psychologists and personnel directors. But this problem is a problem of speed and simplicity and clarity. Organization? Yes. But the organization comes through the will and knowledge of the people--not through a subsidized set-up seeking to lead children. If we had a fascist state here, I would accept this outline as instructive. But in this state I see that the President of the United States is our clear top. I see that the Vice President of the United States is one now needed more broadly than as a legislative head of the Senate. And if the Vice President has the respect of one hundred and thirty million people for his sincerity and the accuracy of his statements, he, of course, becomes the person in America with the time and the qualities necessary to lead the civilian front into the spirit of unfused service. This civilian front needs a preacher and a teacher, and behind the preacher, of course, must come the crusade organization.

But I am afraid of a man like McNutt. In essence he is a clever man, directed by cleverer men, who worked out a good state machine and believes essentially that the people are boobs. This document may have had its origin, and perhaps even the idea causing the document may have had its origin, in a not too pure source.

Listening now in the country to the people, I feel that as one I would resent anything but a very simple and clear beginning of the recognition of the civilian front. I would have the President announce Mr. Wallace, and state the reasons why Mr. Wallace was named. And then I would hold Mr. Wallace responsible, and I am sure the people would understand that Roosevelt, busy fighting the war, was asking his junior partner to step over from the legislative Senate to keep the people informed and inspired behind the front lines. And the people would say that is the truly American way.

The source of the thing, as I look at the Mid West, seems to head up with an idea man. I would draw a ring around Indianapolis and Chicago, taking in Gary and the University of Chicago, with the things that the University of Chicago truly represents and the things that the Gary steel mills truly represent, and the things that McNutt truly represents. McNutt within the last ten days has become very active. He has made the first page twice. In theory some one has told him to say first what the President is thinking. The man who functioned in Indiana for big business against Labor has pulled a Willkie. This same man annoyed the plain spoken Farley by a verbal double-cross in the political zone. This same man got three thousand tickets, following the Willkie manoeuver at Philadelphia, and packed the Chicago convention galleries from Gary, Indiana. This same man, believing he could force the vice presidency, was advised not to function in force against the President's will, because even if the present were a victory, the future would be a failure for him. So there is some wisdom somewhere behind McNutt, but it is small wisdom, and does not smell of virtue. I would be very sad if the organisation which is called McNutt, but to me truly is not, were to take over the morale behind the lines of a simple and prayerful people.

I shall be very glad to go into the document in much detail, attempting to say what is good and what is bad, just as soon as it is determined whether McNutt or this crowd which seems to have functioned in this document are to run the show. If they are to run the show, it is a waste of time for me to give a detailed and definite criticism, because it will be of no value. If they are not to run the show, I shall make such a criticism of this paper for anyone who is fundamentally sound for the simple reason that no knowledge should be rejected, no matter the source, and there is some knowledge here.

April 22, 1941

Memorandum:

If I were to approach civilian morale, I would divide it into three parts.

1. Health
2. The elimination of fear through knowledge.
3. The reasoning toward a spiritual unity with good and God.

I would use the cream of the doctors and the cream of the preachers for the first and third. Perhaps the cream organization doctor is not Fishbein, but Farran. Let him continue his sex disease clean-up, but now jump in to make a fitness of the body fashionable.

The second is the reverse of the Dies method of chasing shadows. A weekly report by the Vice President to the civilian millions on the week's progress would make America a national news commentator of the first class. He could give knowledge weekly--the knowledge that must be there if the Dies brand of fear is to be prevented from forming fear battalions behind the lines chasing German spiders, infecting millions with cowardice and suspicion of one another and national groups.

I emphasize the necessity of a regular time, weekly, because the radio listening habits have been fixed that way. I don't like an occasional fireside chat in this rapidly speeding world.

I hope no one but Wallace, or possibly, if Wallace is occasionally otherwise engaged, Young, functions on this radio. I happen to know that Young has a perfect radio voice, as I have heard him. But if you get a non-spiritual metallic voice, the substance will be spoiled. Every speech should say, "Write me, the Vice President, Capitol Building." You should be prepared for hundreds of thousands of personal letters which will give you all the information you need as to the peoples' needs for morale. Organization set-up will follow. But the Vice President's attitude as the big brother of civilians, appointed by the President, should not be lost by too much absence from the Capitol dome, or

by delegation of personality and authority to secondary persons, or by permitting such names as "The Wallace Committee" or "The Wallace Organization." The pitch is that the President's trusted friend, Wallace, is in contact and at the service of the millions behind the lines--not a committee in a set-up.

April 22, 1941

Memorandum to Harold Young:

1944 may see Texas behind Rayburn. It also may see Rayburn and Jones together behind Rayburn, and against the Roosevelt first choice to succeed himself, and associated with other persons seeking the presidency by blocking Roosevelt's choice. This might mean an anti-Roosevelt bloc, including McEurt and Rayburn and Jones, much as the Farley-Jones bloc developed with Bankhead at Chicago.

Only Roosevelt and O'Daniel are important now in the Texas campaign, as far as Johnson is concerned. The people behind Johnson may well advise Lyndon that Wallace support is a liability because of the very strong opposition to Wallace which developed first among the farmers when the Secretary of Agriculture of Texas opposed his operations several years ago. There is also an anti-Wallace bloc at the A. & M. College. Amon Carter, through his influence in West Texas, and particularly in Westex College, brings another farm and cattle group against Wallace. Second anti-Wallace group heads around Rayburn and the resentment of the old Garner crowd because Wallace got Garner's job, and because Rayburn wanted the vice presidency. Third anti-Wallace is the money class of Texas, expressed by Jones in Houston and the great oil groups.

If you personally help Lyndon as a Texan, and not as a Wallace identity, and do it officially as a part of Lyndon's organization, I believe you will do Wallace's look toward '44 a noble service. My reason is that Wallace as a person will be weak in Texas because of the strength of others' ambitions, and will need a strong leader watching his interests there. Therefore, you should build yourself up through service to one who has been picked by the President for a campaign.

If you were to say that you were working for Wallace, and therefore could not work for sixty days behind the President's choice in what will be a very hot national campaign, you will be accused of selfish sitting down as a Texan by Texans, regardless of the justice of your thought that your job with Wallace is first and foremost. The Texans will say that Wallace is selfish and so are you, and you will lose much of the very warm friendship and loyalty that is personally yours among Texas liberals. If Roosevelt says "hands off" and does not support Lyndon himself emotionally and practically, and if Roosevelt indicates it is a "free-for-all" fight between Patman and Johnson, and possibly Mann, and merely takes an inactive position that only Dies is a bad boy, you will have another position perhaps. I am merely repeating now the guts of it. It is: "If Roosevelt wants Johnson, then Wallace wants what Roosevelt wants." That means you are in active work with Wallace's consent and blessing for sixty or ninety days in Texas and Dallas.

April 22, 1941

Johnson-Marsh:-

Tell Harold he will be one of five with thirty counties in North Texas out of Dallas.

Hoffiense in Houston

Bardwell, San Antonio

Crosling, Lubbock

Fort Worth,

John Connally, in Austin, with Wirtz in the background.

How does Harold feel Lyndon will run in that territory? What about a real organization for that district?

Lyndon is responsible for the money.

Two or three men Lyndon wants to have help.

Fulcher to travel

Buck Hood, advance man

Weldon Hart in Austin, for sixty days.

Marsh to Texas to get release of these men from Fentress.

In emergency they may resign.

See V. P. on Young, and ask general advise. Dies proposition already sold by Marsh.

April 22, 1941

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Memorandum to L. B. J.:

April 23, 1941

Talked to Richardson at midnight. Told him President had drafted you, practically against your will, but called you to the White House and said you had to. That it was very sudden, and I did not know anything about it, and you were called out of Speaker Rayburn's office. I said under the circumstances I thought Sid might call the President, getting his own information direct if he felt that close to the family at the moment. I did not personally wish to be quoted. I did suggest that he help his friends in the American Liberty from going too far too fast with Mann. It was the Mann group that were using Sid to keep you out of the race through Murchison. So this is backfire to help Harold on the Dallas job by keeping money from the other fellow.

Memo to L. B. J.

April 23, 1941

The first speech should be prepared and press distributed three days. This is dangerous in that opponents may get it, so I would get the press releases in the hands of my district people for personal delivery to the newspapers and radio commentators about twelve hours before delivery. This speech should say something more than "Roosevelt wants me." In fact, I would not say that at all in the first speech. I think I would like the supporters and the newspapers make this campaign issue which brings your opponents into a defense line, forcing them to attack Roosevelt interference in Texas. When that is done, you very properly should defend the President and explain very simply just how you happened to run.

April 23, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

Washington News Service

What should reach the papers Sunday? Houston Hart? What about specials to Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth?

The presentation of the Washington viewpoint between Dies and Johnson as to experienced legislators--the basis pitching the story on "Washington expects experience."

Look upon the appointment of Houston's descendant as a symbolic act of a man not in a hurry, and pitch the Washington view point of the Texas Senatorial race as a request for the best Texas has got in experience, energy, and speed of decision. The "near White House" spokesman should point out (and it may be Patman) that the Congressional delegation, the Senator from Texas, and Texans in the executive branch, such as Grover Hill, and Wirtz, and Jones (Jesse) and Marvin Jones, now on the bench, are very much alive, and all know the President's mind. Just who will act, and what they may do as Texans is still unknown, but the view point here is that the President has been emphatic in asking his friends in Texas to understand his position, which is that among the twenty Texas Congressmen who are experienced in national legislative affairs that he feels Lyndon Johnson has the prime character and qualities needed now in the Senate. He has said nothing about Dies--the other Congressional candidate--while the President is not a man on the flying trapeze, he is an expert coat tail twister. There is not a chance for Dies to ride Roosevelt's coat tails. The President feels that Dies in the Senate the next six years would not contribute to National unity in what he believes is to be the long fight ahead. And the President certainly believes that a personally conducted text show by Dies, building up Dies and bringing offers of thousands of dollars for speech making is not in the public interest.

(Let's get busy on Dies income tax and uncover his 1940 income from speech making. Let's then discuss the personal income of Dies from the government and label him a double payroll boy, using time in this national emergency to make his pin money for himself. But by the time we slowly add his personal fees together, we will find it is a safety pin of giant size where he has provided for his own old age pension out of the public alarm. This should not be done by Johnson, but by special Washington correspondents. No attack on one candidate by another is ever as strong as a news attack. Also in a three-cornered race, if one man cannot be attacked, the second man may be attacked on his character and motives and the third man cannot be attacked. It is better for the third man to be permitted to attack the vulnerable one,, leaving your own choice free to make constructive ground. In this case let Mann pick up the news and shoot it at Dies. While Johnson goes constructive, attacking neither Dies nor Mann.)

The attack on Mann can only be the attack of inexperience. That is a very weak attack, because most voters are inexperienced and they resent one of experience making a bully out of himself by attacking an equally good man as not knowing how. So it is better for Dies to attack Mann as inexperienced, while Johnson merely plays the violin of his own experience, and his hope that this experience, warranted by the President himself as good and promising to make for national defense shall be offered to Texas voters for their judgement and approval.

So at the present it is very important that the experience and Roosevelt guarantee to Texas be put through with speed---in Sunday's papers in Texas.

A radio commentator in San Antonio is available. He has the largest following. He should give a weekly political review in his news events. I think his friendship in the next sixty days is worth a thousand newspaper columns. He is not exactly Winchell or McNamee but he has got the local following on opinion and comment. I used him briefly in a campaign and found him intelligent.

Blaylock might be consulted on this. It is not expensive. He is on a station whose owners are commercial minded, and pay little attention to this star performer. A certain amount of space purchased ~~is~~ satisfies the owners and brings color into the news comment, if the commentator himself is recognized

Memorandum to L. B. J.

April 24, 1941

You might say:

I open this campaign with friendship toward all, and malice toward none. If there is to be a unity facing Hitler, it must be a unity founded on trust and friendship, not on distrust and enmity.

This fair Texas has come far. Texans, wherever I have gone, are met with a handclasp and a respect which is their due. The fair name of Texas is a well known name throughout this land. That is because ~~wick~~ ^{of the} Texas people and what they stand for. And so let us begin this campaign believing every Texan according to his lights, regardless of race or color or creed, regardless of whether he is a workman or a capitalist, a banker or a farmer, a teacher or a preacher, is one with Roosevelt, one with Liberty, and one with courage in facing the task.

Believing thus let us carry the message to Washington that Texas is a land of individuals bound together in dignity to fight as one. Believing so, I know that Labor in Texas is as healthy as anywhere in this land in its all out aid. I believe that capital so feels. From the cattle lands of the West to the lumber mills of the East, while we may not have among almost seven million a clear sight always; while democracy in its very being means a difference of opinion as to the way of life, I do know that democracy is the true way of life today. Neither despot nor demagog for long may be active in Texas. This Texas is a land of more than five flags now wrapped in one; this Texas is more than men of twenty nations moulded in one; this Texas is at the very forefront of the civilian life marching as one behind Roosevelt, its Commander-in-Chief. Roosevelt knows this. Many times has he said that from the pioneer comes the fight.

May I pause a moment to speak of this man. The miracle of man comes from the spirit of man. This man--this Roosevelt--tires as do you and I. But his spirit re-makes the man, as, from day to day, he fights on. And somehow I like to believe that from Texas comes some small part of his sunlight

some small part of that driving energy with which he meets the changing issues in the horrors of his every minute fight for God and country. Let us keep our own souls pure by keeping suspicion and greed and fear from this land--this Texas.

To Labor I say (Pick up Labor.)

To Capital I say (Same.)

To Management I say (Same.)

To men of all races and creeds and bloods I say, "Unity behind Roosevelt, with love of all and suspicion toward none until the individual fails us." The few individuals who shall be found among us violating the laws of unity and patriotism should be treated as individuals; and there should be no mass indictment. There should be no gospel of fear in this State of Texas. I am against the building of cells and units and blocks of special patriots within our midst. Who is he to say that he is a super-patriot? His voice does not make it so. And, if there is to be management of civilian morale behind the lines of fighting forces, I would rather trust my President to name and control this effort than anyone else known to you or me.

A moment to talk to men in middle life, and young men of superior minds who seek service to the maximum of their country's need. Many of these men are rich, through their own efforts in the field of private enterprise. Many are prominent in church and city government, in business life, and in community affairs. May not these men be misled into forming blocks of hysteria, chasing shadows through the night in the name of patriotism? They rather should prepare for the now and the days ahead. I truly believe that every man in America must be ready on call to give his all in the direct line of masculine defense. These men must give more money, as arms and men in factory and cantonments must be provided and maintained.

I believe these men--these civilian leaders--must be prepared to go where and when the country calls, just as the young men have gone to the training fields. I believe these leaders of our Texas communities in their full strength of mind and judgement are ready to go and ready to perform. The need is very great. At Washington I find the large corporations have been very prompt in affirmatively offering management under the dollar-a-year plan, which began under Wilson in the last war. As I said in Congress (Pick up) a man cannot serve two masters--one for a dollar a year, three days a week, and one for fifty thousand dollars a year, three days a week, any more than a General can work three days a week.

I believe that there is no Texan worthy of the name, whether it is a John Carpenter of this city, at thirty thousand a year, or a President Blauffer of the Humble Oil Company at Houston, at one hundred thousand a year, who would not be ready on his Commander-in-chief's call to go to work for five thousand a year, and not reach back. Certainly such men have stored enough in the bank to give all out service for their country and their people as definitely as any private soldier in Camp (name Texas camp nearest).

Lyndon, this will get you something, and will save your position when you follow with the next statement that all out labor and all out Capital and all out taxation must come. Get this management thing ahead of this all out business, because it is new, and because it is politically right, and morally correct, and the only thing not yet in the fire.)

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

April 24, 1941

You are the principal, and must decide some things soon. As I begin to write what I think should be said in a opening speech, I find myself realizing that only you are going to say it, and I don't even know where and to whom-- that is, what group of people--you are to speak.

A speech has to take in the person speaking, and the people spoken to. Naturally, it is Lyndon speaking to all the people in the state over the radio, but the occasion and the place and the immediate audience are important, as it gives the human contact of the people to the speaker, giving the speaker that invisible force which makes the speech, I think, a success or a failure.

So, if I were asked to write a speech at this moment for you to deliver word for work, I would not do it. This speech is going to come from the heart of Lyndon Johnson to his own people. His heart must be not a Washington heart but a Johnson City heart. He is to come through this campaign, not as a Congressman, but as a Texan. He is already Roosevelt's friend. But he is going among the plain people with whom he grew up, asking them anew for their confidence.

To whom will they give their confidence? Certainly to one whom they believe feels as they feel, and to one who understands them, and one who loves them for themselves alone. I consider your hardest hurdle will be the business of seeing these people often enough and clearly enough to contact them in their soul--not with logic and argument. I believe that the Governor and Jerry Mann are as close to their people as you are to Roosevelt and Rayburn. They haven't been anywhere else; you have. The deadly thing I see in Washington is that the people here slowly lose the sight of the places from which they came, and with the sight goes the feeling. The farmer boy, like Owen D. Young of General Electric, spends thirty years in the city, and the farmer boys of the next generation become clods to his sophisticated mind. John Carpenter, the same. The balance sheet of big

business is not so different from the balance sheet of power politics as played in Washington. People get considered as mass, and not as individuals. But it is the individuals who vote. So in this spirit I approach the remarks which follow, having talked the last couple of hours with Young at breakfast and Wirts over the telephone. I believe these men constitute two of the three wise men around you in a Texas sense, and they have spoken their pieces.

Briefly, Young said: "Lynden starts out as the under-dog with a beautiful campaign ahead. Roosevelt's selection of him will spread by word of mouth very rapidly. The important thing is to go ahead of this news by showing what Roosevelt picked. Johnson is the unknown, and is the Roosevelt choice for Senator. Why? Is it entirely because Johnson has voted with the President? So has Dies. Is it because Johnson is experienced as a Congressman? So is Dies. Is it because Johnson has done some outstanding work which has brought him especially to the attention of the President? So has Dies. And here is the point. Johnson's work has been constructive in the Tenth District of Texas in the Little T. V. A., where Johnson has been the President's best single exponent of the President's desire that the richer and fuller life be brought to all firesides of the American family.

"When the history of the fight of America against the power trust is written, Johnson will have his place in it as the Texas pioneer who fought intelligently and with courage for his people. And Roosevelt knows this because Roosevelt, before he was President, fought the same good fight in New York as a young man. The Roosevelt fight has not been won along the St. Lawrence waterway, as Wall Street blocks him even now. But Johnson's fight along the Colorado has been won without the President's support all along the line. And so in Central Texas today we have the partnership of Roosevelt and Johnson the very partnership which started when Johnson announced for Congress, believing the President was right in attempting to a cleaner and better and quicker justice for all.

"So what has Johnson done which causes Roosevelt to say, 'Johnson is an old and trusted friend.?'"

"In the face of the same power monopoly, Johnson and the Colorado River Authority have done:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

(Here comes your light rates, your municipal elections in twenty-two towns, your flood control, your farm electrification, your terracing, your foundation for the industrial life that is to be in Texas with cheap power, your clean cities with white heat and white light--cities in the sunshine of Texas, not overcast by the coal soot of the St. Louis's or Cincinnati's or Memphis's or Little Rock's--cities where men and children may breathe, where the humble family pocketbook also may breathe.)

"Roosevelt and Johnson know that only thus in peace and war, in control of their own river, in control of their own farms, in control of their own utilities, may the people live most fully in the pursuit of happiness and health. What Johnson, with the aid of Roosevelt, has done in the Tenth District is and must be done wherever God and nature has provided the means for the Texas people. The Colorado project, with its fifty million of expenditure is not any longer an experiment. The sneers of those who declared that paternalism was wasting money are now disproved. The Colorado River Authority has produced light and heat and power in retail and wholesale for a hundred cities and thousand of farm homes at prices which all may pay. And the budget is balanced along the Colorado. Bonds are being paid off. Money is in the bank. The very Wall Street which cried that the Colorado would go broke is now replaced by the request that the Colorado River bonds be financed privately at two and three-quarters per cent by private Wall Street banks. And so this job is the job of Johnson with Roosevelt help.

and that is what friendship between a nation and a state means. And because Johnson has not flinched nor compromised on this job for the American farmer in the Tenth District, Roosevelt sees him so clearly as the man the Senate needs now in the terrific job ahead."

I would open in Dallas, because I see Mann as the ultimate threat--not Dies. It would be natural for you to open in Johnson City, but I believe in leading through weakness into strength. In Dallas there is a beautiful hook up with the power problem, because you are standing on a platform where the Texas Power and Light Company is best known, and at a place where Mann must be silent on power. (And so I would have Young, who sold Culbertson last year with the most beautiful speech I have ever heard on this question as your experienced manager and one who knows how to carry on this campaign and has the courage to do it. The speech I heard Young make was a simple statement at six o'clock at night in fifteen minutes to the housewives of North Texas. He talked about the monthly light bills which should be less. And said that Culbertson was the man for that. He told of Culbertson's fight to reduce the price of gas, and his voice was the slow persuasive voice which in simple words did not hurry the childish minds of his female listeners. Young on the radio and Young in organization can sell Johnson as the Senator to help the Texas family unit and the Texas family pocketbook.)

And now Marsh speaks for himself as he sees the campaign unfold.

I see Dies saying : "Johnson and I have fought side by side with the President on all national defense measures. Johnson is one hundred per cent New Dealer. So am I on every vote the record shows. But I have been more. My experienced time in Washington is more than Johnson's. Johnson has seen the President more often because I have been throughout the nation fighting with you people for things and measures important to the national defense. The President has not overlooked me, and once or twice some of the lesser men around him have spoken harshly of me as I got on their corns when their

feet dragged. But the President and I are friends now all along the line, and I have my shoulder to the wheel fighting Hitler everywhere--over there and over here. And I say that my greatest service to you and Roosevelt has been the Dies Committee, which has stopped the Communists and John L. Lewis and the C. I. O., and I pledge you my word during the days to come that no Communist shall work at Washington aiding Hitler. That I shall clean out the stables there as an aid to the President, and I say to you that no John L. Lewis with his unholy hordes of labor racketeers shall cross the Texas state line as I uphold the Governor in his courageous stand against these men. And if anyone believes that Roosevelt doesn't like me, let him prove it by asking Roosevelt."

And Jerry Mann may say: "I have had no experience in Washington, for I have been serving you Texans in Texas. It is for you to judge how poorly or how well I have served you. Who is there to say that if Roosevelt knew me he would not have known me well and affectionately? For those of us who are in state life, and who in our state work have served you humbly, is this to be a bar to service in Washington? Do we not have a strength and an experience for such service? Do we not know our people? Do we not know how they feel and what they want? Are we unfit to be their representatives in the Senate? Loving our President as we do, should we not give the best we have to Washington so that he may have fresh minds and fresh service and fresh viewpoints---blowing from the West and South in ever increasing strength? I am unknown in Washington, but I promise that when known there I shall so conduct myself that the people who know me here and those who respect me here shall have no cause to be ashamed. There is no monopoly of those who hate Hitler, and I say to you that I hope to be "an old and trusted friend of him who leads us, and I shall support him, because, with you, I love him and respect him as our defense of America in the things we love and must save."

I have written Dies and Mann, not as I think they will talk, and, of course, the Mann statement could have been written with O'Daniel as the name. What I have said is something in the line of what inarticulate people may feel. I love my son, my brother, and respect my father. I would not have any other than Roosevelt leading us. But certainly I don't follow any of these people blindly. And there are millions in Texas who are individuals and who may not, and will not, follow Roosevelt blindly on a statement of preference, although they would and will follow him blindly on a statement where Hitler and defense are the items. So Johnson must be tied into this picture in such a way that the Texas voter may know why Roosevelt finds Johnson an "old and trusted friend." The why is found at the point of a special service rendered the Texas voter by Johnson, which no one else has rendered, and this service must have a promise of future benefit to the voter, in his very home life. This is not to be a campaign against Roosevelt and the Roosevelt policy by anyone. It may be Roosevelt judgement against the field as to who should come to Washington. But this judgement is, in the end in June, going to be the judgement of the Texas voter and not of Roosevelt. And certainly Roosevelt can't have any judgement about Mann or O'Daniel, and probably will not express himself adversely about Dies.

So the campaign of Johnson must be highly individual; must tie up with Roosevelt with Johnson's actual work for Texas, and must have a war plank not possessed by Dies or Mann or O'Daniel. I think the safest and politically wisest plank is the draft of management proposal, which thus far is yours in this country. You have proposed it in a House committee. You have proposed it in a public speech before you announced. It is not a campaign belief. It is a principle and a conviction. This was true of your conviction that public power of the Texas rivers is best for Texas family life. Now tie up your work on public power in the Tenth District with what is to come along the Brazos and the Trinity and elsewhere where power in commercial and practical quantities exists, and where such existence developed by the

LBJ-7

public will mean cheaper competitive rates and extension of benefits in competition with the present private power existence. And at Dallas and Waco you have your examples. And this also may be tied up with your management plank.

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

April 24, 1941

I have not gone into the Wirtz stuff, because I fortunately had M. L. available to take that verbatim. It is attached.

In general, without having read it, I am afraid of the too nice approach to a spiritual argument. A bill of particulars as to what you have done might be very much better said by those supporting you. Certainly this bill of particulars should be gotten up in pamphlet form under some such heading as "This Man Johnson." It will act as a campaign document for fellows supporting you. Wirtz should write it, but I don't think you should speak very much of your Congressional record behind the President because, after all, the President already has picked you as number one, and you have a better argument as to why he picked you in developing what you have done for your district as your contribution to the Roosevelt all-out for the American family during 1932-33.

You were a disciple and a follower of Roosevelt as a Congressman applying Roosevelt's love of humanity to your own district. This will stop pork barrel attacks against you, which have been made throughout the state by jealous Congressmen and contractors, and prove the true significance of your work as other than Roosevelt's pet. Even I am being hit that way by Texas Power and Light people in Waco trying to sell Fentress a package that he is just a sit-around boob while his younger partner pegs for Austin.

Wirtz's stuff follows. Since you have 200 speeches to make, and Fulcher will have to write new leads every night, I am sure that there is much in Wirtz's material which should be carried around in your bag, but I cannot see "This Man Johnson" pamphlet as necessary work now by Wirtz or some orderly mind which has the patience.

A. J. Wirths:

April 24, 1941

I would say that the position of a Senator from Texas has to be filled by the voters of Texas. It is no small task to find one who can carry on the work of Senator Sheppard. If I were not a candidate, but were simply a voter, I would first search my mind and write the specifications of the candidate for whom I would vote.

I believe I know what kind of specifications the voters of Texas would write. And in writing these specifications, I think the voters would pay more attention to a candidate's record than to his promises. After all, you want to know what his platform is, but whether he carries out that platform depends on his record. And in examining that record, you would want to know first whether his background, his training, his education, and his experience makes him alive to the interest of America and Texas. In other words, you would want to know whether it makes of him a real American, with American and democratic ideals.

Here is my record of background, education, and experience. (Cite what that is).

Second, the people of Texas would want to know that the candidate is a loyal American who would follow the leader in foreign affairs, and be sure that every ounce of energy of this country is exerted in the defense of America and American principles and ideals. We must have unity. To have unity we must have a man who will go along with the elected leader of the people. Now here is my record on that. I don't have to explain or apologize. I don't have to depend on my promises, because I have a complete record, and here it is--one of complete co-operation with the President.

Third you would want to know the record of the candidate in regard to domestic issues, and what he proposes to do about the country's future when the war is over. Here is my record on public power, on agriculture, on labor, on social security, and what I have achieved. Now when I tell you that I propose to work in unity and ~~and~~ co-operation with the President,

Wirts--2

you don't have to take my word for it, because you can look back on my record.

Here are the additional things I think ought to be done.

Preparedness

Re-armament

Elimination of dissenting minorities, securing their co-operation.

Here are the additional things we think out to be done on the domestic issues.

Extension of public power

Extension of conservation activities

In this time of stress we must preserve the constitutional rights of the people. We must get unity without hysteria.

The individual has rights. We must not tear down and lose the liberty of the individual.

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

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Extension of conservation activities

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The individual has rights. We must not tear down and lose the liberty of the individual.

Boroman breeds revolt
no order with equal feeding

Hoover?

more armaments the poorer - minimum ^{forms}

Elit - command of the sea - cooperation
between U.S. & Britain - also control
of material movement - force for peace
Control of material (economic control
in quantity + kind for peace needs x

Examine good points of Versailles
Keep good. then go ahead

federal peoples vs national sovereignty
overall federation over federations
Overall Europe would dominate

Amalgam of Anglo-America
before peace with sea power force
in control.

Is extreme nationalism coming
they survival urge (economic)
and fear (the possible loss of self mastery)

ward (2)

if 2 billion people how can
Anglo America 200 million
plan bossism in the permanent
structure of peace? Where is
that common world man? What
are his minimums? This
versus a viewpoint of a-a
force peace. Thus far this
has been an economic
and power "divide up the world"
individual vs ~~the~~ state movement
"advantages vs world advantages"

How does America use her
gold + foodstuffs at peace table?

Governments backed individuals
in rushing onto defeated nations
to buy industries for profit
on defeated people's labor.

regions | economic
 | habitual?
 | racial
 | geographic

~~Parliament of Man-Whitman
Commonwealth~~

force-order
↓

regions yes but top one
like 48 states
~~We have done it?~~

Control of transportation
& raw materials is
making greedy

Competition there protest
(war)

Control for how long?
What hope available to 2 billion

Any Anglo-American
supremacy block is
merely a substitute
of a new partnership
force with Washington
Centre for old London
and Berlin attempts

What about the
framework of
a just social
order to offer
2 ~~million~~ billion people?

Propaganda value
of statements of aims
Germany (citizens)
afraid of defeat (punishment)
hope of victory (reward)

take fear from him
of ~~defeat~~ consequences
give hope to him
through defeat of
good consequences
for extra punch
to our side &
oppressed people
a new order not

upholding the entire
Democratic order
as the complete right
the appeal to the
Common man in
terms of the individual

Offer food + freedom
(Order under Law)

Statement of aims
by all countries
outside of axis

bread
coal
cloth
meat
houses
land

(bread
meat
land) = 1
houses
coal
cloth = 1

2 = 1 = 1

freedom of thought & travel

love of freedom is merely
the denial or rejection
of oppression
love of freedom = fear of oppression

nearest possible
rational & reasonable
plan of freedom
from war

pleth of bait for
all small countries

Roosevelt must say it,
all small boys
endorse it

offer universal suffrage
in Europe & world

Maintenance of peace & the
freedom from geopolitics

Food & jobs

freedom of speed

~~to~~ travel ~~of~~

~~no~~ secret treaties
outlawed

no axis ^{of supremacy} but a
wheel of freedom
worldwide with
equality at the ~~hub~~
Centre

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

MAY 3, 1941

FRANK BLADWIN, WACO NEWS TRIBUNE, WACO, TEXAS
 CHARLES GREEN, AUSTIN AMERICAN STATESMAN, AUSTIN, TEXAS
 JAMES E. DAY, PORT ARTHUR NEWS, PORT WRTHUR, TEXAS
 BOB WHIPKEY, BIG SPRINGS DAILY HERALD, BIG SPRINGS, TEXAS
 MILLARD COPE, DENNISON HERALS, DENNISON, TEXAS
 A. G. PAT MAYSE, PARIS DAILY NEWS, PARIS, TEXAS
 BOB MC CRACKEN, CORPUS SHRISTI CALLER TIMES, CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS
 DEAN CHENOWETH, SAN ANGELO STANDARD TIMES, SAN ANGELO, TEXAS
 BERNARD HANKS, ABILENE REPORTER NEWS, ABILENE, TEXAS
 RILEY CROSS, MARSHALL NEWS ~~TRIKEN~~ MESSENGER, MARSHALL, TEXAS
 CHARLES GUY, LUBBOCK AVALANCHE JOURNAL, LUBBOCK, TEXAS

BY ABOUT SIX O'CLOCK YOU WILL RECEIVE DAY LETTER ON WASHINGTON ASPECTS OF TEXAS CAMPAIGN.

C. E. M.

May 5, 1941

Notes for L. B. J.:

"Everybody said you could not fly the Atlantic, but Lindbergh did."

Senator Pepper has offered to come to Texas to make a speech on the subject of "What Roosevelt Needs Now." That speech will not specifically endorse Johnson, as an outsider coming into Texas he cannot well do that, but it should be under the auspices of a neutral body, and not a Johnson organisation. Probably at Houston or Dallas.

Josh Lee has also agreed to go in on a broad basis.

It is time for America to get tough.

The Dillingers. The Barbary Pirates.

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The Johnson headquarters here - if
you haven't already been advised -
is 703-704 Adolphus Hotel - telephone
Riverside 6081.

LEAKE, HENRY, YOUNG & GOLDEN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 410 GULF STATES BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

SAM A. LEAKE (1864-1935)
W. T. HENRY
HAROLD H. YOUNG
HAWKINS GOLDEN
J. MANUEL HOPFENSTEIN
HARRY M. STANFIELD

May 5, 1941

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

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Somewhat tardily, I must admit, I am enclosing clippings from the Dallas News, Houston Post and Ft. Worth Star Telegram with reference to the senatorial candidates. The other young lady in the office was out nearly all of the past week and I was simply swamped, which accounts for the seeming neglect.

Mr. Young, I believe, said "excepting Martin Dies". Not being positive as to my recollection, I have "clipped" him, too. At your leisure, you may let me know definitely what you would like to have.

Also, I regret that I was not here when you telephoned the other evening. I was at home ill and no one telephoned the wire to me. For future reference, however, I am listed in the telephone book, very simply under my own name.

All in all, you may well gather that last week was rather hectic, as you have doubtless gathered from the above that I am very sorry -

Yours very truly,

Frances Jones

Secretary to Mr. Young

FD
Encl.

May 7, 1941

Pepper to Dallas.

Harold to introduce Pepper at a "State of America" rally.

Pepper talks.

Pepper turns to where Lyndon is as an incident in his speech when he is talking of spiritual values, and says:

"You here in Texas have the spirit of the free. You have sent free spirits to Washington for our inspiration. A free spirit is never old. A free spirit is never young. The free spirit in the mind of the aging Senator Sheppard inspired me in the Senate. The free spirit of the comparatively young Lyndon Johnson--and I see him over there--inspires me as I see him moving with ever quickening speed through the important affairs which must be settled well and quickly if we are to save the liberties we love.

"And that is why your Commander in Chief could say, or rather could not help saying: "Johnson is an old and trusted friend."

MEMORANDUM TO EDITORS:

The cost of wires is saved this week, because money doesn't grow on trees. Also I hear from Texas that Saturday wires get to you too late for your Sunday papers.

I hope there is as much vigor in this as time copy as could be put in there by Saturday afternoon writing.

C. E. M.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
MAY 7, 1941

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MAY 11, 1941

Washington, D. C.--Special--May 10, 1941--The grinding war on Roosevelt upset his stomach this week. Personal physicians watch his condition more closely today than ever.

On all-out aid to Britain and the free peoples of the world his is a job bigger than any American ever has tackled. His rest is broken with talks with Churchill and our little American top group in London. So the Commander-in-Chief's mind has had little time to look at lesser affairs behind the front line--affairs like the Senate race in Texas. If one goes over to the busy place on Pennsylvania Avenue, the close secretaries of the President want to know how the Texas Senatorial race is getting along. A statement that Dies has not made organization headway is greeted with a smile. A statement that Johnson is going great guns brings more than a smile. Perhaps it may bring, "I'll tell him."

People who see the President on Texas business, and Texans in the Cabinet and sub-cabinet, have had direct talks with the President regarding the Texas Senator-ship and Johnson's chances. Roosevelt has told Jesse Jones that Johnson should win. Jones, a known conservative in political forecasting, probably indicated the Texas viewpoint that O'Daniel might beat the field. It is probably significant that Houston and Harris County are now regarded as very strong Johnson territory, with Dies, who was thought to be strong there, hardly heard from.

Although some doubts have been expressed by people in Texas as to the President's feelings in this matter, everyone in Washington knows that the President is for Lyndon Johnson. This "everyone" is not merely Texans. "Everyone" means just that, from members of the Supreme Court down to congressional secretaries. This is the first time in a very long time that the President has put his arm around anyone in about the way he put his arm around Tom Connally as his "very good friend" in 1934 when the Bailey threat was making Connally uncomfortable.

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This time, however, the President's heart is in it more emotionally because of the personal affection which Roosevelt, the harassed leader approaching sixty, has for the young, dynamic Johnson who has fought at his side so long.

Reports from the Panhandle of Texas are that Mann is strong; from Northeast Texas that Mann and Johnson are both strong; Dallas, thus far, is Mann territory, with Johnson moving up; Waco is, perhaps with Austin and Corpus Christi, the strongest secondary city group for Johnson forces, expressing confidence very unusual at this stage of a race. These reports come in to Washington to Congressmen from their districts, and are often found more accurate than reports which come direct to campaign headquarters of partisans.

Naturally the twenty Congressmen on the job here are tremendously interested, because two Congressmen are battling. The concensus here is that Johnson can beat, and will beat Dies. The Texas Congressmen who are close to their districts now believe the race is between Mann and Johnson.

May 8, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J. :

The radio is effective in politics. The radio contactor Collins has been on the air for a long time. He is known to be there at 12:45. He may have a three hundred thousand or a five hundred thousand radio audience. If Johnson or Mann takes fifteen minutes by radio, where is this audience backlog? Collins is known favorably by his listeners, or they would not listen. He is their friend bringing entertainment, and now asking a vote. Why should they vote for someone else they don't know? So a radio background of several years in talking regularly or at least talking frequently, well advertised, and saying something real politically like Roosevelt or Pepper or Wallace is a necessary part now of the build-up of anyone seeking millions of votes. Hence O'Daniel then and now. Hence Collins known by all five talked with at Texarkana. Mann and Johnson known by two, Dies known as a candidate by four.

No one of five in Texarkana had heard that Roosevelt likes Johnson to the point of mentioning it. Two asked outright had not heard of it.

ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III
PRESIDENT

Hotel Adolphus

DALLAS
TEXAS

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

May 16, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Just a line to let you know that Dr. Scott says that the doctors reacted well at the Fort Worth convention, and that seeing Fentress this morning his report on McLemman and Bell counties, and as far out as Gaitesville, is very pleasing.

Will be around the state for a few days. Missed you this morning as I passed through Temple too early from Austin.

Fort Arthur and perhaps Beaumont will do better. Fentress says so, and so does Jimmy Day. Details later.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh



OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE
DALLAS HOTEL COMPANY

825 ROOMS—300 AIR CONDITIONED
CIRCULATING ICE WATER

May 16, 1941

Memorandum on Port Arthur:

If Harlon has called Jimmy Day, it occurs to me that time might be saved by Jimmy's coming to Houston Sunday. I leave it to Harlon, and will go to Port Arthur or do anything else you say. If I don't hear from Thelma or you or Day at the Lamar Hotel Sunday morning by wire or phone, I shall let Port Arthur go until I phone you Monday or Tuesday. This may be better, because we will know a little more about O'Daniel then, and the switch to Johnson might be based more reasonably on the fact that the scattered field calls for an intelligent decision in self interest for the people of the Sabine district, regardless of the local candidate. In other words, we will be telling them that Dies hasn't much chance and it is important to get on the winner.

This if O'Daniel steps in and the argument in self interest will be that the Sabine district had best play safe and have the friendship of the President, the Administration, and a live Congressman who got fifty million for his district where Dies got zero because he could not get in, and even a Senator could not get in.

For Release Sunday Papers, May 18, 1941

Washington, D. C.—Special—May 17, 1941

"If Johnson, as a Congressman of one out of twenty districts, has been able to sell the natural resources of his district and its value to the United States Government in the extent of fifty million dollars—if this fifty million dollars of service from the Federal Government to the Tenth District has been sound and wise so that the Government is getting its money back—then the Tenth District certainly has been fortunate."

So reason many people not too closely concerned with their own affairs.

At this time people awakening to the fact that the defense of the nation is paramount are looking at the bridge that reaches from Texas to Washington. They are looking at unity between one state and forty-seven others.

Granted the cynical fact that all men think of themselves first, those who believe that Lyndon Johnson will win the Sheppard seat June 28 have reasoned that the selfishness of Texas voters will elect Johnson over any opponent.

This is simple reasoning. If a man in the Panhandle, or in the saw mills of East Texas, or growing cotton near Greenville, begins to think of himself he is certain to think of himself on June 28 as a voter, and what his vote means. If his vote means the election of a person—a candidate—to help himself, he is almost certain to vote for Johnson. The reason is that Johnson has done more in six years to sell and promote the advantages of five per cent of Texas at Washington than any ten Congressmen have done in promoting fifty per cent of the resources of Texas at Washington.

Well, this is merely a matter of plain figures. If Johnson has brought fifty thousand dollars of Federal money to the Tenth District in six years, is it not possible that he will bring twenty times as much to Texas from Washington in the next six years? If Johnson does this—if one billion dollars of new work and activity can be brought by Johnson to Texas, it must be because what Johnson has

For Release May 18, 1941--page two

done for the Tenth District has been wisely done. History does not repeat itself. A fake salesman does not get a second order. So, if Johnson has chosen wisely, has terraced the farms of his district, has brought power and flood control and proper housing to his three hundred thousand people, it may be a foretaste of what the same man, now a man of broad experience, will do at Washington in the growth of Texas in making a bridge between Texas and Washington as the Senator to succeed Sheppard.

A man of inexperience, or a man not friendly to the President of the United States obviously can be of little value. So those who see Texas and real things; the voter who votes for himself and not vaguely through prejudice, probably will vote for Johnson in self interest.

This is the very argument of those political forecasters who believe that they see the average voter at the ballot box. There is much of fanfare in a political race. The twenty Congressmen who represent Texas here are not unanimous in their appreciation of Johnson--a very young member of the delegation. In a recent test vote, which would have elevated Johnson above a senior in a most important assignment in Congress, the vote was eleven to nine against Johnson. But every Congressman knows what Johnson has done for his district. Every Congressman knows that Johnson has done more for his district than any five Congressmen from districts represented for a longer time by present Congressmen. The type of driving energy and attention to the business of the district which Johnson has shown doesn't always bring popularity, but there are those in Texas and those in Washington who are placing bets on Johnson to win on the age old theory that the man who has delivered the goods is worth promoting.

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For Release in Sunday Papers, May 25, 1941

Washington, D. C.--Special--May 24, 1941--

Far-seeing Texans who travel between Texas and Washington are going back to Texas with a peculiar message. Summed up, the message is: no matter how the Texas senate race comes out, Lyndon Johnson is the next Senator in fact.

These men look at the long range. As politicians they have to be right. The reason is simply that Roosevelt told Johnson that he wanted the Roosevelt view point represented in the Texas Senate race, and that naturally, if Johnson takes the assignment after telling Roosevelt the issue was doubtful with an O'Daniel and a Mann and a Dies in the race and with Johnson less known throughout the state, that the President would re-act only one way. He may not have said a word to Johnson, but men who must know, and must not guess, say that Johnson is the man whom Roosevelt will consult from here on about Texas affairs vital to him. He also, of course, will consult Speaker Rayburn, and Jesse Jones, and Tom Connally. But the new star, in his early thirties and good for twenty years, is Johnson, from Johnson City, regardless of who wins Sheppard's seat. For Johnson, the soldier under assignment of the Commander-in-Chief, is running for the place in the Senate held by the man who upheld Roosevelt always as Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. Roosevelt merely felt that he wanted to know personally a dependable man who was to fill Sheppard's seat. That man being Johnson, it is no reflection on those also in the race with the exception of Dies. The actions of Congressman Dies in Washington have not made Roosevelt his friend. And men attached to Roosevelt are as much concerned that Dies not be promoted by Texas to bother and harass an already harassed Roosevelt, as they are that Johnson, the dependable and the known be not nosed out by Mann, the popular and decent Attorney General, who is unknown and inexperienced at the nation's capitol, where the fight to save our liberties is being waged twenty-four hours a day.

In the leadership that is ours in Washington, a light comes when youth is spoken of. Nobility serves always. In service a great mind like Roosevelt says that youth has the first concern.

But, to the youth themselves, who have such a magnificent part in the days to come I offer a simple suggestion: Remember always that if you would grow and serve your fellow man, never consider the cost to self alone. Youth may see ahead uncertainty of life amid the perils of this day, but the youth of America is not afraid. It was not born that way. It was not taught that way. It can not feel that way. But the youth of America in its freedom that comes only to free men, knows that it is the strength and the soul which upholds the light of the leader and the voice that is to speak the best to come.

Roosevelt, at sixty, would lay down and retire to write his memoirs if it were not for youth; if it were not for the strength that youth gives him. The joy of Roosevelt in that supreme and definite light that comes to him is the privilege of his duties to the youth and to the promise of their future. All great men are that way.

What is the duty and the proud privilege of youth which thus is served by the great in the sunset of their lives? I leave you to answer. I only suggest that youth in its wisdom knows its leadership and picks its leadership. Yet there are thousands who say that they do not wish to leave for training for the defense of our liberties. There are secret meetings on Eastern college campuses which meet Lindbergh. Wheeler visits those who say they will not fight, no matter what the issue. But those are so few and their minds are so bitter and their fear so great, that we have not the time now to crusade for their salvation. Through this state of pioneers and simple people, there is a strength and a courage lending intelligent power of humility which says: "Carry on, Roosevelt, we are proud to train. We are willing to work. We know that you are the father of us all."

Down the road of the years no one may see what is to be for Capital of Labor, or leadership in the making and selling and doing of things. Those things

may be jumbled and changed as events force all to re-arrange life's values, but the spirit of youth believes that good is cohesive and healthy, and that evil is destructive, and that men will join in common brotherhood for the protection of the American way of life. The leader may not live long as he faces the sunset of life, but youth will live on in the spirit and the inspiration of a very great man, and so I pledge as one who has felt his hand and seen the light of his spirit--I pledge you that never will I let him down, should you in your esteem send me to the Senate to uphold his hand. Farm hours may be longer before this is over. Young women may be driving busses before this is over; boys may forget the clock as fatigue and sweat calls them to the making of the tools to defend our liberty. That American youth will forget. No Texas boy will lay down a tool when danger threatens his mothers and sisters, and no Texas youth I know anything about will uphold a Lindbergh in fear or a Wheeler plotting the peace with Hitler or a betrayal of freedom.

There is a unity in the soul of man. Because soulless persons who for profit or for power seek to betray the soul of Texas shall be told in the election ahead that the gospel of fear is not their gospel. We do not see enemies behind every bush in Texas. We know the enemy is Hitler and the slant-eyed Japs who seek to profit as a jackal. There are no people in Texas who will form a fear group for a peace with dishonor. When you vote your judgement on June 28th, please remember whether you vote for me or for someone else; please remember what you vote as a privileged person; that you vote as a person who has a stake of much time and much joy in this life that God has given us. Go to the polls in faith; believe that the United States will promote the best now and forever with a gay and proud spirit. Turn back the pessimist; say to that one who preaches peace at any price that your eyes see straight ahead. And say to the demagog who would use fear to reach for power that there is no fear in Texas. We stretch out, a million strong, our hands to Roosevelt. He will carry on through the crisis. The best that comes will be a just best, your best, a freeman's best. It will be in a world of sweat and toil and that world will be yours. The world of the women who love, the world that is to be in the parliament of man and in the dignity of the plain man and in the dignity of the soul of the average.

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As Democrats--Young Democrats--we meet here today in unity behind Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

A very few of you may recognize me as one whose head is bloody but unbowed--Pappy simply passed more biscuits than I did.

As young men and women we must believe in the bigger thing--our country, its problems, and the world and its problems--rather than in the circumstance of victory or defeat for oneself.

Victory for all of us must be our mission. Thus far we have called this thing the defense of America. But defense in its very essence means saving FROM something. Human beings defend themselves when they are frightened, or at least fearful that an enemy force may disturb them in their pursuit of happiness. Youth is not that. Youth does not fear. Youth sees a world of the future.

For almost two centuries we have built under the American flag a method for the pursuit of happiness as we see it. Only three million people were partners in the beginning of the United States of America. Now there are one hundred thirty million people in the partnership.

This partnership has certain assets and certain liabilities. The essence of the partnership is that all are equal in the selection of those who lead in directing us on our road. The same man has been named three times to lead us. A precedent has been broken. This man has achieved an honor greater than that given any other man in the history of this country. There was a reason for all this. The reason lay in the wisdom of one hundred thirty million people facing a crisis. So we all, as partners, gave to the world for the third time a very great leader--Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

One hundred thirty million people in America have not been engulfed by either slavery or fear. And so today/^Ido not want to forget defense of America, but to discuss the defense of America in terms of youth. Here today I see those

representatives of the Democratic party who are to lead the fight in the years to come. The fight for unity must continue as long as an attacking force would destroy the thing that has been built in our country.

Defense of America means more than guns and ships and tanks. Those things have been made and are being made. The biggest air battleships ever built daily fly the Atlantic. Daily they bomb the enemy's workshops of murder, where slaves pause under Hitler as the bombs made in American factories fall. Our men are not there, and, thank God that they are not there. There is a vast difference between making the material of war and the using of the material of war. There have been no mangled bodies of Americans in this thing. Our youth is sound in limb and mind, and I believe our youth is sound in the essence of its soul. I believe that there is no hatred in this gathering, and I know that there is no fear. Hatred is the hunchback child of fear.

So we shall build and lend and lease. We shall take in the Free French, not as outlaws with prices on their heads, but as the finest flower of sacrifice and bravery that this war has developed. We ultimately will not allow Hitler to dictate to us through Darlan.

The Battle of the Atlantic will determine the victory in this war. Our courageous leader, with a pitiful authority, has made the most of what he has had to work with. The Wheelers, the Nyes, the Lindberghs, and the petty group of selfish men seeking future prominence should Hitler win, have fought our leader for years. They fought the Neutrality Bill which might have saved France. They fought the Lend-Lease Bill. They now fight to send our armies home so that Hitler may feel with confidence that an attack on Britain might succeed, and that plans for his Battle of the South Atlantic might go forward.

This Battle of the Atlantic will not be won on Iceland's shores. The true battle for the freedom of the Americas will be fought in the South Atlantic as Hitler's legions, protected by the French fleet occupying the coastline of

Africa, which is twice as near to Brazil as is this point at which we stand, attempt to conquer the ocean. Remember that a long preparation of years of voluntary training in Germany and medals from Germany has gone before among the military group in South America which may vote the Hitler way, should America falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train men, and make and send war material by every possible means to every possible ally until Hitler is gone and Freedom is victorious.

There is no all out defense of America if men, simply because they are old are left control of the Army and the Navy and in the vital committee positions of Congress. If there is a better man for the place, he should be put in it as we face Hitler. Witness Senator Bob Reynolds, Chairman of the important Military Affairs Committee on the pure basis of seniority, voting to send the boys back home from the camps in this time of crisis, while nine other members of his committee unanimously voted the path of courage and all out defense.

Should such a man as Reynolds remain as Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee? What do you think a Hitler or a Mikado thinks of the democratic processes?

They know that Reynolds could not muster three votes in the Senate of the United States for the Chairmanship of this all-important Military Affairs Committee except for the woodoo of the seniority regulation.

And in this defense of America, which, because it is courageous and intelligent, is to lead to a peace for free men, ^{are} men/making their records by what they do and what they say. The Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Vandenburgs, the Nyes, and all the others who would delay or sabotage an all out aid to all free peoples, are now of little significance. America has spoken. These men shall not prevail.

But I wonder whether certain other men--true Americans in the main--are not now being found wanting. Will men doing less than they could do be content with their patriotism forever?

There has been too much publicity and advertising of so-called dollar-a-year men. Among the hundreds, yes, thousands of such dollar-a-year men in Washington are many of the strongest human defenses that America now has. For instance, LaGuardia, a genius of energy, as an example of a man who can give better government to New York City three days a week than another leader might in six days. He can then, a 100 per cent public servant, at the expense of the City of New York, and not in the pay of a corporation, serve the whole nation through Civilian Morale three days a week.

But I truly do not believe a man can serve two masters. I don't believe in the principle of the dollar-a-year man. A man may find himself working half time for \$25,000 a year for an oil company which he knows and likes, and then on the last three days of the week he may find the same oil company selling the government oil which he is buying as a dollar-a-year man. According to my way of thinking it takes a man of such high quality to do two jobs accurately in justice to both an oil company and his government that I doubt whether the policy of a dollar-a-year man is the best policy for this government.

I believe a better way would be to draft our management brains as democratically and as definitely and as fairly in the defense of America as we have drafted a million young men to be trained as soldiers. I believe that any American individual with a well body and a keenly active brain should serve his country and his Commander-in-Chief with all his time, and not part of his time, if he is needed. I believe such a man should be content to leave his wages to the fairness of the government just as definitely as a million boys have cheerfully taken when the government has apportioned out of an already over-burdened defense budget.

I don't believe that one hundred and thirty million Americans want charity from any corporation whatever. I believe many Congressmen and Senators feel the same way. I would like to know now for my own guidance how you feel. All those

who favor a draft of brains, hold up your hands.

All those who believe in the dollar-a-year part timers, hold up your hands.

Thank you. I shall be guided accordingly when I go back to my Congress seat.

We have won the battle as to foreign policy--all out aid to all enemies of Hitler is our policy. We will go, if this adventure takes us, to Singapore, Haker, Iceland, or Australia. We shall not let the Japs take the Phillipines by default. This is truly a world war for freedom or for slavery. I give Hitler credit for having stated this position first. He has said that a German victory means a German world for a thousand years.

There is something magnificent about the human imagination. Faust gave up his soul so that in his lifetime he might rule and do as he pleased. But today, thanks to men and planes and guns and tanks, we in this new world are not afraid of Hitler and his German world for a thousand years to come. I believe he is already beaten. He is beaten within himself, and he knows it.

At this hour Hitler, in person through Germany or through his allies, is moving in every part of this world. Fallen France gives up its Eastern empire to the Japs moving south. Under the cloak of France Hitler moves through Africa; with medals and promises of power-to-come he moves through Brazil and the Argentine and Chile. Stalled amid the mud of Russia, Hitler knows his time is very, very short. Time presses for him. Every morning he awakes and knows this. And so, without making a prediction of just how short is Hitler's time, or how violent will be the Hitler death throes, I say be prepared for a peace sooner than you think.

Oh yes, the time ahead may be the darkest of the war. Moscow may be his before the snows that beat Napoleon fall upon the German legions. Hitler may turn south and take the Suez. The Japs may capture Singapore. Tin and rubber may grow scarce so that in America we may not have as many automobiles to drive in the free air of a Sunday. But we know, meeting here, that more important than all this is the spirit of freedom. We know that the great need of all men for the maximum

amount of freedom within an orderly world is a thing of great strength. We know that Hitler, ruling otherwise, is daily losing in his own people the strength of their will to win what is worth nothing at all to the average man. Young Democrats here assembled are among those who will win this war for freedom and human dignity. But the new order when Hitler is gone; when Germany is prostrate; when what Hitler has so horribly put together is to be unscrambled, is to be the genuine new order--neither Hitler's order nor the order of the yellow Jap.

As we move through defense of America toward a victory of permanent peace, let us remember that peace is not a static thing. The quality of your peace will be what you are willing to pay for it. It is not a peace at any price. But it truly is a peace the price of which is perpetual vigilance so that justice may reign--so that injustice not bring an end to peace.

What are Young Democrats to do about all this? First, they should in proud humility remember Jefferson and Jackson. They should prepare themselves for the biggest problem of all the centuries in which history has been written. This peace must have in it the vision of a Jefferson; it must have in it also the dream of a Wilson; it will, praise God, have in it a Roosevelt. (Applause--wait)

The vision of Wilson was eclipsed, perhaps, by those he called a "handful of willful men"; or, perhaps, the Wilson vision of world peace twenty-five years ago was twenty-five years too soon. But anything less than the task of a world peace on a permanent basis is not worthy of the American heritage. We Young Democrats did not rescue our country from the horrible collapse years of the early thirties. Older men did that. Perhaps older men than we may write the peace but the stake, and yes the duty, of youth is to live the peace. And so the peace must be the peace of youth and for youth, and youth must have a place at the peace table.

We can begin our part by seeing that the Democratic Party remains true and clean and fair and wise. Any party is merely a group of individuals such as are gathered here. No group of citizens, no nation, is of any more wisdom or fairness or honesty than is the average person in the group. So our work begins with each one of us knowing that God and country and one's duty to humanity is the basis of our preparation for the peace to come. The Democratic Party of 1941 is paramount in the nation of two parties. Let it remain so by its service to its country and in the awareness of its supremacy. As Democrats we meet here. Go back to your homes and spread the faith.

This peace to come is bigger than jobs and patronage. Yes, it is even bigger than such things as national debt and national economy and the party platform. Economy will be broken down by war. There are to be days ahead when men must recognize that the price of war must be paid for it free men are to function in any world that we would call pleasant. Our world is based upon contracts between individuals and between nations. Without dependable contracts between men and between nations no long-time prosperity and no long-time peace can possibly exist. And so the days of peace may be days of misery as we fight our way through greater depression time than the early thirties. Prepare yourself in your spirit for such a task.

But I would rather speak today as an optimist. Youth may gain nothing by doing nothing, and youth never functions through fear. It is through constructive work that mankind remains in health and there shall be a tremendous work to do in this peace.

As capitalism arose in this country from the simple farm economy of those who fought the revolutions, men conquered nature throughout our land. They united their resources. Billion dollar banks collected the money for thousands of persons seeking safety for their funds. Great financial dynasties arose. Goulds, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, became household words for a desired success.

But today values have changed. Youth no longer looks upon wealth beyond use as a social value. The worship of the billionaire is as old fashioned as the horse and buggy. The new order in the peace to come will be directed toward the pursuit of happiness of two billion people now living on this earth, and the job will be too big for any Rockefeller or any Morgan or any one man anywhere. It will be the business of the two billion people themselves. Nations exploiting backward nations, building billions for those who control ships and natural resources--such as oil and iron and copper and gas--are not to be the controlling forces of this new order. For the nations themselves must do this thing in peace and in friendship.

In the great Ural Mountains, which divide those splendidly fighting Russians from the high plains of Siberia, there is platinum; on the pampas of the Argentine there is feeding ground for cattle; in Chile there is fertilizer--all in more abundance than the nations which now own them can possibly use. These goods must move into use for man.

Credit and capital, the ability to travel, all things on a large scale involving thousands of man hours and millions in money are needed for the proper development of the things of this world for the use of mankind. And so the new economy, the new world of free motion, must examine afresh such things as passports and tariffs, the control of ports and special owning and over-charging privileges of individuals, and, yes, the special privileges of nations who by right of conquest and right of possession bar the door and stop the flow of the resources of nature to the use of mankind.

In an ideal world those people who are best fitted to produce must be permitted to produce, and have easy access to those persons who need the product. The corn farmer of Iowa must not be over-charged for the things he needs. Men in a world of peace, fighting for a formula by which war shall be kept at bay, must recognize the one definite fact that happy men do not go to war. War in its last analysis is a product of belly hunger. People in misery fight. And so no peace

which binds millions of men into hunger and slavery ever will be a lasting peace. That would be the Hitler way.

If I could say that it would be possible to punish men for their crimes of murder in the mass, I might be tempted to say that Germany should be punished to the third and fourth generation, but I content myself by saying that Hitler must be punished, and those other Hitlers in great numbers who have forged this thing of force and murder, who have sought to enslave free men--those men must go before there can be peace. An indignant world must rightly will demand punishment of such individuals. But let us stop and realize that in that awful thing which is now Europe there are four hundred million people who are not truly guilty of the horror of this thing. Let us regard them as sick people who are truly our brothers, and with whom, and through whom, we seek to save and to succor and to bring health back to this world.

Radio organization: Of course, if Carl Collins gets the O'Daniel organization by default, there will be a very numerous and veteran non-political group statewide, like that dumb bakery owner at Austin, who functioned for O'Daniel because of hatred of politicians and their own frustration in not having become successful politicians in youth. They are a middle aged group, slightly successful in business, like O'Daniel, and this crowd won't worry about Collins' inexperience or his Crazy Crystals. Also they go to church and listen to the radio. If O'Daniel passes out a word of sympathy for Collins, it may amount to more than the long distance Roosevelt pat on the back. As far as organization drive behind Collins is concerned, is it possible that for O'Daniel figures Collins now and himself a year from now? Of Collins and himself to succeed Connally so he will have two Senate seats and possibly a dish in the next Governorship along Huey Long lines?

The Roosevelt story has to be repeated by endless personal appearances at filling stations by men who believe it and know how to tell it, and it has to be told by women out of love of Roosevelt. That must come if this backwoods vote is not to be terribly disappointing and probably pro-Mann and pro-Collins. This backwood business of pro-Mann, Pro-Collins, pro-Dies, must not overcome the Houston, Austin, Waco, San Antonio, Corpus mass voting and mass publicity.

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
 Johnson and O'Daniel ,,, 1,513

12:30 Saturday unofficial
 Dies and Mann 1,746

(There has been an extraordinary difficulty in this county in trying to find out what the returns are. Some people allege that this county is purposely holding out.)

I think it very pertinent to investigate to ascertain whether the situation pointed out for Lamb County, where there was a sudden shift of trend from one candidate to another, also prevails in the other three counties mentioned and if so which candidates benefitted. It is also important to find out when, how and for what cause trends in all these counties changed. In order to do this I feel that the county election officials should be interviewed and that their testimony should be checked against testimony to be obtained through interview of precinct officials, the total of whose certification of votes goes into making the total certified for each county by the county officials.

Very sincerely,

(1) LAMB COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid 3,156
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% 315
Total possible voters approximately 3,471

Unofficial returns as of Saturday, June 28th at 12:30
Johnson 443
O'Daniel 580
Mann 485

Latest complete returns (Monday or Tuesday)
Johnson 406 (Note decrease)
O'Daniel 874 (Note extraordinary per centage of increased lead)

(2) SHELBY COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid 2,594
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% 259
Total possible voters approximately 2,853

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
Johnson and O'Daniel 1,188
Mann and Dies (12:30 Saturday unofficial)..... 1,255

(Note this is within about 200 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(3) HARDIN COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid 1,925
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% 192
Total possible voters approximately 2,117

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
Johnson and O'Daniel 724

12:30 Saturday unofficial
Mann and Dies 963

(Note this is within about 400 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(4) ANGELINA COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid 4,764
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10%..... 476
Total possible voters approximately 5,240

Memos for Texas

A survey through Ben Belt, and probably American Liberty, even if it takes a few hours of drinking, into who and how American oil, and American controlled oil, such as Venezuela and Mexico, is being sold to Japan, with all lateral lines of movement where it gets to any Axis position.

Mrs. Baldwin to work with census people.

Your Pocketbook and Mine

Talking to you as business men, I know that the vast change in our way of life which began in 1933 with Roosevelt has cost money which was not in the taxing possibility.

Many of you men did not like it. No one likes either debt or taxes. But I say to you that had Roosevelt not come along in 1933, by this time there would have been death--a stifling death--to the democratic way of life. Either a small fascist group, or a converted gangsterism with labor racketeers would have seized this country. Only Roosevelt and liberalism prevented the collapse of the early thirties from permanently crippling our form of government. And for the peacetime decade we have gotten much (and much Federal money has been expended which has improved the economic way of life in Texas.) Good roads, and rural electrification within the tenth district, which Roosevelt was willing should be with the Colorado Valley Authority a yardstick to measure what a government could wisely expend for the people of a Congressional District. The inference is that Texas is entitled, because of her very great contribution and loyalty behind Roosevelt and the vastness of her training activities, and because of her supremacy in the production of necessary war materials, to preferred treatment in providing not only the defense of America, but in providing a yardstick to measure what a rural peacetime people should have from government if government is to face a new day--and also what cities as centers of rural life should have from government in such matters as housing, low interest, and business reconstruction through bank deposit protection and bank aid. Certainly a man who has worked with the President in making the Tenth District a yardstick of Federal service to a Southwestern region might be expected to continue this work if he has confidence in the man who represents the State.

The warm heart of Roosevelt has been fooled more than once in advocating Federal expenditures which have not proven to be well spent. But in the main the expenditures through Henry Wallace and farm aid have been well spent; his

expenditures through Jesse Jones, the great financial conservative of Texas, have been well-spent; his very great expenditures for housing through the F. H. A. have been well-spent; the expenditures through the C. C. C. in aiding the youth have been well-spent; and, modestly may I say, every dollar of expenditure which Roosevelt has permitted me in the Tenth District for homes, for farm improvements, and flood control, for the development of power and for the beautification of your capitol city have been well spent. I am ashamed of not one single cent of the sixty million dollars which has been spent by the Federal Government in my district in six years. The money has been spent, the work is there, the pursuit of happiness of three hundred thousand people has been provided. Had our people in Central Texas had to wait upon a paralyzed capital system in the early thirties, the high rates and short credits, do you suppose that our people would have had this fine and richer way of life? The oil lamp is gone, the electricity is here. Could the future awaited soil erosion? Do floods await the will of man? Do dams that make light and power await their turn for the exploitation of private Wall Street controlled money sharks? Four generations--yes, for almost a century since the Civil War--has this fair land of Texas awaited, and awaited, and awaited for private capital. About all the private capital this land got was the capital of high interest rates--8 per cent actual loans--in times of stress 10 per cent oil loans with bonuses going in the back way to banker holdings in a tight fist the funds needed for the little fellow in the oil business to compete with the big company. Strengthening of banks, and strengthening the community through a friendship between Washington and Texas has made a new meaning of life on Texas farm lands, and for the workers of our cities.

How do you suppose a city worker had a chance to buy and pay for within his short lifetime a modest home faced with 8 per cent money and a short time maturity of his home loan? How many workers still owed money on homes when feeble hands could no longer use the tools of trade. How many farmers facing middle life and old age lost their farms under the curse of high interest and short time loans in the horrible days of the early thirties?

I saw some beautiful statistics the other day, and statistics can be beautiful when they have meaning which speaks beauty. I see that the number of people who own their own farms and homes in the United States is millions more than owned their own homes in 1930, or who owned their own farms in 1930. The The curse of farm tenantry in the South is losing its grasp as long term loans and low interest give the farmer a chance to conserve and produce and pay off all in one lifetime. Without a Roosevelt, with high interest and impossible dated maturities who would own the land of Texas now, who would possess all the oil wells, and how would our people be living in this increasing slum area of city tenantry? Any man before me who cannot see this picture of beautiful statistics, I know will not vote for Lyndon Johnson. In fact, a man who is not for Roosevelt and what he has done should not vote for Lyndon Johnson. In fact, Lyndon Johnson standing in front of you asks him not to vote for Lyndon Johnson. I with great sincerity say that I don't want the enemies of Franklin Roosevelt to be the friends of Lyndon Johnson, for in my humble way, working with Roosevelt for Texas, I do not care to be aided by the double cross or the Hitler cross. I don't want the passifcists of the Lindbergh type voting for me. I don't want that man of money cursing Roosevelt for loss of high interest voting for me. Rather would I prefer to return to Washington where my friends of the Tenth District have sent me knowing that in the lesser sphere of the Tenth District I would feel clean and Happy and contented. Naturally I want to work with Texas on a state-wide basis, and with a state wide vision, doing and aiding in twenty districts what I have le arned to do with Roosevelt in the Tenth. The problems of Texas are not problems of the South, or the East, or the West, or the North. In fact, I do not like to think of Texas having problems. The future of Texas thrills me. Her youth, her strength, her courage, her sense of individual freedom ring the bell. Wherever I go as a Texan, I have that sense of personal dignity that comes from having come from a place worth while. But to keep our Texas in the front, we must have front men at Washington. Whether I am at Washington for the Tenth District alone, or for the state as a whole as your Senator, my pride in Texas and my work for Texas will be the joy that comes to one in health and work for all.

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Memorandum:

We have to give the Johnson race heroic treatment, unusual definite blasting to break what appears almost indifference to the Senate race in the deep masses. They feel the war and are alright. They do not connect the Senate race with the war, and see no personality in the race to get excited about other than the possibility of O'Daniel. They probably will vote from habit without enthusiasm or serious convictions.

If that were entirely true, the best organization would win. This means the Collins organization which is merely a background of radio habit would pull more substantial vote than might now be realized. Dies should suffer by organizational lack, as I found no real enthusiasm, but merely that he was known, and would probably get an indifferent vote going to the polls as a social matter but of large proportions. Dies has not scared people to hero worship size because the war itself and the events since the Dies big peak have cut off hero worship enthusiasm.

Mann appears to be a political talent bet. In the state as a whole he has not made for color and personality deeply felt.

Johnson is unknown outside of the places where he has been personally active, but will have no "anti" vote as will Dies perhaps, and as probably may Collins, as he is after all a patent medicine man, which affronts the Christian Scientists and the Doctors and the intelligent vote. So heroic treatment may move an indifferent vote toward Johnson, the favorably unknown.

Suggestions: Pepper on a three-point state of the nation talk-- in Dallas, Houston, and the Panhandle. Houston and Dallas (or Fort Worth) for the radio and newspaper value, the Panhandle because work here may swing an indifferent Panhandle from Mann to Johnson. Pepper may take on one Oklahoma City speech as a cover up.

Pepper to Dallas. Harold Young to introduce him at a "State of America" rally. Pepper talks. Pepper turns to where Lyndon is as an incident in his speech when he is talking of spiritual values, and says:

"You here in Texas have the spirit of the free. You have sent free spirits to Washington for our inspiration. A free spirit in the mind of the aging Senator Sheppard inspired me in the Senate. The free spirit of the comparatively young Lyndon Johnson--and I see him over there--inspired me as I see him moving with ever quickening speed through the important affairs which must be settled well and quickly if we are to save the liberties we love.

"And that is why your Commander in Chief could say, or rather could not help saying: "Johnson is an old and trusted friend."

This would tie Johnson to Roosevelt and war and need of Johnson at Washington.

A well prepared information outlet for a re-statement by Roosevelt of his Johnson preference should be arranged:

The President in an informal moment might say to the Dallas News boy, "How is my boy, Johnson, running down there? Has the Governor stepped in?"

The Dallas News man might answer, "It is a tough fight for ~~any~~ no one can see the picture now."

The President might say, "I wish I could cast at least one vote in Texas this Spring. Now don't ask me what that means."

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There is a Oneness in finite units in self interest in all things. The finite one seeks liberty, seeks power, seeks satisfactions of all kinds, because of the fact of his humanness--his finiteness--sex, sleep, food, and hope of life continuation through his death fears.

The finite ones gather in groups. They adorn or foul nature in dense masses called cities. The city groups have common aims in their pursuits of liberty, behavior, things. In New York seven millions want five-cent subways, no tax on beer, noiseless streets. They and their newspapers make noise accordingly. Often it is merely noise to outlaw noise; liberty to lead to laziness; subways to speed us nowhere. But the fact is that a great mass in a small place want tremendously because of the multitude of the ones, not because of the strength of any one.

He who would serve them must listen to the jargon and discord of many tongues--sounds ranging from weak whines to hysterical shouts. Out of all this must come the truth-sound. It is the delicate call of the average mind, interpreted in its wisdom and put into execution by a leader who hears, believes, and prays in the passionate confidence that the wisdom of the average man is the paramount voice of the finite in humanity's search to harmonize with the infinite. This may not be the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of those who made Paris streets red; those whose feet bled at Valley Forge; those who defended the Swiss Alps from the Hapsburgs. It is a working thesis for the man who would lead without talk--without pretestation. Such a leader is mute. He leads those whom the people elect as leaders. The talkers, the men on horseback whom the people see, make the speeches regarding the affairs of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. These men in their humbleness very often desire to carry out, but have not the soul-brain, which has been, in their finite cases, buried through fatigue of action and fighting. They depend upon the listener. They go to him in the silence of the midnight. He speaks. They listen.

At broad noon the talking and the horseback riding is renewed.

There is no purpose in bands--in mass parades--in oratory--unless the control from the infinite through the average one to the mute listener, waiting for the man on horseback, is in harmony with the infinite. In the business of mass control, called government, we have merely the march from the East to the West, through space and time, toward the wants of the average.

All that is worth only the value of the direction of the effort. This effort must come from the average finite--also the direction--otherwise there is no harmony in the mass moving from East to West--from birth to death--all a continuous process. Average man is static in point of time and space as persons are born and die.

Listeners to the infinite agree that the ultimate pragmatic finite business is to connect in harmony the aspirations of the finite man with the flow of energy in the infinite.

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580

July 1, 1941

The Honorable
The Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As a citizen and as a Senator of the State of Texas I should like to call to your attention evidence of irregularity in the recent election in Texas for United States Senator. According to press reports this election has been carried by Governor O'Daniel by slightly over a thousand plurality.

In general this evidence indicates that in several counties there has been a higher vote than appears to be justified by the number of persons who are legally qualified to vote because they have paid poll taxes or because of old age exemption privileges. In other instances there has been a surprising reversal of the trend of votes from that shown by partial returns last Saturday, June 28th, as compared with final unofficial returns on Monday and Tuesday, June 30th and July 1st. In still other instances unofficial returns as of last Saturday for candidates have actually decreased in numbers of votes.

I wish at this time to make specific complaint as to the conduct of the election in the following counties: Lamb, Shelby, Hardin and Angelina. I feel that these instances are merely a sample of a widespread conspiracy to fraudulently influence the final result in this election.

I respectfully request that the United States Government, acting under its authority to investigate federal elections, immediately institute investigations in these counties. The detailed information as to the vote situation in the counties which I have mentioned are as follows:

(1) LAMB COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid	3,156
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% ..	315
Total possible voters approximately	3,471

Unofficial returns as of Saturday, June 28th at 12:30	
Johnson	443
O'Daniel.....	580
Mann	485

Latest complete returns (Monday or Tuesday)	
Johnson	406 (Note decrease)
O'Daniel.....	874 (Note extraordinary per centage of increased lead)

(2) SHELBY COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid.....	2,594
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10%	259
Total possible voters approximately.....	2,853

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday	
Johnson and O'Daniel.....	1,188
Mann and Dies (12:30 Saturday unofficial).....	1,255

(Note this is within about 200 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(3) HARDIN COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid.....	1,925
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% ..	192
Total possible voters approximately	2,117

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday	
Johnson and O'Daniel.....	724

12:30 Saturday unofficial	
Mann and Dies.....	963

(Note this is within about 400 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(4) ANGELINA COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid.....	4,764
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% ..	476
Total possible voters approximately	5,240

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
Johnson and O'Daniel..... 1,513

12:30 Saturday unofficial
Dies and Mann 1,746

(There has been an extraordinary difficulty in this county in trying to find out what the returns are. Some people allege that this county is purposely holding out.)

I think it very pertinent to investigate to ascertain whether the situation pointed out for Lamb County, where there was a sudden shift of trend from one candidate to another, also prevails in the other three counties mentioned and if so which candidates benefitted. It is also important to find out when, how and for what cause trends in all these counties changed. In order to do this I feel that the county election officials should be interviewed and that their testimony should be checked against testimony to be obtained through interview of precinct officials, the total of whose certification of votes goes into making the total certified for each county by the county officials.

Very sincerely,

July 1, 1941

The Honorable
The Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As a citizen and as a Senator of the State of Texas I should like to call to your attention evidence of irregularity in the recent election in Texas for United States Senator. According to press reports this election has been carried by Governor O'Daniel by slightly over a thousand plurality.

In general this evidence indicates that in several counties there has been a higher vote than appears to be justified by the number of persons who are legally qualified to vote because they have paid poll taxes or because of old age exemption privileges. In other instances there has been a surprising reversal of the trend of votes from that shown by partial returns last Saturday, June 28th, as compared with final unofficial returns on Monday and Tuesday, June 30th and July 1st. In still other instances unofficial returns as of last Saturday for candidates have actually decreased in numbers of votes.

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I respectfully request that the United States Government, acting under its authority to investigate federal elections, immediately institute investigations in these counties. The detailed information as to the vote situation in the counties which I have mentioned are as follows:

(1) LAMB COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid 3,156
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% .. 315
Total possible voters approximately 3,471

Unofficial returns as of Saturday, June 23th at 12:30
Johnson 443
O'Daniel..... 580
Mann 485

Latest complete returns (Monday or Tuesday)
Johnson 406 (Note decrease)
O'Daniel..... 874 (Note extraordinary per-
centage of in-
creased lead)

(2) SHELBY COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid..... 2,594
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% 259
Total possible voters approximately..... 2,853

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
Johnson and O'Daniel..... 1,186
Mann and Dies (12:30 Saturday unofficial)..... 1,255

(Note this is within about 200 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(3) HARDIN COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid..... 1,925
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10% .. 192
Total possible voters approximately 2,117

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday
Johnson and O'Daniel..... 724

12:30 Saturday unofficial
Mann and Dies..... 963

(Note this is within about 400 votes of the total poll tax registration. If you take into account the fact that Mann and Dies must have gained a great number of votes between Saturday and Tuesday, I think you will find the total votes in excess of any possible legal total vote.)

(4) ANGELINA COUNTY

Poll Taxes paid..... 4,764
Exemptions of poll tax unknown but estimated at about 10%.. 476
Total possible voters approximately 5,240

Final unofficial returns as of Monday or Tuesday

Johnson and O'Daniel..... 1,513

12:30 Saturday unofficial

Dies and Mann 1,746

(There has been an extraordinary difficulty in this county in trying to find out what the returns are. Some people allege that this county is purposely holding out.)

I think it very pertinent to investigate to ascertain whether the situation pointed out for Lamb County, where there was a sudden shift of trend from one candidate to another, also prevails in the other three counties mentioned and if so which candidates benefitted. It is also important to find out when, how and for what cause trends in all these counties changed. In order to do this I feel that the county election officials should be interviewed and that their testimony should be checked against testimony to be obtained through interview of precinct officials, the total of whose certification of votes goes into making the total certified for each county by the county officials.

Very sincerely,

July 8, 1941

MEMO TO FRANK BALDWIN, WACO NEWS TRIBUNE:

I suggest a Sunday feature with a headline, "The man who wins Texas Senate race."

The illustrations might be a recent picture of James E. Ferguson with a drawn background of a brewery and possibly artist's illustrations drawing in \$168,000 in one hand and an empty hand, palm up, reaching out in the direction of the penitentiary labelled "Huntsville." His record, of course, is money from the breweries and money from pardons.

The overline is "James E. Ferguson winner" and the underline is "James E. Ferguson returns to power as the wets put over the dry Senator O'Daniel and the complacent Governor Stevenson uses Ferguson strategy throughout the campaign."

The story probably from Austin, Texas, or a straight news interpretation from Waco, Texas, by Frank Baldwin after you have reworked the story to reconcile it with your own. Some of the names and exact dates have to be checked, especially the name of the brewery and the date of the item in the Star Telegram.

THE STORY:

The Texas Senate race is all over except for the State of Texas through Governor O'Daniel to certify to the U. S. Senate the election of Senator O'Daniel.

In Governor O'Daniel's library is a movie film which he prizes very highly and loves to see in the privacy of his home. It is entitled "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." But as Mr. Smith, alias Governor O'Daniel, goes to Washington, there remains in Austin what may have called a sinister force. Ex-Governor James

2.

L. Ferguson wins for the fourth time the governorship of Texas.

In the passage of the years since the days when brewery interest threw \$150,000 over the transom where the Governor sat, people forgot that James M. Ferguson had a brain. They believed that Ferguson was a has been, old and doddering. The younger growth of politicians often said that they would rather have Ferguson against them than for them. Now Ferguson has put it over a hillbilly band, a Roosevelt Congressman, an Attorney General selling athletics and honesty, and the great Congressman who invented the one man Dies Committee. So all honor today to Ferguson the great if by honor we mean success. Six million people more or less got hot and bothered for nine weeks while Ferguson figured the percentages for himself and certain brewery friends who had stuck by him through thick and thin ever and under transoms for more than twenty years. But Ferguson generally got the money. Politics sometimes is called a business.

How did this happen? The steps: (1). Governor O'Daniel announces that he believes in a dry Texas. (2). Ferguson smiles as the alarmed brewery interest meet and decide that old maestro Ferguson is to be manager of their political interest. (3). Ferguson manipulates the enemies of O'Daniel in the State Legislature to declare for O'Daniel for Senator and of course O'Daniel's friends have to join to make it unanimous. "One Senator in '06 can't turn the country dry," says Ferguson, "but one Governor in vertime can turn a state dry. (4). O'Daniel, no slouch politician himself, tells the legislature "fix up the

8.

old folks" before he will answer their plea to run for the Senate. Whiskey Senators, beer representatives, gambling interest, race track hopefuls, haters of Roosevelt, all see the light. "Kick him upstairs out of the state" is the chorus from the underworld where Ferguson knows his way around. The swing of time generally comes back to a man who lives long enough. Ferguson, consisted of getting \$184,000 from Brewers to stop a dry election in Texas in 1941, may not have made a cent in this Spring of our Lord 1941, but someone paid for something. Someone paid for an advertisement in the Star Telegram of June 24th, a photograph which is herewith reproduced. You see in this and the words of Governor Jim. He tells all who may read that O'Daniel voters and the supporters of Coke Stevenson, the Lieutenant Governor, will join together June 28th to put O'Daniel far away and make Stevenson, the friend of liberal folks, the man who opposed Roosevelt, the chief of Texas.

Some might have said that the proposal smilled of an unholy alliance, but in the busy days of the campaign, no one paid any attention to poor old Jim. But now perhaps Jim is not so poor in power or in the importance that may bring a more prosperous bank account.

The evidence of Jim's work in the last few weeks is all around the state. Campaign Manager Hofheinz for Lyndon Johnson in South Texas may have failed to ask President _____ of Grand Prize brewery who he predicted would win the Senate race or why _____ said Washington was a better place for O'Daniel than Austin.

4.

Perhaps the Gerald Mann headquarters in North Texas believed the brewery and utility interests of North Texas would not go back on the home town boy and Congressman Dies may have wondered why big business who had supported his anti-labor drive was so cold to Dies and so warm to O'Daniel. Ferguson was not puzzled, the brewers were not puzzled and the utilities were not puzzled for they now have O'Daniel safe in Washington and the great Coke Stevenson safely in the Governor's chair.

The people who counted the election returns of the last 20,000 votes were very puzzled as returns came in from the far places whipping Governor O'Daniel into victory by a few 100 votes. But Ferguson was not puzzled by this nor were the brewers. These things have happened before in the life of Governor Ferguson. It happened to Sterling in 1931 when "Ma" came to Austin with 2000 votes in the final hour, for Governor Ferguson is a past master in finishing up an election to his satisfaction if an election is close enough.

No one will accuse Lieutenant Governor Stevenson and his Senator friends of calling up County Judges in the far desert places of the West and South or in the deep woods of East Texas or along the seacoast South of Houston on Saturday and Sunday Night. No one will accuse Governor Ferguson of consulting with the new Governor Stevenson or of directing his mind in any way. Certainly no one will believe that Governor Ferguson received a cent from any brewery friend as the week ended. No one should accuse Governor Ferguson of sending any money any where for any purpose that Ferguson does not approve of.

Ferguson never has sent any money to anyone without knowing what he is doing. Ferguson is a very smart man. His brewery friends are

5.

good business men. If brewers spent any money through Ferguson to elect O'Daniel, the brewers and Ferguson know what they got and what they paid for.

Politically wise persons looking at these election returns may say that Governor Ferguson should have provided a few 1000 instead of a few 100 for a satisfactory end of a campaign. But Ferguson is growing old and his ad in the Star Telegram plainly states that O'Daniel was a cinch to win and that there wasn't any doubt about it from the beginning. Anyway, Ferguson might well reply the 400 are enough and as good as 4000 or 40,000, when the election board which certifies the truth of election figures sending Governor O'Daniel to Washington is composed of Governor O'Daniel and his own appointee, Secretary of State Smith as two of the three members. There ought to be no trouble about that.

But, says someone, why doesn't Congressman Johnson make a noise; or why doesn't Attorney General Mann, the third member of the election board, get out a magnifying glass or small around a little, but Ferguson might well reply that no one gets anywhere in contesting an election in Texas and that the Attorney General with O'Daniel far away has an open road to beat Stevenson next year for Governor.

For those who worked hard and sincerely behind O'Daniel, Mann, Johnson, and Dies, there is a joke in all this. The joke is to see the has been, Tom Love, galloping on a dry horse behind O'Daniel, the has been Governor Moody galloping along behind Mann, the has been Governor Ferguson whipping in the winner. Farmer Jim is simply the cream of the crop when it gets to getting things done his way.

July 17, 1941

As I stand here with you, we dedicate as civilians 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 on a peaceful countryside for war, which we passionately will try to prevent.

I could speak at length of farms that will grow no more corn, as steel for plow shares is converted into steel for the defense of Liberty. I could tell you that a year of sweat of tens of thousand of farmers growing wheat must pay for this single plant. You already know that more power will be needed here than is needed to carry on the lighting and industrial life of this City of Burlington, and you may have heard that this plant to make giant shells is but one of eight others which together will require the industry and the man power of a city of half a million souls and spread over a peaceful and productive country which could grow the food for a half a million souls.

So today I would leave figures to the Ordnance Department and speak of this dedication as a dedication of America in its will to preserve and defend the God and the Liberty and the pursuit of happiness of this our America.

A peaceful people moves slowly toward things of war. Not until the last hope has been lost will a peaceful people convert material of peaceful life into material of war. But this is our lot. We save all or we lose all by the way we meet this day.

I am not one to admit that a mistaken way of life prevails here. No Lindbergh, no Wheeler, no labor racketeers, no peace-at-any-price advocate has obtained a real foothold over the smiling and productive farm lands of the Middle West. In my heart I honor the will for peace that is the spiritual basis of this great Middle West, but I deny that this will for peace has been distorted by

any one 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 on the sea, and airplanes in Kansas. We have made America an arsenal for Liberty. The year ahead may have fewer new automobiles, but we of the Middle West know how to make the old car run. We have made the old car run, and the old tractor work, while we fought depression and hunger. We found out how to make farm economy work in the Democratic way as farmers met in democracy to meet the issue of too much and too little as they adjusted producer and consumer out of the chaos and despair of a former year.

In the Democratic way of freedom we fought the peacetime fight, and now, threatened in our freedom itself, we fight on. We turn our farms over to gun making, as in a former year at the dawn of the Christian Era swords were turned into plow shares after the freedom of worshipping God had fought and obtained a peace.

And again there shall come peace. Our steel shall again become steel for plows. But today is not the time. Today we dedicate this great plant to the defense of liberty, to the worship of God in the days to come, and to the peaceful pursuit of happiness of the American family. In this dedication may I say that only through a oneness of spirit, which has been called unity of purpose throughout the land, shall we live. I rejoice as the days pass and the work belts tighten, as muscles and minds quicken to the task, that this great Middle West has its part in the oneness of will and work which shall win. All know that the production of food is the true basis of civilization. From this base civilization rises, and the great Middle West is the heart of the basis upon which America is founded. But I would feel badly if the direct labor of defense were denied Iowa. It is with mixed emotions that I say this. As your former Secretary of Agriculture, and one of you in the business of farming, it is with pain that I see fertile fields abandoned to the business of war. But it is with great exultation that I see the spirit and the purpose on the faces of those before me. America has a destiny with God and this World. The American destiny is to preserve civilization in this

country so that the light of darkness and despotism may not rule this world.

From Europe has come the message that a German world shall last for a thousand years. From this place I say that this is not so. I say that the world of liberty, and that which we know to be the dignity of the average man, shall rule this world with increasing and glorified insistence for the next thousand years.

Life is not a smooth and easy road. Peoples of this earth are born and die, struggle and enjoy through active effort the blessings of the earth. Sometimes the battle seems to be a losing one, but never has it been lost.

Once in the Dark Ages a thousand petty despots ruled all that might be called civilisation. The spark of the Christian faith was all but lost. Then arose the common man, learning, denied to all, was revived. Now in our land great universities and the countless schools give knowledge and richness of life to all. Our God becomes our personal God. We may 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.

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 foes of darkness. We predict today that the light is coming sooner than we think. The seeds of decay are already in the despotism of force which would murder and enslave us. I believe England shall survive. I believe those miserable and helpless victims behind the wall of Hitler are beginning to see the light. I believe there is a decay even in the camps of the despots.

If there is anything certain about the good life, it is that good men think and act alike for each other as well as for themselves. 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 ferment 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, as evil forces rage throughout the world. 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.

The Free French work the mines of the Pacific, willing that their nickel harden the steel shells that are to be made where we now stand. They have willed that no nickel that Free Frenchmen ship shall go into the shells of despots, no matter what despots or despots' puppets shall order.

England and America, Australia and Canada, South Africa and the countless and helpless millions that 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.

But 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 and freedom.

It may not be fitting here to look ahead too far. But every laborer is worthy of his hire. The great labor which is to be accomplished here in this arsenal of liberty must have a meaning and an ending if the labor itself is to be joyous and purposeful and uninterrupted. I see ahead a richer life. When despots fail and free men, after fighting, face the future, there will be a responsibility. There will be many needs. America, and we Americans, must be prepared. It must not--this world of peace--be a world of rancor and hate and suspicion and temporary, make-shift, patchwork decisions. We must be prepared in our souls. Prepare your leaders. I say that the leadership of the peace must be the leadership of the common man. Such a leadership must beware of the man too clever, or of the man of hate.

The wants of humankind are simple and healthy and few. America, perhaps more than a hundred other nations, must state and make clear these things. America must insist that the healthful life of people and liberty be a worldwide thing.

Order throughout the world must be for people, not for governments as such. The greatest reservoir of education and spiritual life in this world now resides with us. The true axis of the permanent and fruitful world to come is not a line from Rome to Berlin. The true axis is a line from the free people, of which London is the heart, to Washington, which is now the heart of the effort of the Western world. But this line crossing the Atlantic must be maintained at all costs. If that cost takes us to Greenland and Iceland to guard the line on the North, there may also be measures taken to guard the line on the South so that our brothers in liberty in North and South America may not be left unprotected. And, at the backdoor where the great Pacific which the Spanish discovered and called the peaceful sea-- stretches its thousands of miles. This sea leads the way to the peaceful free peoples of Australia, and to the rubber and tin and nickel without which we may not fight the battle of liberty.

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country so that the light of darkness and despotism may not rule this world.

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Once in the Dark Ages a thousand petty despots ruled all that might be called civilization. The spark of the Christian faith was all but lost. Then arose the common man, learning, denied to all, was revived. Now in our land great universities and the countless schools give knowledge and richness of life to all. Our God becomes our personal God. We may 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.

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 foes of darkness. We predict today that the light is coming sooner than we think. The seeds of decay are already in the despotism of force which would murder and enslave us. I believe England shall survive. I believe those miserable and helpless victims behind the wall of Hitler are beginning to see the light. I believe there is a decay even in the camps of the despots.

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England and America, Australia and Canada, South Africa and the countless and helpless millions that 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 anymore. One hears instead that the despot speaks to men whipped into line by fear of punishment.

But 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 and freedom.

It may not be fitting here to look ahead too far. But every laborer is worthy of his hire. The great labor which is to be accomplished here in this arsenal of liberty must have a meaning and an ending if the labor itself is to be joyous and purposeful and uninterrupted. I see ahead a richer life. When despots fail and free men, after fighting, face the future, there will be a responsibility. There will be many needs. America, and we Americans, must be prepared. It must not--this world of peace--be a world of rancor and hate and suspicion and temporary, make-shift, patchwork decisions. We must be prepared in our souls. Prepare your leaders. I say that the leadership of the peace must be the leadership of the common man. Such a leadership must beware of the man too clever, or of the man of hate.

The wants of humankind are simple and healthy and few. America, perhaps more than a hundred other nations, must state and make clear these things. America must insist that the healthful life of people and liberty be a worldwide thing.

Order throughout the world must be for people, not for governments as such. The greatest reservoir of education and spiritual life in this world now resides with us. The true axis of the permanent and fruitful world to come is not a line from Rome to Berlin. The true axis is a line from the free people, of which London is the heart, to Washington, which is now the heart of the effort of the Western world. But this line crossing the Atlantic must be maintained at all costs. If that cost takes us to Greenland and Iceland to guard the line on the North, there may also be measures taken to guard the line on the South so that our brothers in liberty in North and South America may not be left unprotected. And, at the backdoor where the great Pacific which the Spanish discovered and called the peaceful sea-- stretches its thousands of miles. This sea leads the way to the peaceful free peoples of Australia, and to the rubber and tin and nickel without which we may not fight the battle of liberty.

These are the problems of today for a free people. Here today we prepare; we shall build more arsenals until the day when the despot is no more.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
July 30, 1941

Dear Arthur:

Your letter justifies the Arthur--and there is no pun on author intended.

I feel that out of the campaign there was an enrichment in that people met on the basis of another fellow. In such functioning there is a clear observation of character.

Tell your wife that I feel kindly toward her, but I have an unholy horror of all women who would at any time, anywhere, stop a man from either humor or singing. I cannot sing a note, but I would murder a woman who tried to stop me. And I secretly suspect my humor is not exactly the wonderful kind. But anyone who would make me sad when I wish to be gay is out of the window. They will just have to bear with me on singing and humor in this Year of Our Lord Nineteen hundred and Forty-One--and I am fifty-four years of age.

You do your bit in this world in a most excellent way. Living all around you for twenty-five years, I have heard nothing (remember, I am saying "nothing") to your discredit. I shall leave the rest to our meeting, which I hope will be in September at Washington. It may be earlier, should I be coming your way. But I shall probably wait until Washington, as you in Temple have duty first too keenly

In closing, I feel at this moment that our lines are moving closer.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

3/10/42
10.4 3.10.42
(As Democrats--Young Democrats--we meet here today in unity behind Roosevelt.)

(Applause--wait.)

may ~~As~~ ^{maybe} very few of you here ~~are~~ acquainted with me in person or by reputation, ~~but~~ recognize me as one whose head is bloody but unbowed--~~as~~ ^{Pappy} simply passed more biscuits than I did.

we must ~~May I be pardoned for being myself merely as an example of a young man who~~ believed in the bigger thing--our country, its problems, and the world and its problems--rather than in the circumstance of victory or defeat for oneself.

~~Victory for all of us must be our mission. The defense of America is~~ ^{Thus far we have called this thing} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~defense of America.~~ ^{But} Defense in its very essence means saving from something.

~~Defense is that which the human beings~~ ^{depend the most} ~~fear~~ when ~~they~~ ^{are} frightened, or at least fearful that an enemy force may disturb ~~him~~ ^{them} in his ~~his~~ ^{their} pursuit of happiness.

That youth does not fear ^{the Americas} ~~In this our America~~ for almost two centuries we have built under ~~the American~~ ^{North is not} flag a method for the pursuit of happiness as we see it. ~~There were only three~~ million people ~~who~~ ^{were} ~~as~~ ^{in the heart of it} partners started the United States of America. Now there are one hundred thirty million people in the partnership.

This partnership has certain assets and certain liabilities, ~~the~~ ^{the} essence of the partnership is that all are equal in the selection of those who ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ ~~lead~~ ^{ing} ~~us~~ ^{ing} direct us on our road. ~~In the wisdom that only comes from millions~~ ^{The Assoc} ~~a man~~ has been named three times to lead us. A precedent ~~was~~ ^{has been} broken. This man ~~has~~ ^{has} achieved an honor greater than that given to any other man in the history of this country. There ~~is~~ ^{is} a reason for all this. The reason ~~is~~ ^{is} the wisdom of one hundred thirty million people facing a crisis, ~~and~~ ^{to the world} ~~so~~ ^{leader} we all as partners gave for the third time ~~to the world~~ a very great ~~figure~~ ^{leader}--Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

~~But time and circumstances wait for no man--not even~~ ^{in America} ~~one~~ ^{have} hundred thirty million people centered at a spot on this earth which ~~has~~ ^{do not} not been engulfed by either slavery or fear. And so today I want to forget ~~in the business of~~ ^{not} defense of America, but to discuss the defense of America in terms of youth, ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~here~~ ^{here} today

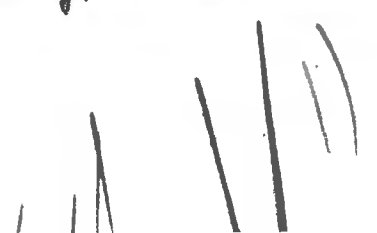
I see these representatives of the Democratic party who are to lead the fight in the years to come ~~the~~ ^{for} fight ^{of} unity ~~which~~ ^{continue} must be as long as an attacking force would destroy the thing that has been built in ~~the~~ our country.

Defense of America means ~~to be~~ more than guns and ships and tanks ~~and~~. Those things have been made and are ~~in the making~~ ^{being made}. The biggest air battleships ever built fly daily the Atlantic, ~~and~~ ^{they} daily bomb the enemy's workshops of murder, where slaves pause under Hitler as the bombs made in American factories fall. Our men are not there, and, thank God they are not there. There is a vast difference between making the material of war and the using of the material of war. There have been no mangled bodies of Americans in this thing. Our youth is sound in limb and mind, and I believe our youth is ~~still~~ sound in the essence ^{of its} ~~and the~~ soul. I believe ^{that} there is no hatred in this gathering. ^{and} I know that there is no fear ~~in~~ ~~this gathering~~. ~~and all of our hatred~~ ^{and} hatred is the hunchback child of fear.

So we shall build and lend and lease. We shall take in the Free French, not as outlaws with prices on their heads, but as the finest flower of sacrifice and bravery that this war has developed. We ultimately will not allow Hitler to ~~dictate to us through~~ ^{dictate to us through} ~~falling~~ Darlan to ~~tell us anything~~.

The Battle of the Atlantic will determine ^{the victory in} this war. Our courageous leader, with a pitiful authority, has made the most of what he has had to work with. The Wheelers, ~~and~~ the Nyes, ~~and~~ the Lindbergs, and the petty group of selfish men, seeking future prominence should Hitler win, have fought ^{our} ~~your~~ leader for years. They fought the Neutrality Bill which might have saved France. They fought the Lend-Lease Bill. They now fight to send our armies home so that Hitler may feel with confidence ^{that} an attack on Britain might succeed, and that plans for his Battle of the South Atlantic might go forward.

This Battle of the Atlantic will not be won on Iceland's shores. The true battle ^{for} of the free ^{goon of the} Americans will be fought in the South Atlantic, ~~as~~ ^{as} Hitler's legions, protected by the French fleet occupying ^{the} ~~the~~ coastline of Africa, ^{which is} twice as



near to Brasil as ^{is} this point at which we stand ~~have~~, ~~have~~ ^{attempt to} conquered the ocean.

~~Remember that from 1914 to 1918 only 100,000 men were trained in Germany from Germany~~
~~and~~ ^{not} remember a long preparation of years of voluntary training and medals has gone ^{in South America}
before among the military group which may vote the Hitler way, should America
falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train
men, ^{and} ~~we shall~~ make and send war material by every possible means to every
possible ally until Hitler is gone and ~~freedom is restored~~ ^{freedom is victorious} settled for freedom.

There is no all out ^{defense of} ~~defense of~~ America if men, simply because they are old,
are left ^{control of the} in the Army and Navy and in the vital committee positions of Congress.
If ^{there is a battle on} a man does not fit a place, he should ^{be put in it} ~~not stay there~~ as we face Hitler.

^{Senator} Witness Bob Reynolds ~~Chairman~~ ^{important} heading the Military Affairs Committee on the
pure basis of seniority. ~~Witness the vote upon the question of whether the boys~~
~~should be sent back home from the camps in this time of crisis.~~ Witness Senator
Reynolds, Chairman of the committee, voting to send ^{the boys back from the camps in this} them home ^{time of} while the nine ^{crisis}
other members of his committee unanimously voted the path of courage and all out
defense.

Should such a man as Reynolds remain as Chairman of the Senate Military
Affairs Committee? What do you think a Hitler or a ~~dictator~~ thinks of the
democratic processes?

They know that Reynolds could not muster three votes in the Senate of the
United States for the Chairmanship of this all-important Military Affairs Com-
mittee ~~except~~ ^{except} for the voice of the seniority regulation.

~~But I want to pause a moment to say that we have not gone all out for~~
~~freedom in this country.~~

~~Insert Number two~~

As we move through defense of America toward a victory of permanent peace, let us remember that peace is not a static thing. The quality of your peace will be what you are willing to pay for it. It is not a peace at any price. But it truly is a peace the price of which is perpetual vigilance so that justice may reign--so that injustice not bring an end to peace. And in this defense of America, which, because it is courageous and intelligent, is to lead to a peace for free men, ^{you are making their} ~~there is a record~~ ^{by} ~~being made~~ ^{of what} ~~they~~ ^{they} say. ~~So many~~ ^{the} Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Vandenberg, ~~and~~ the Hyes, and all the others who would delay or sabotage an all out aid to all free peoples, are now of little significance. America has spoken. These men shall not prevail.

But I wonder whether certain other men--true Americans, in the main, are not now being found wanting. I wonder whether a man enjoying a thirty thousand dollar a year salary will long remain content spending a day or two a month superintending a state's draft board which sends our youth into training by the ~~million at twenty-one dollars a month?~~ ^{To be doing less than they could do} Will ~~he~~ ^{he} be content with ^{his} patriotism forever?

I wonder whether a young man in his thirties who has been lifted into financial wealth by a father or by marrying a rich girl shall be content for long merely because the draft has not reached him as yet? ^{who} ~~Such~~ men have surpluses of time or money or both, which should be all out aid to America now.

There has been too much publicity and advertising of so-called dollar-a-year men. Among the hundreds, yes, thousands of such dollar-a-year men in ^{For instance} Washington are many of the strongest human defenses that America now has. But ~~I truly believe that no man can serve two masters when it comes to money. I have never found a man who held down two jobs who held down two equally well. There are exceptions to all rules, and I shall accept LaGuardia as an example of a man, ^{a genius & energys} ~~who can run New York City three days a week, and Civillian Morale three days a week.~~ ^{show another leader right in our days -}~~

* He can ~~run~~ ^{run} the ^{at the expense} of the city of New York ^{a 100% patriotic servant} and not in the pay of a corporation, serve the whole nation through Civillian morale three days a week -

~~Insert Number two page two~~

~~I am speaking of the principle of the thing, and the rank and file of the dollar-a-year men as I know them.~~

But I don't believe in the principle of the dollar-a-year-man. I believe a better way would be to draft ^{our men} brains as ^{democratically} definitely and as fairly in the defense of America as we have drafted ~~the bodies of~~ ^{to be found as} million young men. ^{I believe}

believe that ~~any well-bred and keenly active brain of~~ any American individual owes ~~his~~ first duty now to the ~~Commander-in-Chief of the~~ United States. I believe ~~he owes to such a Commander all his time, and not part of his time, if~~ ^{he is needed} ~~needed~~ ^{he should serve his Country and be Commander in Chief with}

he is needed. I believe such a man should be content to leave his wages to the fairness of the government just as definitely as a million boys have cheerfully taken what the government has apportioned out of an already over-burdened defense budget.

~~Because it seemed to be the easiest way, and because Americans like to have the thrill of being a volunteer, we have permitted the brains of America to set themselves aside in a special class called dollar-a-year man. I think the time has now come when a man who wants to serve an oil company three days a week at twenty-five thousand dollars a year and to purchase oil for defense the other three days of the week at one dollar a year will find himself embarrassed as he~~

~~tries to serve two masters. He may find himself working full time for twenty-five dollars a year for an oil company which he knows and likes and which pays him, and then on the last three days of the week he may find the same oil company~~

~~selling the government oil which he is buying. According to my way of thinking, it takes a man of such high quality to do ^{two jobs} ~~these things~~ accurately in justice to both ^{an} ~~the~~ oil company and ^{that} ~~the~~ government, that I doubt whether the policy of a~~

dollar-a-year man is the best policy for this government. ^{I think a better way} ~~I think a better way would be to say to the twenty-five thousand a year brain that the government wants full time at, let us say, eight thousand dollars a year. And, if it comes to a show down, it should be full time or nothing.~~

QR

with a well bred & keenly active brain

he is needed

a man himself working full time for twenty-five dollars a year

two jobs

an

that

R

~~Insert Number two Page three~~

I don't believe that one hundred and thirty million americans want charity from any corporation whatever. I believe many Congressmen and Senators feel the same way. I would like to know now for my own guidance how you feel. All those who favor a draft of brains, hold up your hands. All those who believe in the dollar-a-year part timers, hold up your hands. Thank you. I shall be guided accordingly when I go back to my Congress seat.

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Page 4

genuine new order ^{rather} ~~not~~ Hitler's order ^{not} ~~or~~ the order of the Yellow Jap, ^{showed}
 What are Young Democrats to do about all this? First, they will in proud ^{showed}
 humility remember Jefferson and Jackson. They will ^{showed} prepare themselves for the
 biggest problem of all the centuries in which history has been written, for ^{the vision of} this
 peace must have in it a Jefferson; it must have in it also, ^{the dream of} a Wilson; it will,
 praise God, have in it a Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

The vision of Wilson was ~~dimmed by disease, perhaps, eclipsed, perhaps,~~
 by those he called a "handful of willful men"; or, perhaps, the Wilson vision of
 world peace twenty-five years ago was ~~twenty-five years too soon,~~ but anything
 less than the task of world peace ^{on} a permanent basis is not worthy of the American
 heritage. We Young Democrats did not rescue our country from the horrible collapse
 years of the early thirties. Older men did that. Perhaps older men than we may
 write the peace, but the stake, and, yes, the duty of youth is to live the peace,
 and so the peace must be the peace of youth and for youth, and youth must have
 a place at the peace table.

At this hour Hitler, in person through Germany or through his allies, is
 moving in every part of this world. Time presses for him. Every morning he
awakes and knows this. Fallen France gives up its Eastern empire to the Japs
 moving south. Under the cloak of France Hitler moves through Africa; with medals
 and promises of power ~~to come~~ he moves through Brazil and the Argentine and Chile.
 Stalled amid the mud of Russia, Hitler knows his time is very, very short.* And
 so without making a prediction of just how short is Hitler's time, or how violent
 will be the Hitler death throes, I say be prepared for a peace sooner than you
 think.

We can begin our part by
~~First of all we must see~~ that the Democratic Party remains true and clean
 and fair and wise. Any party is merely a group of individuals such as are gathered
 here. No group of citizens, no nation, is of any more wisdom or fairness or honesty
 than is the average person in the group. So our work begins with each one of us
 knowing that God and country and one's duty to humanity is the basis of our

preparation for the peace to come. ~~As Democrats we meet here. Go back to your homes to spread the faith.~~ The Democratic Party of 1941 is paramount in the nation of two parties. Let it remain so by its service to its country and in its awareness of its supremacy. *As Democrats we meet here. Go back to your homes and spread the faith.*

~~This peace to come is bigger than jobs and patronage. Yes, it is even better and bigger than such things as national debt and national economy and the party platform. Economy will be broken down by war. There are to be days ahead when ~~we must recognize~~ that the price of war must be paid for if free men are to function in any world that ~~we would call pleasant.~~ Our world is based upon contracts between individuals and between nations. Without dependable contracts, which in the very essence of the thing ~~is~~ *between men & between nations* dependable in the world of man, no long time prosperity and no long time peace can possibly exist. And so the days of peace may be days of misery as we fight our way through greater depression time than the early thirties. Prepare yourself in your spirit for such a task.~~

But I would rather speak today as an optimist, ~~because~~ *because* youth may gain nothing by doing nothing, and youth never functions through fear. ~~Let us all remember~~ *It is* ~~that~~ through constructive work ~~that~~ *that* mankind remains in health and there ~~is~~ *shall be* a tremendous work to do in this peace.

As capitalism arose in this country from the simple farm economy of those who fought the revolutions, ~~men~~ *men* conquered nature throughout our land. ~~They~~ *They* limited their resources. Billion dollar banks collected the money of thousands of persons seeking a ~~safty~~ *for their funds*. Great financial dynasties arose. Goulds, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, became household names for a desired success.

But today values have changed. Youth no longer looks ~~at~~ *upon* wealth beyond use as a social value. The worship of the billionaire is as old fashioned as the horse and buggy. The new order ~~about~~ in the peace to come will be directed toward the pursuit of happiness ~~of~~ *of* two billion people now living on this earth, and the job will be too big for any Rockefeller or any Morgan or any one man anywhere.

It will be the business of the two billion people themselves. Nations exploiting backward nations, building billions for those who control ships and natural resources--such as oil and iron and copper and gas--are not to be the controlling forces of this new order. For the nations themselves must do this thing in peace and in friendship.

In the great Ural Mountains, which divide those splendidly fighting Russians from the high plains of Siberia, there is platinum; ^{for ~~the~~} on the pampas of the Argentine there is feeding ground; ^{for ~~the~~} In Chile there is fertilizer--all in more abundance than the nations which now own them can possibly use. These goods must move into use for man. ~~Today there are robber barons everywhere who over-charge for and over-own the resources of this world. These resources cannot be cut up into small and useless units. These resources move by the ship load.~~ Credit and capital, the ability to travel, all things on a large scale involving thousands of man hours and millions in money are needed for the proper development of the things of this world for the use of mankind. And so the new economy, the new world of free motion must examine afresh such things as pass ports and tariffs, the control of ports and special ^{owning & over-charging} privileges of individuals, and, yes, the special privileges of nations who by right of conquest and right of possession bar the door and stop the flow of the ^{resources} things of nature to the use of ~~mankind~~ ^{man-kind}.

In an ideal world those people who ~~can best produce~~ must be permitted to produce the thing they are best fitted to produce and ~~for~~ have easy access to those persons who need the product. The corn farmer of Iowa must not be over-charged for the things he needs. Men in a world of peace, fighting for a formula ^{by} through which war shall be kept at bay, must recognise the one definite fact that happy men do not go to war. War in its last analysis is a product of belly hunger. People in misery fight. And so no peace which binds millions of men into hunger and slavery ever will be a lasting peace. That would be the Hitler way.

If I could say that it would be possible to punish men for their crimes of murder in the mass, I might be tempted to say that Germany should be punished to the third and fourth generation, but I content myself by saying that Hitler must

be punished, and those other Hitlers in great numbers who have forged this thing
of force and murder, ^{who have sought} ~~seeking~~ to enslave free men--those men must go before there
can be peace. An indignant world most rightly will demand ~~such~~ punishment of
such individuals. But let us stop, and, ^{realize} ~~knowing~~ that in that awful thing which
is now Europe there are four hundred million people who are not truly guilty of
the horror of this thing. Let us regard them as sick people who are truly our
brothers, and with whom, and through whom, we seek to save and ^{to} ~~save~~ and ^{to} ~~bring~~
^{back to} ~~back to~~ health this world.

Handwritten notes:
 1-1-1942
 1-1-1942
 1-1-1942

July 31, 1941

No one of us in this chamber may qualify as a military or naval expert. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, I know I shall not be misunderstood when I say one function of this body is to determine in honesty and in dignity what we as Senators believe is the best defense of the forty-eight states which we represent. No one of us has been elected by the national will. But altogether we as Senators represent an equal authority with the Commander-in-Chief on the broad policy of national safety.

I propose here that we examine the next step of national safety. I propose that we may here properly suggest a course of action to the President of the United States, who is our co-equal in this business of providing the framework of national safety.

To me national safety begins and ends in the control of the approaches to the western world. An impregnable North and South America should be the keystones upon which all other projects are based.

This Congress and the President of the United States, our Commander-in-Chief, have done a great deal since Hitler conquered France to make this nation safe. I approve of every major step that has been taken, both inside and outside these United States. I think action has been slow and often inadequate, but there has been nothing slow or inadequate in the spirit and the courage of Roosevelt. If there has been slowness, if there has been inadequacy, I believe such omission lies fundamentally within the people themselves as represented in this Congress. And, because I know that the Senate in the main is a healthy and courageous and patriotic body of men, I speak here with confidence.

I have made proposals to this Senate from time to time since before France fell. I have spoken almost entirely on this floor regarding the menace of Hitlerism and concerning methods for the safety of liberty in this world, for I have conceived that this world shall ultimately be all free or all enslaved. Hitler

himself in frankness has so declared. "My German people," he has said, "shall rule this world for a thousand years." He sees himself as a great Charlemagne or a great Genghis Khan or an over-stuffed Napoleon. He believed, in the blitzkrieg that destroyed proud France in seventeen days, that the world was his oyster, that the broken tree of liberty was his for the asking. Embattled Britain changed his mind. Russia stubbornly retreating may have upset his time table. His clock may have to be sent to the repair shop. And aid from the West will mean victory from the West—a victory for freedom in this world.

There are darker days ahead, perhaps. No one knows what September and October and November shall write on the pages of history, but today I say action is ours—action from the West—action in the one vital point where we may act today and now and here.

As we watch the ramparts of the Dutch refusing to send from the East Indies war material for Japan, we know that action may be very near. But action in the East Indies, in Singapore, is not a clear matter for discussion before this body at this time. I have said that we are committed to the defense of all white men from all yellow aggressors, but I believe the State Department and the President of the United States and the Army, and above all the Pacific Navy, is well aware of the Pacific picture.

But today I wonder whether there is not a bottle neck in the Atlantic. The President's move to Iceland is now history. It was a most courageous act with but a feeble authority and little encouragement from this body.

Our Commander-in-Chief's prompt series of acts regarding Russia now has the approval of a majority of this democracy, and of this Senate which represents the forty-eight states in this democracy. The sea lanes to Britain are functioning better now. Food and guns are backing up the Britons with less loss and more speed. We are today examining what we can do to delay Hitler in Russia under the Lend-Lease authority. But standing before you I am aghast at the delay in the Battle of the South Atlantic. What good will it do us in the long run if Hitler,

striking at the Suez in Africa, controls all the jumping off places for his flying fortresses on the East African Coast! It is idle to be diplomatic about this. Puppet France, called Vichy, is not our ally. In fact, Puppet France is a menace of force to be thrown as a Hitler reserve in the battle for the South Atlantic, and as a spearhead in the fight looming ahead for the safety of the Americas themselves. So I see the liability of the Western Hemisphere today in the immediate picture as a defense of the South Atlantic. I would move at once, without any hope whatever that State Department diplomacy will stop Hitler when he is quiter on the Russian front.

As the calendar turns its page on August first 1941, Hitler is not happy. He had planned August first as the day of doom for liberty. Only Russia stopped him. The proof is in front of us. Franco, in Spain, became active, throwing his invitation to all men of Latin blood in South America to join the Hitler economy. Mussolini opened a feeble offensive in the Mediterranean.. Hitler had hoped to throw the French fleet into action on August first as the Japs moved South upon Singapore, and, with the great American fleet busy in the Pacific and the British fleet weakened by a French engagement, he had hoped by September first, following a Russian victory, to move on London by sea and air and under the sea. Such is the strategy of the summer campaign of the second year of this war as Hitler's time table had planned it. As we meet here, happy that his clock stopped before August first amid the mad lands of trackless Russia, we should not delay. We should take advantage of the time we have.

My proposition is very simple. The President has authority under the Lease-Lend Act to give aid to any organized government which is fighting Hitler. The Free French are an organized government in control of a territory in Africa eight times as big as Illinois. This territory projects to the seacoast of West Africa within a hundred miles of Dakar. This territory extends and connects with the feebly held African possession of Hitler's puppet, Mussolini. This territory is little more than an hour's flying time from Suez. We are sending ships around

the Cape of Good Hope, up through perilous passages of the Red Sea, to help the defenders of Egypt and Syria. This successful battle just completed by the English and the Free French fighting side by side on the Plains of Lebanon has given a ship safety to the Northern approach to the vital Suez.

But the Free French are not wanted in America. Churchill is supplying these valiant men guns and food. Here we do not know them. Here the Free French are merely men with prices on their heads as rebels because of our friendly relations with Hitler's puppets at Vichy. We do not permit a Free Frenchman to come to dinner with any responsible American official. These men move in humble lodgings in New York and Boston and Washington seeking comfort and encouragement, and, thank God, seeking nothing else. They are not beggars. They are not asking for money. They even are not asking for food or guns. They are asking something that we can give, and should give, at once in the memory of Washington and Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. All of you remember that three million people in thirteen states once fought for liberty against those who would too strictly rule them. You remember that Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris, France, when France and England were at peace. He was well received by the supreme authority in Paris. He did not have the price of a wig, perhaps, and his clothes were not out in the Parisian fashion, but Benjamin Franklin told his story of the thirteen colonies so well that France gave us Lafayette and later gave us ships and guns.

The Statue of Liberty in New York harbor is the symbol of all of this. But here we sit, seeking a compromise on the chess board of time, seeking a stalemate as the clock ticks. I do not believe that Hitler will stop for one single minute whether we aid, or do not aid, the Free French under the Lend-Lease authority which is with Roosevelt now. I believe a statement of policy in this Senate would be a help to Roosevelt in doing a thing of simple justice and of simple and definite intelligence. I believe the Free French should be told at once that they qualify under the Lend-Lease Act for aid from America.

The selfish value to ourselves is so clear to me that I hesitate to insult your intelligence by discussing the matter. I do not care whether Lend-Lease aid goes to the Free French facing Hitler's concealed troops at Dakar. Churchill and Britain are taking care of that as we take care of Churchill. But I know the spirit of free men in this world is greater than a few bullets. I know that a statement of American policy that the Free French are our friends and are entitled to Lend-Lease aid will be known by millions of enslaved Frenchmen behind the slave wall of Hitler. I know that Free Frenchmen everywhere will merge in increased determination to save their country. I know that Frenchmen now bowing to the demands of Hitler's slave drivers in fair France will see in this American act a fresh sign of the victory of free men which is to come. This is true even if we never send a single bullet to a single Frenchman. This, Gentlemen, is a matter of the spirit, and the spirit does conquer all.

It is difficult now to speak of what we get out of it. But I know that a strong Free French Equatorial Africa means air bases facing Dakar over which the American flag need not be flown. I know that a strong Free French Africa means that Hitler will have a fight over there in Africa before he can fight for Brazil. And I know that the broadest American policy is to keep active war as far away from the Western Hemisphere as it is possible to keep it. Those ^{who} would say that men of Vichy would be angry with us are the same persons who say that Hitler is angry because we have granted Lend-Lease aid to Russia, or because we have taken Iceland, or because we have gotten a little tough with the Japs. It is the same old thing.

I accuse the State Department of nothing. I do not criticize the law which prevented Free Frenchmen in Boston Harbor within the last thirty days from setting foot on American soil from a Free French ship. That is the law, Gentlemen. And so these very brave men, fighting for freedom, and members of the crew of a peaceful ship put foot on no American soil because their passports had not been approved by the Hitler puppets of Vichy France.

I had thought yesterday of giving a dinner in honor of a Free Frenchman now in Washington, the man who directly represents that great Free French leader, De Gaulle. I wanted some group at least to clasp the hand of the symbol of such freedom as now remains in France. I did not do so at the request of the Free Frenchman himself. I do ask the great American nation to clear up this awful thing. We should declare that Free Frenchmen are no longer rebels and bandits and brigands with prices on their heads.

Audisen

December 17, 1941

Memorandum to: L. B. J.

This is something that should be done, and might best be done through a combination of Poage as a member of the Agriculture Committee of the House, and the Stamp Plan Division of the Agriculture Department, who know the two price plan has been worked to a point where the bums are out of it.

The objection of any subsidy or special privilege to the consumer is that he bootlegs the privilege. This occurred in the homestead business where the West was set aside and soldiers only had special privilege in purchase. These privileges were bartered and sold by collectors of land, and the soldiers were cheated, and the object was filled with evil.

Later citizens were permitted to settle on homesteads, such as the Cherokee Strip in Oklahoma, and grazing lands further west. Some of my people leaving Ohio went through this experience, and I know that men who knew what they wanted and how to get it followed in the wake of these special privileges and bought for a song. And it is said that homesteading west of Fort Worth was worked into a murder racket where Eastern boys went West as Greeley told them to, and woke up in a casket just about three days after the homestead time was over, and the proper papers of transfer were generally found in the safe of some fellow like Burk Burnett.

This is an awful lot of bunk for you to read about something in 1941, but I want to get it over that you can't have special privilege to a great class without having the good commercialists like Charles Marsh, Herman Brown, Sid Richardson, and Stanley Marsh not know how to wholesale

and collect the grapes from the dung. So this little thing which is merely the business of getting the soldiers a few little things for soldiers only, and not for petty little grafters everywhere requires the above explanation.

The object: To get soldiers five cent cigarettes, five cent washing soap, and five cent tooth paste, five cent tooth brushes, and two bars of body soap for five cents. These objects now cost them fifteen cents each.

The easiest way would be to increase the pay of soldiers, but that would not be effective. They would get the pay increase, and still feel bad about the over-charges within a week, as it is obvious that only one man out of twenty ever saves anything, no matter how much he gets. So the plan is simply to get them more for their money, and make them feel that Uncle Sam loves them, so that they won't kick so much about civilian wages.

I have a feeling that the Department of Agriculture is politically minded, that Wickard wants a bit of war glamor, and that the House Agriculture Committee wants to get in a bit, so you can fix up the bill for Poage. Poage can sell it to his committee, and Wickard and the old Stamp Plan can get going. This writing is mostly to see that your plan be not a failure, as an idea is 10 per cent and the execution is 90 per cent.

Detail of Plan: Have special packaging for soldiers, packages made up in red, white, and blue. Have stamped on them a penalty clause for misuse by soldiers. Have someone calculate the needs of the average soldier per month of these things. In a single so-called "Monthly Package" you will have the combination in it of say six franked envelopes,

such as congressmen may use, with twelve sheets of paper, so that the boy may save eighteen cents per month, and write him without having to buy stamps. These envelopes would have three stripes, red, white, and blue, in the corner, with a penalty clause for misuse or sale. So this monthly package would probably contain in a red, white, and blue attractive carton, possibly with a flexible top made out of cellophane and easily broken through, the following articles:

2 Medium size bars of soap	.15	
Envelopes and Paper	.18	
(No cost for paper)		
Tooth paste	.15	
(This may be a special trade name through co-operation of all tooth paste manufacturers--in a red, white, and blue tube.)		
Tooth brush	.15	
(One a month doesn't need highest quality, and you get real cleanliness that way.)		
Washing powder	<u>.15</u>	
Total value	.78	for 25¢

And now, cigarettes, the big item: a special red, white, and blue outside packaging by every manufacturer of standard size, standard package cigarettes for five cents. There will be an awful row on this. The government gives up seven cents. The retailer gets nothing. Uncle Sam picks up the cigarettes at the factory door, mostly at Richmond, and distributes them through Army and Navy supply. The package at the factory door does cost five cents. That is all.

Ferrestall can ram this thing through for Navy only, of course, but inasmuch as an average soldier will smoke a package of cigarettes a day, his pay is being raised three dollars a month. Now, if you try giving a special cigarette of any other brand name, you are very wrong. If a single large brand agrees, this automatically forces everybody else. So, if I were actually sneaking up on the tobacco company, I would have

Patterson see Hill, of the American Tobacco Company, on a special deal for the fighting forces in the Pacific, with an O.K. from Morgenthau on stamp remission. Hill would think he was going great guns against his competitors and would be very secret about it, but, of course, everybody else could and would come in as soon as the ice is broken. And all people don't want Luckies. The idea is to give the customer exactly what he wants, and what he has been accustomed to. If you change the color or type of the standard package, any soldier has got the idea that he has an inferior item. All good will will be destroyed.

Control of the business so that the soldiers' package doesn't work down to the sporting house for repeddling to whores and civilians, and to keep the sneaks off of the corners in the middle of the night buying soldiers' cigarettes for resale to other soldiers who smoke them and who have given theirs away, is a part of administration. We know in general that every special privilege in price is abused, and you can't prevent a man from giving away a cigarette. You can make it a penalty to give away a package to one outside of the privileged class, or to accept money for it.

I believe that there would be more political advantage coming to the individual who put over this cigarette deal than anything I can now think of because it has the human elements in it, and is much more understandable than somebody voting for a ten billion dollar appropriation bill. It probably would not save the soldiers over thirty-five million per annum. And I don't see that Morgenthau or the House Ways and Means Committee, or any of the little grab'em boys would be able to stop this on the ground that, "We are seeking more revenue, not less." And I don't think the Post Office Department would dare to oppose free postage for soldiers, or that the United States Printing Office would refuse to print stationery for soldiers at no cost.

If you, going West, do not think Poage of sufficiently high power, it is possible that you could take an hour off for this, having Patterson and Poage, and possibly Reynolds, the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, who is a member of the tobacco family, sit in, and also probably have some merchandising expert, say from Rexall, or Liggett and Meyers (Reynolds could get him), as well as maybe some top Stamp Plan fellow from Agriculture. But the important thing, of course, is to have a spark plug.

Attached is a check up item for the Navy.

December 17, 1941

Memorandum to: Mr. Martin Andersen

From: C. E. M.

Concerning Mason Morning Paper:

Believe this is Walls' business to receive, and yours probably to give. I believe I would write Walls, saying: "When you are ready for a man, let me know." And then, if you agree that any man you know is the right man for the job, Walls should write him, saying that he has talked to you.

This seems to me on experience to be the best method in getting results in changing men from one paper to another. You and I have worked this way in Texas in past years.

I was badly hurt once by the top man sending me in to a paper where the local top man did not want me. And, of course, the paper was hurt by the noise, and I had to work my way out before a wreck. I have never seen the method above fail because we pay attention to the management and the time element of the receiving or customer end of the transaction, and we remain merely as service agents.

Naturally, if the man on the job doesn't function in personnel correctly, and if we do not back him up by giving him what we can, there is no real unity. We are trying to work it out here on just those lines between the British, Americans, Chinese, Russians, and Dutch.