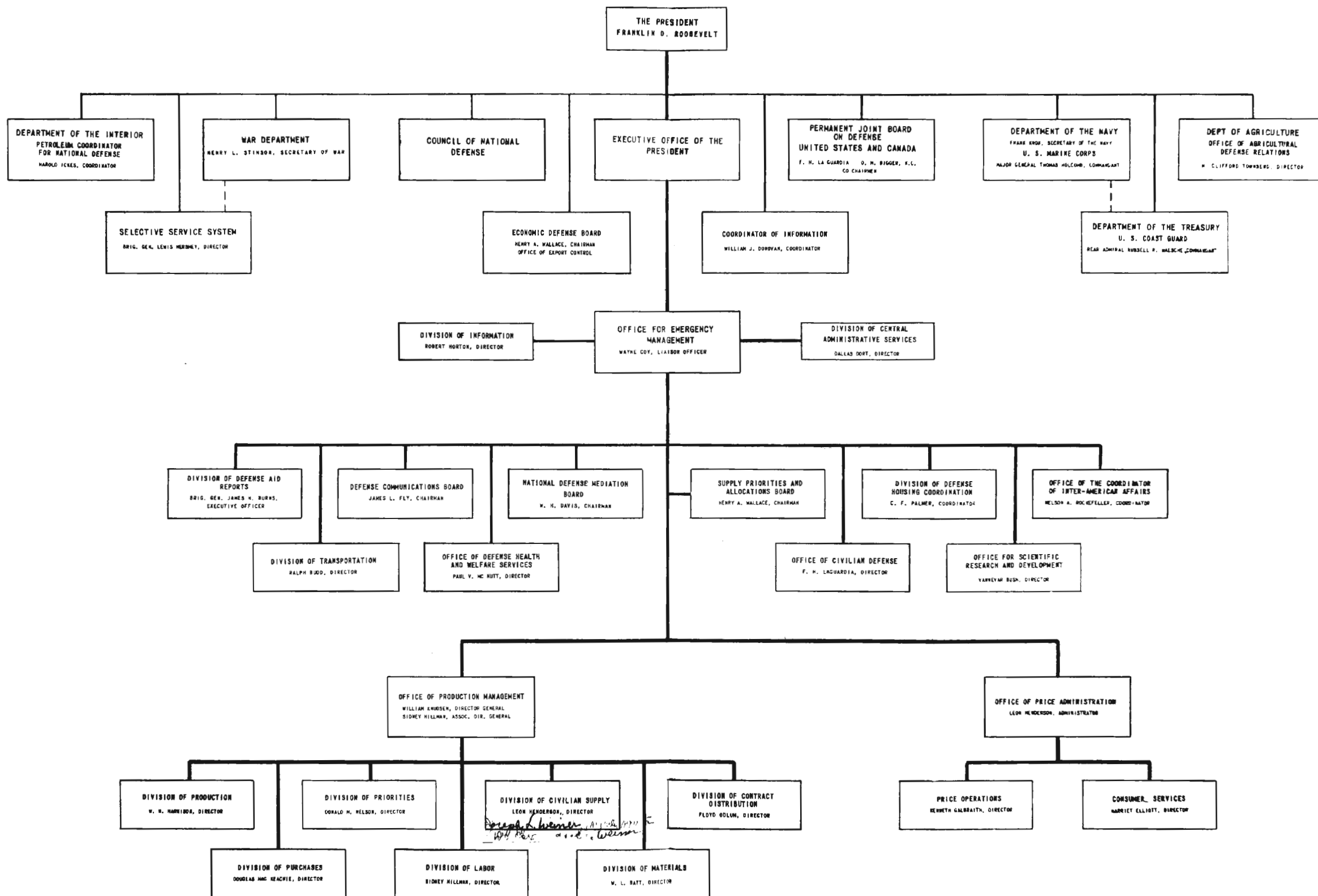


NATIONAL DEFENSE



Wallace

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

January 3, 1942

Mr. Marsh:

I thought you might be interested
in the attached reprint of Mr. Wallace's
article which appeared in the
Atlantic Monthly.

Mary Huss

FOUNDATIONS OF THE PEACE

BY HENRY A. WALLACE

(As we gird ourselves for war, it is well to keep in mind the Vice President's ringing statement of how we must build for the peace to come.)

I

IN these days of world crisis, there are many who say, 'Let us have no talk of peace until the war is won.' There are others who have said, 'Let us not think of helping to win the war until the details of the peace are completely settled.' I believe the sensible and constructive course to take is this: Do everything we can to speed our drive for victory, because unless Hitler and his Italian and Japanese partners are defeated there will be only the cold, bleak hopelessness of a new Dark Age. At the same time, think hard and often about the future peace, because unless we and the other democracies have confidence in that peace our resistance to our enemies may not be strong enough to beat them.

Thinking of the future peace, in other words, is not searching for an escape from the stern realities of the present, not taking refuge in airy castles of our minds. From the practical standpoint of putting first things first, at a time when there are not enough hours in a day and every minute counts, planning for the future peace must of necessity be a part of our all-out war program. More than that, the daily actions being taken now by both Britain and ourselves are determining to a large extent the kind of post-war world we can have later on.

It seems almost certain that sometime within the next few years another peace will be written. If it should be a Hitler peace, no one but Hitler and his hench-

men would be allowed any part in writing it. But if, with this country's determined participation and support, the Allies are successful, the world will have a second chance to organize its affairs on a basis of human decency and mutual welfare.

Again, as in 1919, there will be the question of what to do about the world's armies, the question of machinery to prevent new aggression, the question of what to do about national boundaries. And again, as in 1919, at the roots of all these knotty questions will be the fundamental problem of restoring the world's trade and of expanding economic activity so as to improve living standards everywhere.

We are now aware, after our experience of the last twenty-five years, that the most careful delineation of national boundaries is not in itself enough to prevent the world from suffering a repetition of the catastrophe of general war. Nor can this be prevented simply by the establishment of an international league. We know now that the modern world must be recognized for what it is — an economic unit — and that wise arrangements must be made so that trade will be encouraged. The foundations of democracy can be rendered safe only when people everywhere have an opportunity to work and buy and sell with a reasonable assurance that they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their work.

Actually, the seeds of the present

meeting at Mecca Temple, it would serve notice on Hitler 'that the power of the English-speaking world was too great for destruction by wanton bombing of British cities.' It was at this critical time, on August 30, 1940, while bombs were rocking London, that he also tried to hearten the English people with a speech over the Canadian Broadcasting Company in which he assured them that America stood by their side in their great trial. It was a bold move on the part of a private individual to promise American aid, and it was made more annoying to isolationists by his denunciation of Messrs. Ford and Lindbergh as machine worshipers who had succumbed to the 'degenerative influence of Hitlerism.' He became a close, if unofficial, associate of President Roosevelt, whom he admires greatly and supported for reelection for a third term; he was slated to be Master of Ceremonies at the inauguration when he was stricken with the flu at the White House. Although no confirmation can be had from him, his frequent presence at the White House has been connected with the preparation of several presidential broadcasts, including the declaration of a state of emergency. In February 1941, there were even rumors of his being appointed

ambassador to the Court of St. James's. This proved unfounded, but he did take a confidential flight to London from which he returned last October. When the draft bill was enacted he took temporary charge of the Committee on Education, Recreation and Community Service of the United States Army. He is now First Assistant to Colonel William Joseph Donovan, Coördinator of Information, occupying himself in a heavily guarded New York building with the important matter of short-wave broadcasting to Europe. He divides his time between his office and Washington.

He may be quietly completing a new play (he is always incommunicative about his playwriting), since he can write extremely rapidly. But there is enough in his diversified activities to occupy two men. The spirited hero of many a fracas since youth finds zest in his work. If he was once one of MacLeish's too severely taxed 'Irresponsibles,' there is no trace of it left today. He is also undoubtedly a happier man. Having emerged at last from the Slough of Despond, he is, like his Dr. Valkonen, convinced of the heroic possibilities in man's spirit and of the truth of the unknown Jewish mystic's assurance that 'there shall be no night there.'

world upheaval were sown in the faulty economic decisions that followed the war of a generation ago. The vast sums of reparations imposed on Germany, however justified they may have been on moral grounds, were an indigestible lump in Europe's financial stomach. The war debts owed to the United States by the Allies were equally a handicap to trade. All over the world, the old international gold standard had broken down, and nothing effective was done to replace or restore it. Europe was left cut up into many small national units, and each of these units was left free to erect tariff and trade barriers as it pleased. Many nations, including our own, tried to buy as little as possible from the rest of the world and to sell as much as possible. European countries that normally bought wheat and meat from overseas shifted their production policies with a view to becoming self-sufficient in food. This not only lowered their own standard of living, but upset the economies of the exporting countries. The United States, newly become a creditor nation, adopted tariff policies which only a debtor nation could hope to live with, and in so doing helped make it certain that the world would go through hell.

The dislocations brought by that first World War and by the unwise management of the peace were especially hard on the raw-material producers of the world. Prices of raw materials are extremely sensitive to changes in demand or supply. Therefore, various groups of raw-material producers, including the farmers, found themselves in serious trouble when their supplies were greater than demand. Wheat, cotton, sugar, coffee, rubber, copper — all these commodities were in chronic world-wide surplus during the post-war period. Producers of these commodities, wherever they were, — in this country, in South America, in the Dutch East Indies, in the British colonies, in other widely scattered areas, — were faced again and again with overproduction, undercon-

sumption, and appalling losses. The fall in raw-material prices and the resulting lack of purchasing power of the raw-material producers became a serious threat to the well-being of countries everywhere.

For ten years after the first World War, the deadly economic malady afflicting the world was covered up by the billions in private loans floated by foreign borrowers in the United States. These loans were usually floated at high rates of interest and used for purposes which, for the most part, did not increase the borrowing countries' ability to pay either the interest or the principal. Thus they produced a temporary, though basically unsound, prosperity. When the stream of loans suddenly dried up, the flimsiness of this prosperity of gaudy tinsel was revealed, and the whole thing came crashing down.

We all are familiar with the sequence of events after 1929 — the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act in this country, the immediate retaliations in Canada and other countries, the failure of the *Credit-Anstalt* in Austria, the German financial collapse, the moratorium on war debts, the departure of England from the gold standard, the British Empire conference at Ottawa and the adoption of Empire preference tariff policies, the world-wide depression, the bank panic in this country, the rise of Hitler in Germany, the gradual loss of prestige by the League of Nations in one crisis after another, and, finally, the outbreak of the present war.

In very truth this nation, during those early post-war years, was sowing the wind by its policies of isolation, high tariffs, unwise foreign loans, and high-pressure sales abroad. It could not avoid reaping the whirlwind. Hindsight is always easier than foresight, and millions of Americans now look back upon those earlier policies as tragically mistaken. It would be a prolongation of the present world agony if, after this war is over, any of us again put blinders on our hindsight.

Spokesmen for the isolationist point of view did not support President Roosevelt in his stand for a peace built around freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. They were quick to condemn the President for having joined with Winston Churchill in subscribing to the Atlantic Charter. They saw dangerous foreign entanglements in such simple words of the President as these: 'The coöperation which we seek is the coöperation of free countries, working together in a friendly civilized society.'

We may wonder whether the long and bitter fight put up by the isolationists in the decade of the twenties to keep the United States from behaving as if it were part of the world is to be renewed when the time comes for building a new peace. What they do will have an important bearing on political alignments in the United States. The injection of such an issue into politics would ordinarily be nothing of which to complain, for surely the people have a right to choose the policies they want the nation to pursue. But the really serious aspect of the matter is that the whole future not only of this country but of human civilization itself may depend on the ability and willingness of the American people to take the broad view.

For my part, I believe that the American people have profited from their experiences of the last twenty-five years. I believe that they will perceive, with increasingly clear vision, the place of leadership in the world which the United States can scarcely avoid occupying; and that they will support policies and arrangements for sensible coöperation with other countries.

One evidence of the more enlightened point of view is found in the wide understanding of the great practical difficulties in the way of this country's trying to receive billions of dollars in goods and services when the war ends, in exchange for the weapons and food now being

shipped abroad under the Lend-Lease Act. There seems some merit in the often-heard suggestion that the United States will be well repaid if Britain and the other recipients of lend-lease materials enter genuinely, intelligently and wholeheartedly into coöperative relationships to ensure the world's economic and social stability after the war.

II

The peace aims which Roosevelt and Churchill have enumerated are splendid statements of principle. They open up big fields for exploration. The job now is to work out, as definitely as we can while the war is still in progress, practical ways and means for realizing them.

Preliminary studies of some of the expected post-war problems already are being made by the Economic Defense Board and the Cabinet departments whose chiefs are members of that board. This is being done in accordance with the Executive Order of July 30, 1941, which directed the Board to 'make investigation and advise the President on the relationship of economic defense . . . measures to post-war economic reconstruction and on the steps to be taken to protect the trade position of the United States and to expedite the establishment of sound, peacetime international economic relationships.'

Now, what must be considered in establishing such 'sound relationships' in peacetime? There are certain basic facts which cannot be ignored. One of these is the universal necessity of access to raw materials and the need for an economic arrangement to protect the raw-material producers of the world from such violent fluctuation in income as took place after World War I. Another is the indispensability of markets for goods produced. A third is the present existence in all countries of tariffs and other barriers to imports. A fourth is the use of gold as a base for national currencies and as a means of settling inter-

national trade balances. A fifth is the place of credit in stimulating international trade. A sixth is the close relationship between stable national currencies and the exchange of goods and services. A seventh, and most important of all, is the essential rôle of adequate purchasing power within the various countries that are trading with each other—for full employment within nations makes broad trade possible with other nations. All these facts and factors are of prime importance in determining the state of the world's health, and they will naturally form some of the main ingredients of post-war economic planning, if it is to be done on a comprehensive scale.

Each of these aspects of world trade is a vast subject in itself, and I do not have space in this article to discuss them all. However, I do wish to point out that basic to any sensible ordering of the world's economic life is the stabilizing of the production and prices of raw materials.

During the '20s and '30s, when the raw-material producers were in such frequent trouble, various methods were developed to help them adjust themselves to the painful realities of diminishing demand. There were the Stevenson rubber plan, the Chadbourne sugar arrangement, the beginning of an international wheat agreement, and in the United States an Ever Normal Granary program. The plight of the producers was so difficult that in most of these remedies very little effort was made to think about the consumer. More than any of the other plans, the Ever Normal Granary in this country recognized consumer needs by setting up huge stock piles of wheat, cotton, and corn. The stated objective was to carry over the surplus from the fat years to the lean years, thus benefiting the producer in the years of overproduction and very low prices and helping the consumer in years when the supplies otherwise would be short and the prices high. As things

turned out, our Ever Normal Granary stocks of corn made possible our quick and heavy shipments of pork and dairy products to Great Britain during this last year. Those of us who formulated the Ever Normal Granary program had in mind that supplies might eventually be very helpful in case of war. But none of us at that time visualized also how important these supplies might be to the war-stricken territories during the years immediately following the declaration of peace.

As part of the effort to win the peace, I am hoping that what might be called the 'ever normal granary principle' can be established for a number of commodities on a world-wide scale. It will be remembered that the fourth point of the eight points agreed upon by Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter mentioned the enjoying by all the states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the raw materials of the world. To give this lofty ideal a more definite substance should be one of our chief objectives in the months that lie immediately ahead. The people of all Europe should feel that there are available, in the United States, in Latin America, and in the British Dominions, tremendous quantities of raw materials which can be used for food, clothing, and shelter within a short time after the war comes to an end.

Thus far, there have been no definite arrangements between the United States and the British Empire or between the United States and Latin America with regard to handling the raw-material problems of the world in such a way as to make for a just peace. A beginning has been made along this line with the international wheat agreement meeting which was held in Washington last July. Nothing has yet been signed, but it is apparent that the United States, Argentina, Canada, and Australia, as well as Great Britain, are moving in the direction of a World Ever Normal Granary, with export quotas and with prices sta-

bilized at a point to be fair to producers and consumers.

The world cotton problem is similar in some ways to the world wheat problem, but less progress has been made toward orderly marketing arrangements for cotton than for wheat.

Huge surpluses of both cotton and wheat are piled up in the exporting countries, waiting to be used whenever the stricken countries are able once more to handle them. Of cotton, there is stored in the United States a supply sufficient to take care of the normal needs of all Europe for at least a year. Of wheat, the United States last July 1 had a carry-over about four times the normal of the '20s, and it is evident that next July 1 the carry-over will be nearly seven times the normal of the '20s. In Canada the situation is somewhat similar, while in Argentina and Australia large surpluses loom for the near future. Four great wheat-exporting nations of the world now have a billion more bushels on hand than they did during the first half of the '20s. This is approximately twice as much wheat as moved in world trade in the years preceding the outbreak of the war. It is enough wheat to feed the entire population of continental Europe for a large part of a year, or to cover the Continent's import requirements for nearly three years.

When the curse of the Nazi mailed fist is at last removed from the stricken countries overseas, the first and most pressing need will be action to bring food to the starving and the undernourished. For this purpose the accumulated surplus stocks of wheat and the increased production of other foods for which farmers are now pushing will be enormously helpful. The pity is that there is no practical way to get this food to these people now without helping the Nazis and thus postponing the day of real liberation of these people from the Nazi yoke.

Besides food, the devastated regions will have urgent need of other materials

and equipment to assist in their reconstruction. Homes, factories, office buildings, schools, churches, highways, railroads, bridges, have been destroyed in large numbers. In the tremendous job of rebuilding which must be undertaken, the United States and the other countries of the Western Hemisphere can play a vital part. Meanwhile, both strategy and humanity will be served if we take every opportunity to let the people of the occupied countries know that we intend to stand behind them in their efforts to get back on their feet. That will give them something to which to cling during their months or years of misery and will speed the day of a Nazi collapse and the emancipation of the world.

The democratic countries are in splendid position to organize themselves for rapid relief work as soon as peace comes. I am confident that we can do this job and do it well. But we must be looking ahead to the longer future and laying plans on more than just a temporary basis.

III

It is now clear that by the end of the war the non-Axis nations will have a greater production of raw materials, a greater output of manufactured products, and a greater number of skilled workers than ever before in their history. Nearly half of their production may be going to the British and American governments by the time Hitler is overthrown. If two such customers were to drop out of the market abruptly, it would break everyone. Business men know this.

We in the democracies must begin to realize, therefore, that if we can afford tremendous sums of money to win the war, we can afford to invest whatever amount it takes to win the peace. If that necessity were accepted today, both here and in England, we could be writing a very important part of the peace now. Both nations could be making contracts

with producers of raw materials throughout the world for delivery of their goods during the war and for several years beyond the armistice at reasonable prices and not at inflated prices. That would sharply reduce the cost of winning the war and give more assurance than any other single action that business is not going to be allowed to collapse after the fighting is over. There would be no better use to which this country's gold could be put than in making such purchases. Many of the goods bought in this manner for post-war delivery would have to be sold on credit by the British and ourselves for reconstruction within the devastated nations.

Just as individuals here and in England are being encouraged to build up future purchasing power for themselves through defense bonds and other devices, so raw-material-producing countries would by means of such a plan as this be accumulating purchasing power in the form of gold. This gold could be used in the future for buying the finished goods of Europe and America.

Not only would the gold which these countries would thereby obtain make it possible for them to buy finished goods of Europe and America, but it could also be used in part to provide much needed strength for their currency and banking systems, and make it possible for them progressively to relax the stringent exchange controls, import quotas, and clearing arrangements which serve so effectively to restrict the flow of goods from country to country. Without adequate gold reserve and without the ability to obtain the kind of credit which can be utilized to pay for imports, a country is greatly handicapped in its conduct of foreign trade, and, in order to prevent its currency from depreciating in the foreign exchange market and its credit from deteriorating, finds itself forced to adopt illiberal trade policies and severe restrictions on its imports. With increased gold holdings countries will be able to pursue more effectively

a policy of stable foreign exchange and liberal trade practices.

If we get the right kind of peace, we are sure to see the whole world within a few years operating on a much higher level of production than ever before and this would of course mean a greater world market for raw materials.

Given the right kind of peace, this prospect of greater world trade is certain to materialize, for it rests on the sure prospect of continued industrialization everywhere. The process of industrialization is the way to attain higher standards of living. Everywhere there are communities that must increase their proportion of people engaged in industry and reduce the number of people engaged in the production of farm products. Even in the United States there are many areas where we want to see as soon as possible a shift in the degree of industrialization. Communities that are now only 40 per cent industrial could, in the course of the next ten years, become perhaps 50 per cent industrial. Similarly, there are many communities in southern Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific countries where that kind of shift would be of tremendous value from the standpoint of raising living standards. For every unit of gain in per capita living standards that a shift to a higher proportion of industrialization would mean in the United States, it would mean proportionately a much greater gain in the countries where industrialization is just begun. One of the difficult problems which we have to face is the need for helping numerous countries shift to increased industrialization without encouraging them to resort to high tariff schedules to accomplish that end.

Fortunately, in many cases the low level of industrialization is not a result of circumstances for which there is no remedy, but a consequence of the scarcity of capital and lack of proper technicians. It should be possible with intelligent effort to help those countries get

both. Such growth in industrialization will assure the raw-material countries, which will be exchanging present production for gold, a continued market for their raw materials far into the future.

Some such program as here suggested might be worked out in collaboration with the British, and the democracies of Europe and Latin America, and put into effect boldly long before we come to an armistice. Probably the English-speaking peoples of the world will have to take the lead in underwriting world prosperity for a generation to come. They must begin now to prove by their actions that they are as interested in winning the peace as they are in winning the war. If this long-term, businesslike purchase of raw materials were working within six months, it would be worth a thousand blueprints at the peace conference. It is one of the ways in which we can build up morale for the struggle ahead. It is one of the ways in which we can build an economic future solid enough to be worth fighting for.

IV

The overthrow of Hitler is only half the battle; we must build a world in which our human and material resources are used to the utmost if we are to win a complete victory. This principle should be fundamental as the world moves to reorganize its affairs. Ways must be found by which the potential abundance of the world can be translated into real wealth and a higher standard of living. Certain minimum standards of food, clothing, and shelter ought to be established, and arrangements ought to be made to guarantee that no one should fall below those standards.

In this country we have already made a start in this direction. Through the food-stamp plan, the cotton-stamp plan, the school-lunch program, the low-cost milk program, and the homemade mattress program, the abundance of the

farms is being put to use instead of being allowed to go to waste. Similar programs are in effect in greater or less degree in a number of South American countries, notably Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile. In England, the government is subsidizing consumption of certain foods so as to make sure that the population is as well nourished as possible during the time of stress, and to keep the prices as near as possible to the pre-war level. Among the kinds of food subsidized are flour, bread, meat, tea, oatmeal, milk, and orange juice.

Is it not time to recognize that minimum standards of nutrition are as important for growing children as minimum standards of education? Is it not just as important that children should have sound and healthy bodies as that they should have trained minds? If we can afford \$100 a year to educate a child, can't we afford \$15 or \$20 a year to keep that child physically fit for study?

If there is general recognition of this principle, then vast new markets for the world's production can be opened up. Perhaps the various countries can do still more than they have already done with relief distribution programs based primarily on their own domestic products. In certain instances these could be supplemented with foreign-grown products. For example, we could exchange our pork and lard and flour for South America's tropical fruits and cocoa. In terms of the residual balance, the cost of such a program may be less than the financial loss coming from demoralized raw material markets, needy producers, and hungry consumers.

In the field of food, minimum standards would mean that vastly increased quantities of dairy products, poultry products, meat, fruits, and vegetables would have to be produced. This would mean a shift from the production of staples such as wheat.

Perhaps the heavily populated countries of Europe can reorganize their own agriculture along those lines. This would

mean a higher standard of living for their own people, and would restore to producing countries elsewhere the job of producing the wheat that is needed.

I do not mean to imply that I consider such mechanisms as the food and cotton stamp plans the final answer to the problem of assuring an economy of abundance. In that part of the world where democracy and capitalism prevail, the permanent answer lies in finding ways to make our system of production and exchange work more effectively and more consistently. That can be done by removing trade barriers and enlarging markets; by stimulating and guiding investments where they can be productive; by reducing — through appropriate fiscal policy and social security program — the inequalities in incomes, so that a higher and more stable demand for consumers' goods will be attained; by applying advanced techniques and skills to the development of undeveloped areas; by reëquipping our own industrial and transportation system; and by providing to those people in greatest need better housing, schooling, and recreation.

Most people do not want charity. They want paying jobs. They will be able to have paying jobs, with few interruptions, if prices, production, and purchasing power can be held in balance with one another, and the economic machine can be kept running steadily and smoothly. This is the challenge to the

leaders of industry, agriculture, labor, and government. It is a challenge to the highest statesmanship of our own and other nations. Of course there are difficulties and obstacles. Only by recognizing and studying obstacles can they be surmounted. A 'new order' is truly waiting to be created — not the 'new order' which the Nazis talk about and which would cloak the new form of slavery they would impose, but a new order of democracy where security, stability, efficiency, and widely distributed abundance would prevail.

Many persons in the United States are deeply disturbed over the heavy government borrowing and the drastic shifts in our economy made necessary by the defense program. They fear an end of the war almost as much as the war itself, because they believe the return of peace would bring another bad depression. But one of the hopeful signs for the future is the very fact that the possibility of depression is so widely recognized. This increases the chance that action will be taken in time to prevent it or at least cushion the shock. The basis for such action can best be laid now, while the war is still in progress. It must be laid, at least in part, in the plans for expanding and regularizing world trade, world production, world consumption. This is the new frontier, which Americans in the middle of the twentieth century find beckoning them on.

GET DOWN TO CASES

BY GEORGE DE SANTILLANA

'WELL, here we are again,' said my young student disconsolately. 'Saving democracy, restoring democracy. Four points, eight points, the American Century. Do we even react like a vital body? We just keep calling for more of the same. More business, more Open Doors, more of that soothing moralism they call a religion. — But what are you grinning about?'

'Nothing,' I said. 'You just reminded me of an old line: —

'But the oyster loves the dredging song
For she comes of gentle kind.'

'That's no answer.'

'In a way it is. Your despair comes of the discovery that it's easier to plan a good world than a good nation. That's heavy to bear. But it's the only discovery that measures up to the Nazis'. I have always felt a strong respect for the reserve and uncertainty, even coldness, of the younger generation. They have been waiting for something real to be revealed, maybe for some great wave that would be better than the "wave of the future." But meanwhile they were in mortal danger. It's their good luck to be still free to wonder about it.'

'Good luck plus the British.'

'Yes. But it's more than that. Your essential luck is Hitler himself. That man had the greatest strategic position in history, and he is gambling it away. He was able to grab truths right and left for his own use, all the promises and possibilities worked out by our civilization which were lying around like un-

protected valuables. And to face the might of his armies and his ideas and his technic we had only one thing.'

'What is that? The dignity of man?'

'Call it that. And we knew that, because he was killing it, in his hands anything which was a truth would die. No worry about that — and also little comfort in that for the Allies as we know them.'

'Suppose it became a well-established conviction that Hitler had tried to do the right thing in the wrong way. Someone else would start from there. And we'd be left out in the cold.'

'I must say that a few months ago I was almost without hope for Europe and not at all reassured about the American future. The drift in the minds of young Europeans was definitely toward the German legacy. Take even a representative man of the older generation, and one of the most brilliant representatives of European liberal reason, like Ortega y Gasset. You cannot call him a great thinker, but he is one of the most sensitive and mercurial minds of our time. Well, Ortega, even from this hemisphere, has been lured into the German orbit of thought. If Hitler had vanished suddenly, any "rebuilder" of Europe looking for a new start would have had to consider only the German achievements.'

'But now things have changed. There is a completely new opening for you. Did you notice what Goebbels had to admit? "We could not stop now, even if we wanted to." Do you realize what that means? He does, fully. It's one of

Los Estados Unidos lucharán hasta lograr La libertad de los pueblos sojuzgados por El Eje, declaró el Vicepresidente Wallace

"Los ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos están completamente resueltos a continuar luchando hasta que puedan asestar golpes implacables que aseguren una victoria completa," afirmó el Vicepresidente

A continuación publicamos la tercera y última parte del discurso pronunciado por el señor Henry A. Wallace, Vicepresidente de los Estados Unidos de América, en el banquete celebrado por la "Asociación del Mundo Libre," en la ciudad de Nueva York.

III

EL pueblo americano no es ajeno a las virtudes combativas, las tuvo siempre y siempre las tendrá. Ustedes conocen la historia del piloto bombardero Dixon, el radiooperador Gene Aldrich, y el artillero Tony Pastula—la historia que los americanos han de ir contando a sus hijos de generación en generación, para ilustrar el poder del hombre sobre su destino. Estos hombres vivieron 34 días en alta mar, en un pequeño bote salvavidas de goma—de dos metros por uno y medio—sin otra alimentación que la que sacaban del mar y del aire con un cortaplumas y una pistola. Y sin embargo sobrevivieron hasta llegar a las playas de una isla para ellos desconocida. A pesar de sus padecimientos y de su debilidad, se irguieron como hombres. Sin armas para protegerse, sin ropa para cubrirse, sin calzado para sus pies, marcharon en formación militar porque decían: "Si aquí hay japoneses que no nos vean arrastrándonos."

Los guerreros americanos, y todos los guerreros de las Naciones Unidas, tendrán necesidad de todo

su valor durante los próximos pocos meses. Abrigo la convicción de que el verano y el otoño de 1942 será la época de la suprema crisis para todos nosotros. Hitler, como el luchador que se siente próximo a recibir el golpe de gracia, concentra todas sus energías restantes para un último golpe. Hay un hondo y abyecto temor en el corazón del demente, y un creciente descontento entre su gente mientras él se prepara para su última ofensiva total.

Podemos estar seguros de que Hitler y el Japón han de concertarse para hacer lo inesperado—tal vez un ataque del Japón contra Alaska y nuestras costas del noroeste. Simultáneamente transportes aéreos alemanes entre Dakar y América se encargarían de vigorizar y proveer de jefaturas a insurgencias alemanas en América Latina. Cualquiera que sea la alternativa, la ofensiva psicológica y el sabotaje en los Estados Unidos y en la América Latina se anticiparían o coincidirían con el momento culminante de la ofensiva militar.

* * *

TENEMOS que estar especialmente preparados para aplastar a la quinta columna que en los Estados Unidos se esforzará en sabotear no solamente nuestros establecimientos industriales de guerra sino, lo que es más importante aun, nuestra mente. Debemos estar preparados para la peor clase de trabajo de quinta columna en América Latina, mucho de él operante a través de agencias de gobiernos con los cuales los Estados Unidos hasta hoy mantienen relaciones de paz. (Al expresarme así reconozco que los pueblos tanto de América Latina como de las naciones que costean las agencias mediante las cuales opera la quinta columna son en su inmensa mayoría partidarios de las democracias.)

La ofensiva se lanzará contra nosotros en el frente militar, en el de la propaganda y en el del sabotaje, tanto en los Estados Unidos como en América Latina, para llegar a su

culminación dentro de los próximos pocos meses. Las convulsiones de este demente en agonía van a ser tan grandes que alguno de nosotros puede engañarse al pensar que la situación es mala justamente cuando va volviéndose mejor. Pero para la mayoría de nosotros, los acontecimientos próximos, por inquietantes que parezcan, no harán sino aumentar nuestra voluntad de alcanzar la victoria en esta guerra de liberación. Espiritualmente preparados, no nos pueden sorprender. El terror psicológico caerá en el vacío. Mientras nos enardecemos para el supremo esfuerzo en este hemisferio no debemos olvidar el heroísmo sublime de los oprimidos de Europa y de Asia, estén ellos en las montañas de Yugoslavia, las fábricas de Checoslovaquia y Francia, las granjas de Polonia, Dinamarca, Holanda y Bélgica, entre los marinos de Noruega, o en las zonas ocupadas de la China y las Indias Orientales Holandesas. En todas partes el espíritu de los hombres hace ver al tirano que la esclavitud del cuerpo no aniquila las rebeldías.

No hay términos medios. Norte, Sur, Este, Oeste, Medio Oeste—en todas partes la voluntad del pueblo americano está empeñada en la victoria.

No se transige con Satanás. No descansaremos hasta que todas las víctimas del yugo nazi encuentren la liberación. Pelearemos por una paz completa en la mas completa de las victorias.

La revolución del pueblo está en marcha, y el Demonio y todos los ángeles del mal ya no la podrán detener. No la detendrán porque del lado del pueblo está Nuestro Señor.

"El fortalece a los débiles; A los que no tienen fuerzas les da vigor . . .

Los que sirven al Señor se remontarán como águilas; correrán y no serán cansados; andarán y no desmayarán."

Fuertes en la fuerza del Señor, los que combatimos por la causa del pueblo no cejaremos hasta verlo vencedor.

Los Estados Unidos lucharán hasta lograr La libertad de los pueblos sojuzgados por El Eje, declaró el Vicepresidente Wallace

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La revolución de los pueblos ambiciona la paz y no la violencia. Pero si el hombre del pueblo siente sus derechos atacados, desencadena la ferocidad de una leona que ha perdido su cachorro. Cuando los psicólogos nazis le cuentan a su amo Hitler que nosotros en los Estados Unidos podríamos fabricar cientos de miles de aviones pero que carecemos de decisión para pelear, sólo se engañan a sí mismos y le engañan a él. La verdad es que cuando los derechos del pueblo americano se vulneran, como ya fueron vulnerados, el pueblo americano pelea con esa furia implacable que ha de arrojar a los vetustos dioses teutones temblando a sus cavernas. El "Ocaso de los Dioses" ha llegado para Odín y sus secuaces.

EL pueblo está en marcha hacia una libertad más plena aun que la que han gozado hasta hoy los más afortunados de la tierra. Ninguna contrarrevolución nazi podrá detenerlo ya. El arrojará a la superficie a los títeres de Hitler en los Estados Unidos, en América Latina, en la India, y destruirá su influencia. Un mundo libre no tolerará ni Musolínis ni Lavales, ni Quislings.

La revolución milenaria en marcha hacia la afirmación de la dignidad del alma humana sobre la tierra, tiene como credo las cuatro libertades enunciadas por el Presidente Roosevelt en su mensaje al Congreso, el seis de enero de mil novecientos cuarentiuno. Estas cuatro libertades son la esencia de la revolución por la que las Naciones Unidas se afirman en la lucha. Nosotros los que vivimos en los Estados Unidos podríamos pensar que no hay nada de revolucionario en la libertad de cultos, la libertad de expresión y la libertad de temor a la policía secreta. Pero cuando nos ponemos a pensar en el significado de la liberación de la opresión económica para el hombre del pueblo, comprendemos que la revolución de hace 150 años no se ha cumplido ni en los Estados Unidos ni en ninguna otra nación en el mundo, y no ignoramos que esta revolución no podrá ser detenida hasta que la libertad de la opresión de la liberación de opresión económica.

Y ahora que nos hallamos en camino hacia la realización de las cuatro libertades de esta revolución del pueblo, desearía hablar de sus cuatro obligaciones correlativas. Creo que cada libertad, cada derecho, cada privilegio, tiene como precio una obligación correspondiente, que es preciso satisfacer antes de lograr sus beneficios. Las cuatro obligaciones de la revolución del pueblo como yo las veo hoy son las siguientes:

1. La obligación de producir el máximo.



El Vicepresidente Wallace dando la bienvenida a un grupo de estudiantes sudamericanos.

La última de estas obligaciones es la que anima a las otras tres.

Fracasamos en la empresa cuando la última guerra pues no supimos cómo organizar una paz universal y perdurable. No nos atrevimos a completar nuestra obra impidiendo que Alemania se rearmara, que enseñara a guerrear a los niños en las escuelas. No asentamos la paz sobre la doctrina fundamental de la revolución del pueblo; no pusimos corazón en el empeño de crear un mundo donde fuera accesible para todos los pueblos la libertad de opresión de la necesidad. Pero nuestros errores nos han enseñado mucho, y después de esta guerra estaremos en posición de utilizar nuestra experiencia en la construcción de un mundo que espero será económica política, y espiritualmente sano.

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ALGUNOS han hablado del Siglo Americano. Yo digo que el siglo en el que entramos—el siglo que saldrá de esta guerra—puede y debe ser el Siglo del Hombre del Pueblo. No es improbable que le toque a América sugerir las libertades y responsabilidades por las cuales el hombre del pueblo ha de vivir. Dondequiera el hombre del pueblo ha de aprender a levantar sus propias industrias con sus propias manos de una manera práctica. Dondequiera el hombre del pueblo debe aprender a aumentar su productividad para que él y sus hijos puedan eventualmente devolver a la comunidad lo que de ella recibieron. Y no habrá nación del mundo que tenga la potestad divina de explotar a las otras naciones. Las naciones mayores tendrán el privilegio de ayudar a las más jóvenes a iniciar su industrialización, mas todo imperialismo económico o militar debe cesar.

Los métodos del Siglo Diecinueve no operarán ya en el Siglo del Pueblo que está por comenzar. La India, la China y la América Latina juegan su destino en este Siglo del Pueblo. Conforme vayan sus masas aprendiendo a leer y a escribir, y convirtiéndose en mecánicos pro-

voluntad del poder alemán deben desaparecer. En la paz del porvenir, los monopolios deben estar sometidos a un control internacional en beneficio del hombre del pueblo, así como al control adecuado de sus respectivos gobiernos. Esta será la manera de impedir que los alemanes vuelvan a reconstruir una máquina de guerra mientras duramos. Los monopolios internacionales con sus recursos reunidos controlados harán posible que las invenciones sirvan a todos los hombres en vez de a unos pocos.

Y cuando el tiempo de la paz llegue el hombre del pueblo se encontrará de nuevo con un deber, con el supremo deber de sacrificar el interés menor al interés mayor del bienestar general. Los hombres que escriban la paz han de escribirla ajustada a la medida universal. Ya no caben los pueblos privilegiados. Nosotros mismos en los Estados Unidos tampoco somos la raza dominadora, como no hay ninguna, como no lo son los nazis, y no podemos perpetuar la guerra económica sin sembrar las semillas de una guerra militar. Para llenar nuestra misión en las negociaciones de la paz, hemos de emplear todo nuestro poder para que se construya una paz económica, que sea justa, misericordiosa y perdurable.

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1. La obligación de producir el máximo.
2. La obligación de transportar rápidamente los pertrechos de guerra a los campos de batalla.
3. La obligación de pelear con lo mejor que hay en nosotros mismos.
4. La obligación de construir una paz justa, misericordiosa y perdurable.



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La ciencia moderna tiene que libertarse de la opresión germana. Los monopolios internacionales que sirven a la avaricia americana y a la

voluntad del poder alemán deben desaparecer. En la paz del porvenir, los monopolios deben estar sometidos a un control internacional en beneficio del hombre del pueblo, así como al control adecuado de sus respectivos gobiernos. Esta será la manera de impedir que los alemanes vuelvan a reconstruir una máquina de guerra mientras duramos. Los monopolios internacionales con sus recursos reunidos controlados harán posible que las invenciones sirvan a todos los hombres en vez de a unos pocos.

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(Continuará en el próximo número)

Chas. Marshall

'If We Persist We Cannot Wholly Fail'—

The Way to an Enduring Peace

The following article, written by a famous international lawyer who is also spokesman for the Protestant churches, is reprinted from the current issue of Fortune magazine.

By John Foster Dulles.

After war there follows peace, or perhaps a truce. If it be a truce, or a peace that is peace in name only, the ends of war will not have been attained.

Thucydides tells us that when the Corinthians sought to organize the Peloponnesians for war against Athens they urged: "Vote for war; and be not afraid of the immediate danger, but fix your thoughts on the durable peace which will follow."

So it has always been. Peoples having a choice in the matter assume the hard tasks of war only if they hope thereby to secure for themselves and their posterity a more enduring peace.

That purpose is difficult of realization, but the possibility of achievement has been demonstrated. Cities no longer fight each other as in the days of Greece. Men have greatly enlarged the geographical areas within which they habitually live at peace. Moral standards, too, have undergone great change so that war is no longer considered a normal procedure but a measure of last resort.

We Must Persist.

There is no reason why the political and ethical principles that have achieved such results cannot extend their influence. The essential is that we persist. So long as we persist we cannot wholly fail, for recognition of failure brings the wisdom with which to plan more surely for the future.

The real failure today would be for America now to expend her treasure and perhaps her blood without thereby pushing forward

realizing. There must be found ways and means of attaining them. To formulate these is the task of the remaining six points of the Atlantic charter. Each of these, as may be seen from a reading of the charter, deals with major aspects of any peace. They deserve to be and will be considered separately.

But it is of first importance to observe that through them all runs a single unifying conception, namely, that the postwar world should reproduce and stabilize the political organization of the prewar world.

Great Britain and the United States are to continue to be as they were, renouncing aggrandizement, territorial or other. In the rest of the world the prewar sovereignty system is to be restored as it was, with the territorial domains as they were.

Use of the Seas.

Use of the high seas is, as before, to be subject to the blockading power of the great naval nations. Trade is to remain subject to the tariff controls of the 60 sovereign nations, with the United States and Great Britain each holding to her prewar principles and practices.

The aggressor nations are again to be disarmed. But general disarmament is, as before, to be indefinitely postponed so as to vest naval, air, and land power exclusively in those nations presumably dedicated to perpetuation of the status quo. No new organisms are proposed.

The Old Order Has Failed

The old politico-economic order has failed, and all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot put it together again.

Its fall was inevitable. The world has become economically interdependent. Yet it was managed

"open end" instrument, bringing more territory and more peoples into co-operation through federal union. This has been to the advantage of all concerned.

The precise forms of growth that have characterized the past may no longer be appropriate for the future. Certainly we no longer seek to extend our domain by military or economic coercion.

Indeed the form in which our growth will find its future expression cannot now be predicted, for this depends on others than ourselves. It also depends upon our ability to find mutually advantageous ways of co-operation with others.

On Regional Lines.

The principle of growth may continue to operate along regional lines, developing continental or hemispheric solidarity. Or it may involve some "union now" with British or other democracies as advocated by Clarence Streit. It may have merely economic and financial, and no territorial, aspects.

But operate it must, unless we are prepared to surrender to others the task of fashioning a better world. For the moral and intellectual initiative for which we search is to be found only in peoples who are still vital.

The Alternatives In Europe

The second and third points seem to contemplate a re-establishment in continental Europe of the 25 independent and unconnected sovereignties of the prewar era. Surely statesmanship can improve upon this.

Continental Europe has been the world's greatest fire hazard. This has long been recognized, but it has seemed impractical to do anything about it.

states and not a single German state.

There is nothing in this thought to frighten Germans into prolonged resistance. A united Germany is a relatively recent development. Following the last war Germans tended to decentralization. Ironically enough, the reparation creditors worked hard to reverse that trend.

Thus the Dawes report insisted that since Germany had "waged war as an undivided whole" she must create a comparable fiscal unity for reparation payments. The agent general for reparation payments constantly pressed for greater centralization and did so with considerable success.

Completed by Hitler.

The unity thus advanced under American and Allied auspices was completed by Hitler, who propagated the Nazi doctrine of German blood unity and mastery. In view, however, of the unhappy consequences to the German people of that doctrine, it can be expected that a reaction will occur.

I do not doubt that many in Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and the Sudetenland will welcome a large measure of autonomy.

But this must not mean dismemberment in the sense of turning Germans into racial minorities or imprisoning them behind narrow boundaries that bar them from economic opportunity.

★ ★ ★

Unnatural Barriers Invite Attack

Next in importance to the political structure of continental Europe is the question of world trade. President Wilson had dealt with this problem in the third of his Fourteen Points. He called for "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

Deprived of Substance.

But, he explained, it was intended thereby to "leave every nation free to determine its own economic policy, except in the one particular

controls curtail the effective ability of others to buy what they need—for they cannot buy unless, through sales and services, they get the wherewithal to pay.

We have, therefore, a conflict of domestic need versus foreign need. If this conflict is always resolved in favor of domestic need, we accumulate areas of discontent and economic disease out of which readily emerges violence such as we see today.

It is, for example, difficult to visualize any permanent solution of the far-eastern problem unless the Japanese enjoy greater facilities for trade, commerce, and industrialization.

There is in Japan a population of some 75 million occupying an area smaller than California, an area one-twentieth the size of Australia, which has a population of only some 7 million.

Barren of Resources.

Japan is almost barren of natural resources. Its population is industrious and ambitious; it is also proud and possessed of warlike traditions. If that population is to be contented to stay in that restricted and barren area, it must have large imports.

But this, in turn, means that the Japanese must supply goods and services to the rest of the world. Otherwise they cannot pay for their needed imports. Without such means of payment Japan is in effect blockaded, and to break that blockade will be a permanent part of any Japanese policy.

It is demonstrable that trade controls relate directly to peace and that they should be treated as matters of foreign policy.

Defect in Constitution.

Our own constitution is in this respect defective. Under it tariff making has been treated as domestic-revenue legislation to be dealt with by the congress. This is in sharp contrast to the constitution's recognition that trade barriers between states could not be permitted without risk of war between them.

But when our constitution

cess to such colonial resources and trade.

Unless we propose concrete measures, statements of good intentions like the fourth point of the Atlantic charter will be looked upon with grave and warranted skepticism. It will be assumed that after this war we will relapse into the trade practices that followed the last world war and that economic anarchy will again reign.

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The Power To Close the Seas

Freedom of the seas is closely related to the problem of world trade. If certain nations assert the right and possess the power to cut the arteries of the world trade, other nations that are not economically self-sufficient live on sufferance.

There will always be those who will resent that status and seek economic independence by industrial and agricultural projects that are artificial and that as such are not in the general interest.

The right and power to close the seas is, indeed, too great to be vested in national governments that, however well intentioned, have in law no duty or responsibility except to protect the interests of their own people.

Such a power properly belongs only to those who have the status of trustees to the general welfare.

President Wilson recognized this when he proposed: "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

This was the only one of the Fourteen Points that the English rejected. Mr. Churchill in his memoirs describes the dramatic sea armistice conference

aggressor. Now we consider their roles to be reversed.

At any given time we may think we can see clearly that certain peoples exclusively possess the qualities of aggression and that others are wholly inoffensive. History multiplies the evidence of how fallacious are such judgments.

Simplified by Knox.

Secretary Knox, in his recent Indianapolis speech, simplifies the problem of selection by suggesting that all the world shall be disarmed except Great Britain and the United States. He contemplates that for the next 100 years we two would police the world, maintaining ourselves constantly able and willing to liquidate any nucleus of force that might develop anywhere else in the world.

This reflects the all too prevalent view that "peace" consists in our ability to coerce and repress others. That is war, not peace.

Sanctions, including force, may be an essential ingredient of any peace. But this does not mean that peace is nothing more than the power of some to impose their will upon others. That is the Nazi thesis, and its fallibility is being daily demonstrated in Nazi dominated Europe.

A Fundamental Error.

There is something fundamentally wrong with any order that permanently depends upon force in large degree to maintain itself. Indeed, the amount of that force is a measure by which the demerits of that order can be appraised.

Furthermore, sanctions, to be conducive to peace, must, like the power to close the seas, be the instrumentality of an international organism deriving its power from the consent of those subject thereto.

Such an organization has first to be created, and before it can exercise great responsibility it must demonstrate in lesser matters that it is competent and trustworthy. Therefore some interim solution is necessary.

This may well be found in joint power of Great Britain and the United States. The end of the war, if it is fought through to military

of a domestic economy against the need of others for access to markets and raw materials. Who shall decide? And how, for that matter, can the elements necessary for decision be made available?

If each nation makes its own decision purely on the basis of the facts that are at hand, the decisions in the future as in the past will usually be unbalanced in favor of short-range domestic considerations. Even if this is not so, those adversely affected will believe it to be so.

A Guiding Authority.

If economic co-operation is to replace economic anarchy, there must be some impartial guiding authority.

We find that in a world of peace freedom of the seas cannot depend upon the sufferance of any single nation. Any decision to close the highways of trade and thereby strangle the economic life of others should be a decision by men who have a supreme responsibility for the general welfare.

Unless the power of decision is thus trusted, it will engender war and not peace.

So it is regarding disarmament. The aggressor of today is the victim of tomorrow, and vice versa. We cannot assure peace by giving arms to some and withholding them from others. If we believe that peace requires sanctions, then such sanctions must be disposed of by, or under the direction of, some organization that will owe its allegiance to the entire community of nations.

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The Moral Initiative

Above all we need some supernatural organization to bring about changes that may be required in the interest of peace.

Change is inevitable. Even a status initially predisposed to peace will not always continue so. For the basic underlying conditions are themselves in constant flux. No conception leads more surely to war than that which identifies peace with a perpetual

brings the wisdom with which to plan more surely for the future.

The real failure today would be for America now to expend her treasure and perhaps her blood without thereby pushing forward the frontiers of peace.

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A Durable Peace For Men

The Atlantic charter is a historic event because it recognizes this truth. The two outstanding leaders of the free peoples of the world have now publicly joined in recognizing that the "destruction of the Nazi tyranny" is not the all-sufficient end of the present struggle. It is rather a means to an end—the establishment of a better world order that may free society from the scourge of recurrent war.

Thus understood, the Atlantic charter deserves the acclaim it has received. Its proposals may be tentative and exploratory and, in their present form, inadequate. They need to be subjected to constructive criticism, for that is the right and the way of free men.

But such criticism cannot detract from the fact that the Atlantic charter lifts the present struggle above a mere defense of material things, above a mere quest for military victory.

It seeks to enlist us in the greatest of all causes: the attainment of a durable peace.

Of the Atlantic charter's eight points, two express the ultimate objectives sought. The remaining six express the political means through which, it is suggested, the objectives are to be attained.

Freedom From Fear.

The goal is "assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want," and this in turn requires "for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security."

These are lofty ends, loftily expressed. Their outstanding characteristic is universality. Peace is recognized as an indivisible whole deriving from the spiritual and material welfare of men everywhere. This conception marks a significant advance in political thinking.

The charter repudiates the thesis that some men, because of nationality, race, and class, or because they are the victors, may enjoy a privileged position while others—the weak or vanquished—may be condemned to lives of fear and want.

has failed, and all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot put it together again.

Its fall was inevitable. The world has become economically interdependent. Yet it was managed by 60 independent and disconnected governments, each concerned with and responsible to only a small part of the whole.

As Lord Lothian devoted much of his life to explaining, this was international anarchy and it made war certain. For in such a world there inevitably occurred economic and spiritual maladjustments that engendered the social ills and violent outbursts we have experienced.

Hope Was Curtailed.

Throughout much of the world the hope and opportunity of youth were curtailed and the security of the mature was impaired. This occurred in a world where productive capacity and economic opportunity were potentially limitless.

A committee of the Federal Council of Churches has said:

"In a world which is torn asunder by dynamic ideologies our greatest deficit is spiritual, not material. Too much do we appear to be purely on the defensive and to be supporting the status quo of a world system which has become generally condemned as defective and incompatible with peace. Even though by weight of material, unaccompanied by the impetus of new ideas, we can repress the present outbreaks of violence, we would not have eradicated the causes of their recurrence."

"Because this is generally sensed, we have failed to achieve a spiritual leadership of the multitudes who everywhere demand that a way be found to save them and their children and their children's children from the misery, the starvation of body and soul, the violent death which economic disorder and recurrent war now wreak upon man."

Let us, animated by that spirit, review the concrete proposals of the Atlantic charter.

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Growth Without Imperialism

The first point would "freeze" the prewar status of Great Britain and the United States. We disclaim, for ourselves, "aggrandizement, territorial or other."

"Aggrandizement," to be sure, has sometimes been connected

this:

Continental Europe has been the world's greatest fire hazard. This has long been recognized, but it has seemed impractical to do anything about it.

Now the whole structure is consumed in flames. We condemn those who started and spread the fire. But this does not mean that, when the time comes to rebuild, we should reproduce a demonstrated firetrap.

One hundred and fifty years ago Hamilton stated in *The Federalist*:

"To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighborhood would be to disregard the uniform course of human events and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages."

Events since that time have abundantly verified what Hamilton then said and what the American people then accepted and acted upon for this continent. It is time, long since, that this political wisdom be applied and acted on in Europe. This was until recently a matter of concern primarily to Europe itself.

Not Only In Europe.

Now the world has so shrunk that European wars can no longer, as during the last century, be confined to Europe. Therefore it is not merely of self-interest to Europe but of vital concern to us that there be not restored in Europe the conditions that inherently give rise to such wars.

From a purely selfish standpoint any American program for peace must seek some form of federation for continental Europe. From the standpoint of the peoples concerned they can with difficulty survive unless their resources can be co-ordinated for maximum peaceful utility.

If, to be sure, historic English policy to keep the continent divided. Thereby England acquires a certain kind of safety and the "balance of power."

The Atlantic charter suggests that Mr. Churchill is not at the present juncture prepared to renounce this historic English policy. This is understandable. But there is abundant evidence that the English people realize that the cost of this old policy in human misery and economic waste has now become prohibitive.

A divided and warring continent is no longer an English asset. Mr. Attlee, on behalf of the British Labor party, has recently declared: "Europe must federate or perish," and at the Malvern con-

tablishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

Deprived of Substance.

But he explained, it was intended thereby to "leave every nation free to determine its own economic policy, except in the one particular that its policy must be the same for all other nations."

This interpretation, of course, deprived the point of much substance. Even in this diluted form it was incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles only to the extent of obligating Germany to extend "most-favored nation" treatment to the Allied and associated powers.

They did not accept this principle for themselves, but promptly embarked upon an era of constantly rising tariffs and of quota and monetary restrictions.

This outbreak of the second world war was preceded by trade strangulation without precedent in time of peace. No one can doubt that this was a contributing cause of the war.

As Secretary of State Hull has so frequently pointed out, if national boundaries become unnatural barriers to the movement of men, trade, and investments the boundaries inevitably become subject to attack.

Control of Imports.

Few would reject Mr. Hull's thesis as a sound statement of principles. To apply it practically is, however, a matter of the utmost difficulty. For in highly developed countries the delicate structure of national prices and wages cannot be kept in healthy balance without controls of many kinds, and of these import control is one. Free trade is, under such circumstances, impracticable.

But, on the other hand, import

making has been treated as domestic-revenue legislation to be dealt with by the congress. This is in sharp contrast to the constitution's recognition that trade barriers between states could not be permitted without risk of war between them.

But when our constitution was framed neither our markets nor our resources were important from the standpoint of world trade or world peace. The last 100 years have wholly altered that situation.

Now our policies in relation to trade, immigration, and monetary matters profoundly affect our foreign relations and the peace of the world. They should be dealt with as such and not as matters of purely domestic import. The trade-treaty procedure invented and carried through by Secretary of State Hull constitutes, in this respect, a good beginning.

Any world order wherein trade policies will conduce to peace and not war, must, as a minimum, start with two great projects:

First, it must provide an international body dedicated to the general welfare, which will study and appraise those relative national "needs" to which the Atlantic charter refers—including the domestic need for price and wage stability.

Second, it must establish procedures within each country such that economic action that materially affects others will be a responsibility of that branch of government which is also responsible for foreign relations and the maintenance of peace.

It would be easily possible to take more advanced and enlightened action in relation to colonies that are not complicated social areas and where import controls are not a social necessity. There the international mandate system conceived by President Wilson might be applied so that all people would have free and equal ac-

cess to peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

This was the only one of the Fourteen Points that the English rejected. Mr. Churchill in his memoirs describes the dramatic pre-Armistice conference at which Colonel House sought to induce Mr. Lloyd George to accept this point.

Mr. Lloyd George stated that England's need to control and close the seas in time of war was fundamental and that he would not renounce it.

When Colonel House said that this might lead the United States to make a separate peace with Germany, Mr. Lloyd George stated that he would regret this but that England would elect to fight on alone rather than admit the freedom of the seas in time of war. Mr. Wilson finally decided not to press the point of view.

It is the position then contended for by Mr. Lloyd George that is now expressed in the Atlantic charter.

Declaration of Independence.

It is natural that at a time when we expect to become the world's greatest naval and air power we should claim the historic privilege of those who have dominated the seas. Confident of our own benevolence, we assume that this will be in the general interest.

Let us remember, however, the truth immortally expressed in our Declaration of Independence. Just powers derive only from the consent of those subject thereto.

The right to close the world's highways will never conduce to permanent peace unless it resides in a body deriving its authority from a consent that is broadly international in scope.

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Disarming Aggressors

Limitation of armament is envisaged by the Atlantic charter. But, concretely, only unilateral disarmament is proposed.

What nations will be disarmed? Those that threaten or may threaten aggressions outside their frontiers.

Of course, all nations, including England and the United States, have over their history been aggressors. Would we then, if defeated, have submitted permanently to be disarmed? And just as all great nations have in the past been aggressors, so all nations may in the future become aggressors.

The Evil Aggressors.

Following the last world war unilateral disarmament was im-

posed to be created, and before it can exercise great responsibility it must demonstrate in lesser matters that it is competent and trustworthy. Therefore some interim solution is necessary.

This may well be found in joint power of Great Britain and the United States. The end of the war, if it is fought through to military victory, will find an overwhelming concentration of power in our two nations.

That power will be a reality the implications of which we cannot avoid. It will involve a continuing collaboration of our peoples to discharge the immediate and compelling task of creating the conditions indispensable for social reconstruction.

But such joining of our power will not of itself assure a durable peace. The danger is that we should think so.

Assuming that Anglo-Saxon unity could, as between ourselves, be perpetuated, the rest of the world would quickly grow restive under its military domination. Focuses of resistance would be constantly appearing.

Could the American people be relied upon to support the forcible suppression of such incipient revolts wherever and whenever they might occur?

Is it the course of practical wisdom to make peace dependent upon the willingness of the United States to fight so-called "preventive wars" all over the world?

France could not bring herself to fight a preventive war against Germany when Germany began to rearm and when France still possessed great military superiority.

If France would not fight a preventive war to stop the rearmament of her traditional enemy at her very gates, can it be believed that the American people would countenance a policy of fighting preventive wars throughout the world?

Yet this is Secretary Knox's formula for achieving "peace" for the next 100 years.

Mark of Distrust.

It is probable that armament is largely a symptom of international distrust and that no general disarmament is practicable until this distrust is assuaged. But we must recognize that peace is to be achieved only by establishing international confidence and that peace is not a condition under which a small minority of the human race asserts the right by force to impose its will upon all others and to keep all others at its mercy.

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The Solution

about changes that may be required in the interest of peace.

Change is inevitable. Even a status initially predisposed to peace will not always continue so. For the basic underlying conditions are themselves in constant flux. No conception leads more surely to war than that which identifies peace with a perpetuation of the status quo.

A Dead Letter.

Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations charged the assembly with "the reconsideration of treaties which may have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

This article became a dead letter. Its revitalization is indispensable to peace.

This requires an organization that will constantly study the world situation with a view to detecting maladjustments in their incipency and proposing ways of coping with them before they come under leadership so violent that any attempt at appeasement would defeat its own purpose.

There are many functional tasks that require an international organization. The League of Nations performed such tasks through the international labor office, international health divisions, etc. Their usefulness and vitality is demonstrated by their survival.

Duty to Whole.

The fact is that the world has become an increasingly interdependent affair. It is an anachronism that there should not be in it some organism that owes a duty to the whole.

National governments serve many essential purposes. I do not suggest that they be supplanted.

But I do say that the system of national sovereignty cannot produce peace or order unless it can call to its aid an organism whose judgments will be entitled to a moral weight that is denied the judgment of men who have, in law, a duty only to a small part of the whole.

Body Must Exist.

I am not greatly concerned with what may be the immediate powers and initial jurisdiction of such a body. The important thing is that it exist. Once it exists, it will increasingly become the repository of duties and responsibilities of international import that cannot be acceptably discharged by the dictates of men owing only a national allegiance.

It is time that we think of these things and set forth, more fully than does the Atlantic

expressed. Their outstanding characteristic is universality. Peace is recognized as an indivisible whole deriving from the spiritual and material welfare of men everywhere. This conception marks a significant advance in political thinking.

The charter repudiates the thesis that some men, because of nationality, race, and class, may enjoy a privileged position while others—the weak or vanquished—may be condemned to lives of fear and want.

Here it genuinely reflects the ethic of the great religions. Policies of social or class mastery always go hand in hand with the suppression of the religious spirit. On the other hand, where that spirit remains a potent influence, there prevails the conception of the brotherhood of man.

We can be gratified that our leaders have given us, in the Atlantic charter, a document that is essentially ethical in its approach and objectives and that accordingly creates no conflict between our spiritual and civic allegiance.

Unworkable Patterns

It is not enough to envisage lofty ends. Such ends are not self-

spirit, review the concrete proposals of the Atlantic charter.

Growth Without Imperialism

The first point would "freeze" the prewar status of Great Britain and the United States. We disclaim, for ourselves, "aggrandizement, territorial or other."

"Aggrandizement," to be sure, has acquired an ugly connotation. It suggests growth at the expense of others. In this sense the Atlantic charter properly disclaims it.

Values Not Fixed.

But, lest we fall into a passive and apathetic mood, let us remember that growth as such is not evil. We live in a world where, happily, values are not so fixed and limited that for one to have more means that another must have less.

On the contrary, most values are subject to indefinite expansion, primarily through co-ordinated effort. The United States constitutes the greatest political demonstration of this fact.

It was the peculiar genius of our Constitution that it could and did operate as an

The Atlantic charter suggests that Mr. Churchill is not at the present juncture prepared to renounce this historic English policy. This is understandable. But there is abundant evidence that the English people realize that the cost of this old policy in human misery and economic waste has now become prohibitive.

A divided and warring continent is no longer an English asset. Mr. Attlee, on behalf of the British Labor party, has recently declared: "Europe must federate or perish," and at the Malvern conference, attended by outstanding Christian leaders, lay and clerical, it was resolved: "Our aim must be the unification of Europe as a co-operative commonwealth."

No German Domination.

Of course if Europe is to become a co-operative commonwealth it must become such for peace and not for war. Otherwise the British Isles would become the Achilles' heel of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This implies that continental Europe should not be dominated by a Germany that, in turn, is dominated by the spirit of Prussia.

This may mean that the Germanic units of the co-operative commonwealth should be several

the following four accords of certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world. To the extent that World War II had been an equivalent of Wilson's Fourteen Points, these are they:

- "FIRST their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;
- "SECOND they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;
- "THIRD they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;
- "FOURTH they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;
- "FIFTH they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;
- "SIXTH after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;
- "SEVENTH such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;
- "EIGHTH they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving people the crushing burden of armaments."

disarmament is proposed.

What nations will be disarmed? Those that threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers.

Of course, all nations, including England and the United States, have over their history been aggressors. Would we then, if defeated, have submitted permanently to be disarmed? And just as all great nations have in the past been aggressors, so all nations may in the future become aggressors.

The Evil Aggressors.

Following the last world war unilateral disarmament was imposed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States. The nations to be disarmed were those then looked upon as the dangerously aggressive powers, namely, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

But two, if not three, of the nations that then dictated the disarming have now passed into the ranks of those that are to be disarmed.

One of the then aggressor group — Turkey — has belatedly sought to rearm to resist the threatened aggression of her former ally.

Finland we recently sought to arm as a nonaggressor state threatened by Soviet Russia, the

disarmament is proposed.

What nations will be disarmed? Those that threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers.

Mark of Distrust.

It is probable that armament is largely a symptom of international distrust and that no general disarmament is practicable until this distrust is assuaged. But we must recognize that peace is to be achieved only by establishing international confidence and that peace is not a condition under which a small minority of the human race asserts the right by force to impose its will upon all others and to keep all others at its mercy.

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I have now analyzed the six substantive proposals of the Atlantic charter. But I cannot stop there, because that would leave untouched the most important matter of all—the necessity for some form of organization that will exist by the consent of all of the nations, that will accept a duty to seek first of all the general welfare, that will be composed of men who put that general welfare above loyalty to their particular nation, and which organism can express judgments that will command the moral support of all.

Without such an organization the problems discussed here and the others surrounding them can never be peacefully solved.

We find that world trade requires a balancing of the needs

to a moral weight that is denied the judgment of men who have, in law, a duty only to a small part of the whole.

Body Must Exist.

I am not greatly concerned with what may be the immediate powers and initial jurisdiction of such a body. The important thing is that it exist. Once it exists, it will increasingly become the repository of duties and responsibilities of international import that cannot be acceptably discharged by the dictates of men owing only a national allegiance.

It is time that we think of these things and set forth, more fully than does the Atlantic charter, our purposes.

The Axis powers enjoy, and may for some time continue to enjoy, the military initiative. This gives them a great advantage.

But we can, if we will, offset this by a moral and intellectual initiative. In this area, at least, we need not be pushed into a purely defensive role.

The duration, the character, perhaps even the outcome of the present struggle will depend on how the issues are framed.

If we demonstrate that we have diagnosed the problem of world order, if we show the will and capacity to achieve it, the struggle will be abbreviated and the outcome certain.

For men of good will everywhere will want what we have to offer them.

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Inspiring Example.

At best the American and Filipino defenders of the Philippines have been able to wage a delaying action against a superior and better equipped Japanese air and land force, thus gaining precious time for reinforcing Singapore and for increasing armament production in the United States. The diversion of Japanese forces to the Philippines affords some advantage to Allied armies on other fronts.

However soon resistance may become no longer possible in the Philippines, there will be no quarrel about its defense. Since the initial attack by Japan, the Americans and Filipinos have fought a losing battle so that a war might be won in the future. Many Americans have lost their lives. Others have suffered vast hardships in the face of certain defeat so that the Japanese war machine might be delayed. A supreme type of courage is required in fighting a losing battle.

The Philippines defenders will take a place by the side of the Marines on Wake Island as immortal American heroes, made of the stuff which will save America. The example of these brave men may well inspire the civilian population at home to

THE OIL PRODUCER IN WARTIME

(AN EDITORIAL.)

If there ever was a self-evident proposition, it is that oil production is vital to the army and navy in action as well as to the civil life of the Nation.

A healthy oil producing industry is essential.

The oil producing industry right now is far from healthy. The fact is, it is sick from malnutrition; and the patient is on the point of getting worse.

The prescription written for it by the Government doctors at Washington has proved inadequate for coping with the ailment from which oil producing suffers.

That ailment is plainly an absence of "parity," that magic element which in economics is counted upon to work wonders such as vitamins achieve in restoring and

It follows that the active concern of the Government ought to be to make sure that the industry which is the Nation's agent for producing oil, now and for the future, maintains its health.

fortifying the health of individuals.

The Washington doctors have dosed out parity to steel, to cotton and wheat, to coal and coke, to lumber, to a hundred other commodities.

But oil, whose depressed state is visible to the ordinary eye as surely as it is reflected in official statistics, has been forced to go along on its deficient diet, a diet which has grown ever slimmer as other commodities have fattened under parity favors.

The Nation's most vital industry is kept on a starvation diet.

December figures of the various official economic reporting agencies give oil an index of 59.9, taking 1926 as 100, as compared with an index of 92.2 for all commodities. To get an idea of what this means in our Nation's war picture, one

may imagine the munitions industry, or the airplane industry, on half rations.

Oil production is as important as airplane production or munitions production; it is as necessary for oil production to be in a healthy condition as it is for any other vital war industry to be healthy.

The Nation is taking good care of other war industries, but it is not taking care of the oil producing industry.

Just to run over a few items in the basic commodity list—certainly none of them more important than oil in wartime: The Dec. 8 index for dairy products was 88.7; hide and leather products 115.4; cotton textiles 105; woolen textiles 101.5; hard coal 85.4; soft coal 111.8; coke 122; metal manufactures 103.3; house furnishings 101.9; building materials 107.4, with lumber in this group standing at 128.2. These figures

are percentages which existing prices are of the 1926 level.

Crude oil price Dec. 8 was but 59.9 per cent of the 1926 average price.

Far from receiving special care, as a matter of life and death to our fighters on land, at sea, and in the air, the oil producing business has been allowed, even compelled, to sink far below the level of industries producing other commodities less vital.

The oil producing industry is called upon to do a job that demands the strength a sick man can not muster.

Immediately upon the declaration of war, the Government summoned leaders of the oil industry to Washington and put before them the job of drilling 30,000 new wells this year. The Nation has to have more oil available at once, and in order to make it safe to take larger quantity out of pools already developed it is necessary to send down new bores opening hitherto untapped pools.

But the Government has not told the producers how they are to get the money

to drill new wells when crude prices are held so low that it takes seven years of production to pay the cost of drilling a well.

When other commodities are receiving the benefits of prewar and predepression parity to correct adverse conditions affecting them not one-half so seriously as the same conditions affect oil producing, the Government has not told the oil producers when, if at all, they will be admitted to parity.

Big profit balances may be found in the "oil business," but not in the producing end.

Contrary to the settled conviction of many people, among them some who would be expected to know better, the oil producing business is so far from being prosperous that it is right on the verge of bankruptcy.

All that keeps it from being shoved over the precipice by rising prices of the things that must be purchased in producing operations are the courage and ingenuity of the men in the business.

A great many people, including some in

Washington, read reports of large profits by big oil companies, and immediately conclude that the "oil business" is gold-plated all the way across.

They do not take time to register the obvious fact that it is a few big integrated companies which make big profits through lease operations, refining, transport by pipeline or tanker, and by retailing—make money enough as middleman between the producer and the consumer to offset losses in their producing departments.

It is the producing end that is the mudsill of the oil industry, and which, therefore, has a fundamental claim upon the Nation's concern in wartime.

The independent producer is the only real producer in the business, because he is the only one who does not fudge over into the middleman's field. Independent producers as a whole did not make a profit last year, nor the year before, nor for

many years before that.

And, with a few fortunate exceptions, producers will not be able to keep in business this year unless something is done at Washington to give them something like an even break in prices.

sacrifice so that a country, worth dying for, may be preserved.

—Buy Defense Bonds, Stamps—

Practice Blackout.

THE reason for the 15-minute blackout in Tarrant and Dallas Counties the night of January 29 is the fact that both are listed as "target areas" which would be bombed if and when the Axis is able to extend air war into this country.

Bombing of Fort Worth or Dallas now seems a possibility as remote as appeared an attack on Pearl Harbor prior to December 7. Against complacency, there must be balanced Japanese and German air superiority. Japan also has more airplane carriers than has the United States. Secret bases may exist in remote parts of Latin America, where there is a large German and Japanese population.

The initial blackout will not give adequate training in air raid protection and this instance may well impress the people of the two counties with the need for civilian preparation for war. The initial experiment the night of January 29 will provide people with the opportunity to show their capacity for discipline and co-operation. No longer will the "rugged individualist," who is unwilling to conform to precautionary measures be of much value in the war effort.

Unified effort and obedience to proper authority are the requirements for winning the war. Thus, it is readily seen that the test blackout will have great importance as a wartime measure.

—Buy Defense Bonds, Stamps—

Mrs. Coke Stevenson.

MANY Texans who knew Mrs. Coke Stevenson and were privileged to enjoy her gracious hospitality in past years in Austin share with the Governor the grief and sense of loss over the death of Texas' First Lady.

All Texans extend their profound sympathy to Governor Stevenson whose personal tragedy has been accentuated by the difficult times. It has required a man of high courage and strong moral fiber to hold up under the heavy strain of his wife's long illness and death while administering official duties that have been most arduous in a period of emergency.

Governor Stevenson's burden has been the heaviest that can be imposed upon human shoulders. Others, who have suffered the same affliction, possess the understanding which pours out sympathy to the Chief Executive in his hour of loss and grief.

Too-low prices mean less oil, now and for the future.

The mention of "fortunate exceptions" just above brings up a vital point with respect to oil production, oil conservation, and oil price. It is that under sustained adverse price conditions production tends to be confined to the most profitable wells, whereas the Nation's need demands the service of all wells.

In other words, when price is too low the producer stops pumping from a pool long before he would stop if prices were fair.

This means that too-low prices preclude recovery of all the recoverable oil in a given pool, and that means sheer and

Right now the most important single measure for winning the war is a parity price for crude oil.

Everybody in Washington is familiar with the 1919-1929 parity formula which has been invoked for the benefit of virtually every basic commodity except oil. It represents the most careful scientific calculation for restoring as among basic industries the economic balance which has been disturbed by various developments at home and abroad.

It should be the instant purpose of all the war authorities, of all members of Congress who are concerned for military victory and domestic stability, to place oil production under the protection of this or a similar parity formula.

Especially ought it to be the care of Senators and Congressmen of the oil pro-

The full price rise sought by the producers at the present time can be granted without raising the price of gasoline at the pump.

The 1919-29 formula applied to crude oil would indicate a fair price at the present time to be approximately \$1.67 a barrel, representing an increase of 50 cents a barrel over current price.

Of this price increase, approximately 30 cents already has been passed on to the consumer in wholesale price increases in the last year over and above that portion of the increase passed back to the producer.

The middleman—the refiner, carrier and marketer of gasoline—has received raises amounting to 1½ cents a gallon since May 27, 1940, when the Price Stabilization Division of the National Defense Commission instituted oil price control.

The independent producer is the key man of oil security in wartime, because he is the man who goes out and finds oil.

The point is made that the independent producer is not able to balance losses in production operations with profits in the middleman's field. This is important for the reason that it is the independent producer who is also the wildcatter, the hunter of new oil pools.

The big integrated companies which make substantial profits by coming in behind the wildcatter, buying up oil lands and oil wells, transporting, refining and marketing oil products, are seldom con-

Low price means fewer wildcatters, less new oil discovered.

There is a direct relation between crude price and the number of wells drilled, as statistics of the industry plainly show. Logically there is also a direct relation between price and the amount of new oil discovered. Low price means fewer wells drilled, less new oil discovered.

It must be borne in mind that it is possible for the enemy to shut off from our allies every other source of oil than the United States. For this reason, to be safe we must have new reserves explored and put on record in increasing volume.

In the last two years, with too-low crude prices, discovery of new oil fell far

complete waste of a vital resource. An oil well can not be corked for a time and reopened any time the owner or the Government feels like it.

When a well is abandoned as unprofitable, it is a lost well 99 times out of a hundred, and nine times out of 10 when production is stopped in a given pool, that pool is lost to future production.

When abandonment is forced by too-low prices before the full capacity of the pool has been brought to the surface, the Nation suffers a loss, just as surely as if the enemy destroyed a huge oil depot on top of the ground.

ducing States to push forward with all speed this measure for strengthening the oil producer's hand for the big job that has to be done and which only he can do.

A parity formula, that proposed by Senator Thomas of Oklahoma for agricultural products or any of those proposed by other Senators and Representatives for other commodities, is properly applicable to any only if it is taken as universal, to be applied to all, with necessary adjustments where indicated.

The Thomas formula applies the Bureau of Labor Statistics' index to the 1919-1929 average of prices for the commodity. It therefore goes back to the last 10-year period which can be designated as "normal."

while the 15-cent a barrel increase allowed the producer in that time amounts to a bare half-cent a gallon on gasoline.

It is obvious that the full 50 cents a barrel increase to the producers indicated by the parity computation could be accomplished with no more than three-fourths of a cent a gallon added to the retail gasoline price. It is also obvious that a 25 cents a barrel increase in the producer's price—the figure indicated by most independents as satisfactory at the present time—is feasible with no increase whatever in the retail price, merely by requiring that the middleman abstain from adding on an undue fee of his own as he passes the price on from consumer to producer.

cerned to take the risks of such exploration as has built up our oil production and added to our reserves for the future.

And, as important as it is to the Nation to have oil today for our ships and planes and tanks, it is hardly less vital that the supply be assured for the future against an even greater need.

It is the independent oil producer—the man who goes out looking for new oil—upon whom we must depend for this assurance of the future.

behind consumption. We have been, taking out more oil than we have been adding to our future stock by discovery. That was economically dangerous before Pearl Harbor; it is suicidal now, with withdrawal of oil stepped up by the war and prices still too low to enable the independent producer—the oil finder—to pursue the hunt.

A substantial increase in the price of crude oil is a necessary war measure—necessary because we must have new oil, must drill more wells, and a better price for crude is the only way by which the producer can find the money for drilling these wells.

PRESERVATION COPY

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Jan. 9, 1942

Mr. Marsh:

The Vice President asked me
to send you this article.

M. Eaton

EDITORIALS

LOOKING AHEAD
TO THE PEACE

Being ourselves in the war now—and how!—we can better understand the past disposition of the leaders of desperately struggling nations, such as Churchill, to concentrate entirely on the job of not getting licked, and to leave to some future time the framing of plans for "a better world."

But, as The Register has said again and again since the shooting started; it is absolutely necessary, for three vital reasons, to start facing up at once to the problems of the long future, even beyond the possible several years of war.

The imperative reasons are these:

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1 It is necessary to do this in order to win. The nations that are resisting Hitler and his allies must be fighting *for* something, as well as *against* something. This is imperative in order that they may themselves be sufficiently inspired and also in order that they may have the firm support, at every stage, of the scores of millions of people now temporarily under the Axis yoke. It won't do to let the Axis dictators have the *only* plan for a "new order." We must have alternative plans, and they must be obviously better.

2 It is not only imperative to have plans for the future in order to win the war; it is also imperative to have them in order to "win the peace" after the military decision has been got. If we don't know what to do with the opportunity for building a fair and decent world when the opportunity comes to us, we are certain to fumble it. Then there will not be any stable peace. And surely we do not want another illusory Truce, falsely called a Peace, that will explode again in our faces after only a few years.

3 The things that we do for the purpose of winning the war itself, so that we may then have the opportunity of winning the peace, will of themselves tend to determine what will happen afterward. The countries resisting the Axis will pull together closely in the war effort, because they must. They will necessarily set up many agencies of co-operation, of joint policy. The nature of those agencies, and the very programs that they develop, will have a great bearing on all that comes after. If there is accord between the

time, in addition to all other ways of stimulating public thinking that are within our capacity.

We urge upon Iowans generally the reading and the discussing of such contributions as those by Wallace and Dulles—and, of course, many others.

anti-Axis nations only on the point that they do not want to be licked, and not at all as to what they aim to do after they win, these nations could fly apart as soon as the shooting stopped and the result would be little better than chaos. Many of the agencies of co-operation in the fighting of the war must either have from the beginning some broad concepts to go on as to what we are fighting *for*, or they may be not only useless after the shooting stops but even mischievous.

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These things, in substance, we have said repeatedly before. These things we say again.

Now that America is in, as a full partner in the struggle, indeed as virtually the senior partner by reason of our resources, it is our duty to take the lead in the thinking and planning for the long tomorrow.

Moreover, already some beginnings have been made, and in those beginnings our government has been associated with the government of Great Britain and with some of the governments-in-exile, representing temporarily conquered nations.

Already, too, in our own "set-up" of major war agencies, particularly those headed by Vice President Wallace, the long look is being taken.

But it is not enough for government to be farsighted and to make farsighted plans. It is necessary that peoples, behind the governments, think, also—that they inform themselves—that they be prepared both to support wise policies and to influence policies toward wisdom.

We must think, think, think.

And the whole theory upon which democracy rests is that people *can* do this. We believe it. All of us must believe it, for the moment we ceased to believe it, we should have abandoned our fundamentals.

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It is the duty of each of us, in every way possible, not only to face the biggest problems intelligently and boldly, but also in every way possible to promote the facing of them in the same way by our neighbors and our allies.

It was in conformity with this sense of duty that a week ago in The Sunday Register we reprinted an extremely thoughtful and thoroughly sound article by Vice President Wallace from the Atlantic Monthly Magazine, in which it originally appeared.

To the same purpose we reprint on another page of The Sunday Register today an extremely thoughtful and constructive analysis, by John Foster Dulles from the latest issue of Fortune Magazine.

We shall probably do additional things of this sort from time to

Ickes Blocked in War Role By Wallace and Hopkins

No. 1 Scolder Silent Since Pearl Harbor;
Hoping 'Wheel of Fortune' Will Turn

By WALTER TROHAN

The mystery of the unusual silence of Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes since the outbreak of the war last December 7, was solved yesterday.

Ickes, it has been reported, has been blocked out of an important role in the war program by Vice President Henry A. Wallace and Harry Hopkins, head of the program to aid the Allies and No. 1 White House favorite.

"No One to Scold"

"Ickes is quiet because he has no one to scold now that the country is united by war and because he has no orders to give because he is not in charge of any important phase of defense," a Senator said. "If he had any excuse for talking we'd all have to run around with cotton in our ears."

Friends report Ickes is taking his sidetracking philosophically, hoping that the wheel of fortune will turn and he will again ride on top. He is said to have wryly remarked that he expected his fate, having picked the second in command of the nation and the White House favorite to feud with.

The Ickes-Hopkins feud dates back almost seven years to the days when Ickes was head of the Public Works Administration and Hopkins of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Boondoggle Victory

When the Administration was at the cross roads of its relief program, according to members of Congress, Ickes sought to persuade President Roosevelt to continue building of public works, such as buildings, dams and irrigation, even though they might not be necessary. Hopkins argued that public works were too costly and funds would go farther if paid out for such make-work projects as leaf raking.

Hopkins and boondoggling won out over Ickes and ambition build-

ing, it was recalled. Although the President ordered both aides to shake hands they did so with their left hands clenched.

The Ickes-Wallace feud did not draw as much publicity as the Ickes-Hopkins feud, but was none the less bitter, officials said. Ickes attempted to move in on the Department of Agriculture at the time Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture and take over the forest service to add to his National Park Bureau.

Several-Year Battle

Ickes almost captured the trees, officials recalled, because good natured Wallace was not a fighter of the Hopkins caliber nor was he as close to the White House at the time as he is today. However, Wallace won out in a struggle which spanned several years.

With these bitter battles still in mind, according to Members of Congress, Wallace and Hopkins worked to prevent Ickes from getting anywhere in the war set-up as it was revised following the Jap attack on Pearl Harbor, although he was an interventionist champion.

The two White House confidants, it was said, made much of Ickes' unfortunate effort to create a gasoline shortage where none existed and persuaded Mr. Roosevelt that it might be unwise to have a man of his quarrelsome disposition in charge of any important defense work.

In the meantime, Members of Congress say, Ickes is having his hands full with a new feud in his own department. It is reported that he and Undersecretary John J. Dempsey, former Congressman from New Mexico, have clashed repeatedly over various Interior policies.

Chungking, China, Feb. 1, 1942

Through Dr. Francis K. Pan who returned from the United States in June, 1940, I learned with much pleasure that he had called on you and conveyed my compliments. Since then, I have watched with deep interest your election to _____, and I am writing to congratulate you for this distinguished honor and responsibility. In a time like this when greater statesmen are needed to steer the course of events with justice and dignity, I have you to tender my heartfelt felicitations. On the occasion of the return of Mr. William Hunt Jr. to the United States on Dec. 6th of last year, I asked him to transmit a letter to you on my behalf. He very kindly did, but unfortunately the sudden developments in the Pacific area caught him in Hongking. To this day we have not yet been relieved of our anxiety about his safety; and, needless to say, my letter must also have been held up with him. I remember that in that letter I tried to invite your attention to the possibility of a surprise attack by Japan, not realizing however that she was to launch her ignominious program in such a short space of time!

When I wrote you eight weeks ago, America was technically a non-belligerent serving as the arsenal of the democratic countries fighting against the aggressors. Today, she is our ally at war with the common enemy. My sentiments inevitably take on a more positive turn and I take the opportunity to place before you my views on the recent international developments. I do so with the hope that you may find them of reference value and that in your esteemed position they may attain a full maturity of expression.

Dr. J. E. Baker, formerly Director of the China Relief of the American Red Cross and now the Commissioner of the Burma Road Supervisory Commission, is returning to the States and I have asked him to be good enough to bring this letter to you with my best wishes.

We in the Orient have watched closely and vigilantly the various theatres of war. In Europe, while all eyes and guns are on Hitler, we share in thinking that Hitler's next move in the Spring forms an important topic of study. While three directions are open to him, namely: (1) a renewed offensive against Russia, (2) an assault on the Mediterranean and the Near East and (3) an invasion of the British Isles, I am inclined to believe that the first course of action will be followed. The German military mentality, ever since the days of Clausewitz, seems to persist in a policy of crushing her principal menace or enemy. If Russia is not completely disposed of, Germany will not be in a position to divert her troops to the Near East and the Mediterranean, unless she has some half million extra troops available. Due to the vulnerability to the British in the aforesaid regions, a German thrust on a minor scale is not all improbable, thereby serving a distraction and nuisance value. If luck is with the Germans, they might even gain contact with their Axis partner, Japan. However, the major striking power and principal offensive will be reserved and directed against Russia. It is in the light of the above possibilities that I share in the anxieties and difficulties of the British to have to spread and maintain her defenses on her vast scattered war fronts. If the British takes cognizance of the German strategy, I think it will be to her advantage to concentrate her striking power instead of posting insufficient forces all around for defensive purposes.

Regarding the British empire defenses, it is imperative, for the sake of a happy allied victory, that Britain should be prevailed upon to change her colonial stereotyped mentality. When there is a common foe confronting us, a keener feeling of fraternity and equality among the inhabitants is bound to rise. The Chinese in Burma, for instance, are equally interested in the victory of the Burman front as the Burmans. They form the additional useful manpower in the region and should be utilized to the fullest advantage. The Chinese troops are good fighters especially when properly equipped and I think that Burma should find their presence wholesome and welcome. And the Chinese troops have reasons to expect from Burma an all-out reception. The British is not unaware of this vital human element, I hope. Their attitude and policy in the colonies must not be governed by complexes of any kind.

Turning to the China front, we have always told ourselves to be prepared for the worst. The problem we are facing is also one of transportation. At a time when the Allied nations realize that their Far East problem is a transportation problem, the China picture is readily understood. On top of transportation, we have the delicate problem of apportioning the distribution of munition and equipment, a limited amount of which now reaching Rangoon. Though the earlier shipments have been earmarked for China, it would appear selfish on her part to have to press the claim, no matter how fair and legitimate, in the presence of our British Allies, who are preparing for the local defenses of Rangoon and Burma as a whole. A satisfactory and amicable distribution has to be sought, in my opinion, at the source, i.e., Washington.

To many thinking people in China, undue attention has been given in the past to the import of supplies from abroad for the execution of the war. Would it be more fundamental if China is assisted by the means of production and technique, transported and adopted to China's needs? To be prepared for a prolonged war, China must be helped to be more self-dependent in her production of essential war equipment. In the same line of thought, America will contribute much more to China's stability and well-being by helping her to stabilize her currency. With greater independence gained in her armaments and in her economic system, China will be a more substantial ally for victory and peace.

Japan's treachery is a common knowledge to those who are acquainted with her race and history. She owes her modernization to Perry and international bugyancy to the former President Roosevelt. But for malice and wanton ambition, she would not hesitate to sacrifice even her national honor. A double-faced policy in her diplomatic dealings had been repeated now once too often! When Hayashi was negotiating an alliance with England, the Japanese Government sent Ito on a similar mission to Russia. It cannot be denied that an Anglo-Japanese alliance was consummated more to her advantage as a result of such manouvring. So we find Kurusu in Washington, talking peace, while the Japanese navy was delivering her treacherous blow to the Pearl Harbour. An enemy, so devoid of a sense of honor and chivalry, has to be liquidated in a fashion fitting her disposition!

Needless to say, America will play as great or even greater a role in the post-war reconstruction as in her present day war efforts. Wisdom and action and solidarity of purpose will be gained by America as

a world leader, when all requirements, economic and political, are carefully taken into consideration. China's requirements and aspirations, I believe, will be accorded a sympathetic hearing. In leaders like President Roosevelt and your good self, we look for guidance and counsel to the end that a happier world will be created for us all to live in.

I have written at some length and hope that my views would meet with your approval. It is for nobler mutual endeavour and a durable allied victory that I have attempted to point out a few problems which deserve our very best attention. May this letter find you in the best of your health!

Yours sincerely,

The President

F. A. W.

March 2, 1942

The President

The White House

Dear Mr. President:

The Board of Economic Warfare was set up to manage the flow of goods from this country to other nations and from other nations to us. Unfortunately, there is a great deal of administrative confusion in getting the job done, particularly on the import side.

A summary follows:

Export Control and Goods Allocations Abroad.

Over 8 thousand export licenses are clearing every day. In spite of priority problems, the work is in good shape because we have clean-cut administrative authority and get our coordination through the exercise of that authority. In connection with the allocation of goods for export, our relations with Lend-Lease Administration are good but neither they nor we are fully clear as to our functions on British Empire civilian requirements due to the Batt-Baillieu setup.

Work on the Imports of Raw Materials.

This work is very confused because several agencies, including ours, think they are the "anointed ones" to carry the ball. In

connection with this raw materials work, we might summarise our relations with other agencies as follows:

The Old Federal Loan Agency.

There is a basic conflict of principles between their banker-minded approach and our goods-minded approach to getting in more raw materials from abroad. It takes weeks to get action that should be gotten in a day or two. (e.g. --- quinine, opium and Portugese tungsten.) We feel that we are ineffective without a check book and that even at this late date we can do more than is now being done. Public indignation over raw material shortages will be at white heat by fall; our government cannot escape some of the blame for our small stock-piles but a bold administrative change now might ward off some of the blows later on. On the other hand, such a move might make it more difficult to withstand criticism. You alone can decide.

The State Department.

Our relations with them blow hot and cold but are better on the whole than they were last fall. State plays a balance of power game with other agencies and our difficulties with them in connection with raw materials problems have been mostly jurisdictional ones without any reference to principles.

War Production Board.

Our relations are excellent. Don Nelson and Bill Batt have repeatedly indicated that they want us to be responsible for increasing

production of raw materials abroad. Don Nelson favors our running an International Supplies and Development Corporation to achieve this, if you agree.

Straight Economic Warfare.

The Army and Navy are making increased use of our facilities for the mapping of bombing objectives and those for the analysis of the enemy war potential as well as that of the united nations. We have close day to day relations with the British Ministry of Economic Warfare and in conjunction with State Department have just sent two men to London to coordinate their navicert system with our export control system as it applies to trade with European neutrals. We are also sending small groups, which include engineers, to help nations like India step up industrial production within their own countries with a minimum investment of capital goods from this country.

Recommendations.

Administrative responsibility for handling exports and imports and all their related problems of economic warfare should be placed in one accepted spot. We think the Board of Economic Warfare is staffed to do an aggressive job. It would make for efficiency if the Lend-Lease Administration were placed under its jurisdiction. The same reasoning applies to the foreign lending and purchase

- 4 -

functions of the old Federal Loan Agency, although a more tastful approach might be to authorize us to run an International Supplies and Development Corporation. Centralized authority on the foreign front is as necessary as that which you have brought about under Don Nelson on the domestic front.

Respectfully yours,

H. A. Wallace

H NW

March 12, 1942

While You Are Gone:

Shall check in on labor, believing Lewis is working fast; that Murray and Hillman have been over-rated; that Roosevelt should not be sipping syrup by Perkins.

In three days West, I find the people frantic on the Congress 40-hour vote, and definitely approving of Nelson's speech saying that management should be drafted as well as capital and labor for an all-out, no matter how many hours, and no matter what the sacrifice of salary.

Major in Washington all week has been most effective, seeing India, New Zealand, Australia, China, and expects Stanley, as well as has lunched with King and naval operations people, and some Army seconds; the President's speech on a military offensive is being supported this week from several nations and many sources.

Fifth Column: Edmund Taylor back and re-checked. A very clean and intelligent man. As soon as the Donovan thing is quiet, believe you should re-check him.

Oil: Ben Belt is in town, will have his views up to date from the inside of the big company procedure, also will check out a new list of oil men crowding around Nelson, Henderson, and Leke and Army and Navy Procurement, also their motives and bosses--merely for information.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Sunday
morning papers, March 15

FARMERS AND THE WAR

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President
of the United States, before joint meeting of farmers
and businessmen, Omaha, Nebraska, March 14, 1942,
9:00 - 9:30 P.M., C.W.T., broadcast over NBC Blue
Network.

In this, my first visit to the Corn Belt since last August, I have the same feeling of homecoming as a farm boy who, after many months of work in the city, gets a chance to visit with his parents on the old farm. But this particular homecoming, exceedingly pleasant as it is to greet old friends after a long absence, carries with it for me a feeling of utmost solemnity -- for it is made in the midst of a war for the very survival of our nation.

While I have come to Omaha to meet with the farmers of the Middle West, I wish to talk only briefly about agriculture. Most of my time I wish to devote to other problems that are even more fundamental.

Last Monday night the farmers of the United States observed the ninth anniversary of the founding of the Triple A. That meeting at the White House early in March, 1933, gave us an agricultural Magna Carta with which to protect our soil, our farmers, our country and our fighting allies. All the United Nations can be thankful today for the national farm program that was started at that meeting nine years ago.

Under the national farm program we set up the Ever Normal Granary which enabled us to send a million tons of food to Britain last year. We shall send more than two million tons this year to Britain and the other United Nations, and we shall still have a great abundance of corn and wheat in the granary, unless we get bad weather. And even against bad weather we are well fortified.

I know that all of you are doing your best to produce more meat, more eggs and more milk for the United Nations. I realize the great difficulties you face in doing this job when you have a shortage both of labor and of machinery. Each of you will meet with numberless difficulties. Some of these can be foreseen and avoided. Others can not. But with all the difficulties, the chances are a thousand to one that you will do the job. Thanks to the farm program and your own indomitable spirit, there will be plenty of corn, wheat, cotton and livestock products for the war effort. Yes, and there will be Ever Normal Granary supplies ready to function for the hungry millions overseas when the war ends.

Not only are you as farmers contributing mightily to the feeding of the United Nations, but you are feeding our own workers better than ever before. The average factory worker is now earning about 21 percent per week more than in 1929, but he is paying 10 percent less for his groceries at the store. These figures are important, for any farm program, to be permanent, must be good for consumers as well as for farmers.

With our soil resources in the most depleted condition in our history in 1932, we began under the farm program to store new fertility in the soil against the time of need. Now that the time of need has come, the soil is ready to respond, and to respond superabundantly without the plowing up of the grass lands and the plains to wash and blow away. Out here in Nebraska every one of you knows what that means, both in the present and in the future.

We have a balanced farm program. By that, I mean a program that does not, as in the last war, encourage the farmer to produce blindly, but to produce what the nation needs -- and at this time the nation does not need more wheat.

In building the Ever Normal Granary and our soil fertility we increased the cash income of the farmer from a little over four and a half billion dollars in 1932 to more than eight and a half billion dollars in 1939. This year, if present farm prices are maintained, the farm income will be more than 13 billion dollars. But, of that 13 billion, more than four billion dollars will be due to unusual war demand. We all know how extremely short is the life of wartime prosperity and how strong is the tendency for every dollar of profit gained by war to be offset later on by two dollars of losses. Therefore, we can feel strongly reassured, as we look toward the future, because we have under our national farm structure the solid foundation of the Ever Normal Granary price-supporting and soil-building program. This program has been validated by the congressional, presidential, and judicial acts of your government again and again. You as farmers are not forgotten today, and thanks to the history of the past nine years you will not be forgotten tomorrow.

Now I wish to talk about some of the other problems we face at this most critical juncture in our history. What about industrial production?

Short-sighted enemies of the farm program who criticized the farmers for scarcity economics have been put to shame. The millions of us who worked to build that program planned for stability and abundance -- stability for the farmer and abundance for the consumer, and fertility for the soil. We did our job. Agriculture is ready and is producing to fill our wartime needs. But a large part of industry did not plan for extra capacity. Industry did not accumulate big reserve supplies. The bargaining type of mind was too much in control. Fortunately those who have hitherto been unwilling to give up ordinary production and sales are now putting their shoulders into the collar. These industrial leaders are as fine, patriotic citizens as you will

meet anywhere, but they did not produce results fast enough until Pearl Harbor jarred them loose and Don Nelson was put in supreme command. Now we are really "going places." There is no time to lose. The curtain is rising on the last act of the most tremendous drama in history. Every one of us is an actor on the world stage!

Every one of us has to ask every day, "Am I doing my best to help the war effort?" I have no fear about you as farmers doing your end of the job. Each one of you is willing and happy to work an extra hour or two a day to compensate for the farm machinery that can't be bought or the labor that can't be had. The farm women and children whose help has always been of inestimable value will in this time of crisis furnish the additional assistance without which our farm effort would fail. Industry, at last, is, I believe fully awake also. Our aluminum production in 1942 will be two and a half times as much as in 1939. Our steel production in 1942 will be more than 50 percent greater than in 1939. By 1944, under plans now being rushed, we shall be able to produce synthetically here in the United States as much rubber as we formerly imported from the Far East. Our copper production in 1942 will be a third more than in 1939. Yes, industry is "going to town," and by the grace of consumer self-denial, it will all be expressed in terms of shipping, planes, tanks and munitions.

When I say industry is "going to town," I mean labor, capital and management. With the country in the midst of a war which is more dangerous by far than any we have ever been engaged in, I can't believe that the responsible leaders of labor will for a moment countenance strikes which could conceivably mean the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. Neither can I believe that capital and management will permit conditions to develop which encourage strikes. Anyone who has a boy in the Pacific now or soon to be there knows exactly what I mean.

To get production at the necessary speed, we must have thorough and whole-hearted cooperation by labor and management in all the factories producing war goods. Both management and labor must be members of a team, sharing responsibilities and participations to the limit of their capacities in this all important cause.

Hitler and Japan are driving desperately against time. They must knock us out in 1942 or not at all. All signs indicate that the summer of 1942 will be a repetition of the summer of 1918, with the Axis making one last desperate all-out attempt. But when the final struggle is fought to a finish, we can have a better peace than at the end of 1918, provided every person in the United States realizes that his every action every day is producing results in terms of life or death for our young men. The industrial leaders and workers who expand the production of rubber, copper, aluminum and steel will save the lives of thousands. The man who stops the production of even a single plane may determine the outcome of a battle on which will depend a short war or a long war.

I have great faith in the productive power of the American people, the American soil and the American factory, when these great forces are finally organized for war and driven by a fiery and continuous will to victory. If we really do produce, and above all if we fight with our hearts aflame, knowing that on us depends the fate of the world for a thousand years, America will be the final determining force of this titanic conflict.

The fall of Singapore, the loss of Java, the threat to India, Australia, Africa, and even to our own shores -- all these disasters and threats of disaster mean that we haven't a minute to lose in putting our productive power on the line of battle everywhere over the world. America is now fully awake -- except for those who so lack imagination that it would require the jar of bombs falling in their own cities and the occupation of one of our own United States by the enemy to stir them to putting forth the last final ounce of energy.

This process of awakening has been slow and painful. So far as I know, one man, and one man only, realized and put in writing a generation ago his belief that Imperial Germany and Imperial Japan would inevitably plot against the peace of the world and would be partners in their international banditry. By 1931 there were perhaps a dozen persons in the United States who, like Secretary Stimson, saw the outline of the future when Japan moved into Manchuria. From 1933 onward, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull were leaders in calling attention to the possible danger.

Knowing Hitler's objectives from the very start, Secretary Hull felt that peace might be maintained by encouraging the freer flow of a larger volume of goods in international trade. President Roosevelt believed in the Hull formula, but he realized at the same time that in a world shaped by German and Japanese pressure it was equally imperative to build up the maximum of military preparedness as the only possible road to peace. He enlarged the Navy and he built the dams whose power now makes possible aluminum for our aircraft. Had it not been for what he did along these lines, Hitler would be master of the world today.

Looking backward, I am sure the President feels that he should have done more. But as a matter of fact, it was impossible for him to do more until such time as the majority of our people fully realized what Hitler and the Japs were really up to. From the President on down, those who preached the intent of Hitler and Japan to dominate the world were called war-mongers. I myself was bitterly attacked when, at Des Moines in August, 1940, I called attention to the true nature of the world struggle. Now Pearl Harbor, Singapore, and Java have demonstrated beyond all doubt what we are up against. These losses prove how foolish and dangerous it is to feel safe and secure behind the fancied barriers of the two oceans. Perhaps this time we shall really stay awake and really produce and save for the sake of the war effort, as the American people can produce and save when they fully realize the magnitude of the threat to their own country.

But it is not enough for the people of the United States to do a supremely good job on the farm, in the factory and overseas. It is not enough to do all this and cooperate whole-heartedly with England in the war effort. We must realize that there are twenty-four other nations involved, each one of which in its own corner of the world is playing an extremely important role. The Dutch in the East by their valiant resistance gained for us the precious weeks which may yet prove to be the downfall of Japan. And no one can forget for a second the all-important contributions of Russia and China. Russia, while not at war with Japan, is holding immobilized many hundreds of thousands of Japanese troops. China is our greatest single ally on the Japanese front, because she is keeping engaged a million Japanese troops on the mainland of China. Russia and China are buying for us, directly and indirectly, the precious days and months we need. They are enabling us to move to the Far East the planes without which both Australia and India must inevitably fall into Japanese hands. We owe China and Russia a great debt of gratitude and we must so produce and so fight that they realize when peace comes that we have done at least as much for them as they have for us.

I hope that each of the twenty-six United Nations will engage in a friendly rivalry to see who best can serve the common cause. Let no unconscious tool of the Axis rumor-monger impair that solidarity among the United Nations which guarantees an inflexible purpose to fight this war through to a victorious end.

Solidarity is equally vital among the nations of the New World. And so we need to reach a common understanding with our neighbors to the north and south. Especially we need to get on common ground with the other New World farmers. The Iowa farmer, for example, who feels disturbed because Canadian cattle sometimes come on the Chicago market ought to remember that he is just as much damaged by an increase in Iowa cattle or Colorado cattle or Nebraska cattle which come on the Chicago market. The competition of his fellow cattle farmers here in the United States is a thousand times more significant than the competition from Canada. As a matter of fact the cattle farmer of Canada and the cattle farmer of the United States have one and the same problem and they should cooperate in solving it.

The same is true of the producers of wheat -- whether in Canada, Argentina, or right here in Nebraska. All have need of an international Ever Normal Granary and a floor under prices.

The Argentine farmer, in putting his products on the world market, suffers from the same worldwide forces as the Nebraska farmer. Because the farmers of the Middle West and the farmers of Argentina have the same kind of marketing problems, they should be friends and not economic enemies. Unless we approach Argentina in the spirit of economic friendship, we play into the hands of the Nazi fifth-columnists in both countries. The unity of the hemisphere is so important to our future safety that I hope the farmers of the United States will do everything possible to approach the problem

of competitive agricultural products in the spirit of international commodity agreements rather than in the spirit of competitive hatred. Remember that economic warfare too easily leads to military warfare. Nazi propagandists, working skillfully in the background of both countries, will do their best to poison relations between us. We must not let them succeed. Argentina is important to the safety of the United States, and the United States is important to the safety of Argentina. In the end, we shall both stand or fall together.

A World War forces all of us to think in terms larger than our own farm, our own county, our own state, our own nation, our own hemisphere. We are forced to lift our eyes to the distant horizons of time and space. We are forced to recognize the bravery and the organizing ability of people who speak other languages and have other religions.

Not one of the twenty-six free peoples of the United Nations is a "master race." We leave the foolishness of the "master race" idea to the Nazis and the Japanese. The proudest thing we in the United States can say about ourselves is that we are human beings, and that we are fighting for a decent chance for all human beings everywhere in the world. That goes not only for the people of France and Norway, of Greece and China, but also for the unwilling victims of terror in Germany, Italy and Japan. Here in the United States we have millions of good loyal citizens whose ancestors came from one or another of these countries. No one knows better than these loyal citizens that there are millions in these enemy countries who hate dictatorship, tyranny and brutal oppression just as passionately as we do.

And when our victory peace finally is won, we shall be forced to understand, if it is to be a real peace and a just peace, exactly what it was the rulers of Germany and Japan fastened upon their own countries and tried to fasten upon the world. We can have the utmost kindness and sympathy for the eighty million Germans and the eighty million Japanese, provided they are disarmed and provided we understand their ideology, customs and philosophy. When our victory peace comes, one of our most important jobs will be to lead their next generation step by step into the superior value for them of a democratic world order instead of a "master race" world order. Psychological disarming requires more patience than physical disarming, but it is even more necessary and it can be done if the problem is approached, not in a spirit of selfishness, but in the spirit of justice and human understanding.

In the final showdown, we the democracies will win the war, not merely because we have shown our capacity to fight with a whole-hearted spirit, but because the people of the entire world appreciate that we are fighting for the prosperity and dignity of the common man in all the nations. Germany and Japan may go on with victory after victory, with the common people of both countries saying in their disgust: "Another victory -- what is that to us!" And at the very time when the people of Germany and Japan are becoming increasingly wearied with their costly, their temporary, their Pyrrhic victories, we of the United Nations will in 1942 be building, out of our defeats, the determination and preparation which will bring the final

victory to us. Increasingly everywhere over the whole world people will begin to appreciate in 1942 that the United Nations are fighting for a world-wide new deal without racial or class distinction. It is this worldwide understanding which will eventually crack the morale of the German and Japanese people at the very moment when they seem closest to winning.

I hope that we in the United States do not promise any kind of post-war world without being able to carry through. We must not let isolationists and short-visioned reactionaries plunge us unnecessarily into a 1921 or a 1932. We can prevent economic depression after the war. We can prevent unjust discrimination against peoples and classes. But this will be done only if, while the war is still going on, the rank and file of labor, agriculture and business are fully awake to the magnitude of the peace job. We must allow neither the isolationists nor the normalcy boys with their false platitudes to take charge.

As a nation, we have much to be thankful for. Hitler planned to catch the United States by herself, after he and Japan had ruined the rest of the world. But we are not his last, lonely victim. Britain, Russia and China and twenty-two other nations, as well as all of Latin America, are backing us up.

Every one of us could well adopt the pledge of the Iowa boy which Senator Gillette recently repeated on the floor of Congress. This boy, Martin Treptow, was killed at Chateau-Thierry in 1918. On the flyleaf of his diary these words were found written:

"America must win this war. Therefore I will work; I will save; I will sacrifice; I will endure; I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

Those words are as true today as they were twenty-four years ago.

Some of us may get a little discouraged from time to time as we read of the Far East campaign. But we have gone through nothing compared with that which the British, Russians and Chinese have faced. Think of the British after Dunkirk, of the Chinese in 1937 with all of their principal cities occupied, and the Russians in October of 1941 with the Germans at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad. When we consider what these countries have come through, when we think of their magnificent courage, we realize that we have not begun to fight. And then we look at the record of MacArthur's gallant men in the Philippines and we take heart. Not long ago I saw a patriotic advertisement by a commercial firm which said, "Beyond every mountain lies a valley." Today we are struggling to find our way through the rocky passes of the mountain we have set out to cross. We shall not stop until we reach the valley, and then we shall do our best to make the valley bloom.

Our God is a God of battles as well as a God of peace. Our God is a God of righteous indignation as well as of long-suffering kindness. We know the justice of our cause and our duty to the world. We shall go forward to a glorious sunrise, no matter how dark the night.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
April 3, 1942

Dear H. A.:

This letter should be kept by you. It has the swing and rhythm of a Jefferson, or a Franklin, at his best.

I feel sure that you have called it to F. D. R.'s attention.

Unless you object, with your name eliminated, I shall file a copy, with the thought that one or two people may be widened by its reading.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

The Vice President
Room 761, Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Chungking, China, Feb. 1, 1942

Through Dr. Francis K. Pan who returned from the United States in June, 1940, I learned with much pleasure that he had called on you and conveyed my compliments. Since then, I have watched with deep interest your election to _____, and I am writing to congratulate you for this distinguished honor and responsibility. In a time like this when greater statesmen are needed to steer the course of events with justice and dignity, I have you to tender my heartfelt felicitations. On the occasion of the return of Mr. William Hunt Jr. to the United States on Dec. 6th of last year, I asked him to transmit a letter to you on my behalf. He very kindly did, but unfortunately the sudden developments in the Pacific area caught him in Hongking. To this day we have not yet been relieved of our anxiety about his safety; and, needless to say, my letter must also have been held up with him. I remember that in that letter I tried to invite your attention to the possibility of a surprise attack by Japan, not realizing however that she was to launch her ignominious program in such a short space of time!

When I wrote you eight weeks ago, America was technically a non-belligerent serving as the arsenal of the democratic countries fighting against the aggressors. Today, she is our ally at war with the common enemy. My sentiments inevitably take on a more positive turn and I take the opportunity to place before you my views on the recent international developments. I do so with the hope that you may find them of reference value and that in your esteemed position they may attain a full maturity of expression.

Dr. J. E. Baker, formally Director of the China Relief of the American Red Cross and now the Commissioner of the Burma Road Supervisory Commission, is returning to the States and I have asked him to be good enough to bring this letter to you with my best wishes.

We in the Orient have watched closely and vigilantly the various theatres of war. In Europe, while all eyes and guns are on Hitler, we share in thinking that Hitler's next move in the Spring forms an important topic of study. While three directions are open to him, namely: (1) a renewed offensive against Russia, (2) an assault on the Mediterranean and the Near East and (3) an invasion of the British Isles, I am inclined to believe that the first course of action will be followed. The German military mentality, ever since the days of Clausewitz, seems to persist in a policy of crushing her principal menace or enemy. If Russia is not completely disposed of, Germany will not be in a position to divert her troops to the Near East and the Mediterranean, unless she has some half million extra troops available. Due to the vulnerability to the British in the aforesaid regions, a German thrust on a minor scale is not all improbable, thereby serving a distraction and nuisance value. If luck is with the Germans, they might even gain contact with their Axis partner, Japan. However, the major striking power and principal offensive will be reserved and directed against Russia. It is in the light of the above possibilities that I share in the anxieties and difficulties of the British to have to spread and maintain her defenses on her vast scattered war fronts. If the British takes cognizance of the German strategy, I think it will be to her advantage to concentrate her striking power instead of posting insufficient forces all around for defensive purposes.

Regarding the British empire defenses, it is imperative, for the sake of a happy allied victory, that Britain should be prevailed upon to change her colonial stereotyped mentality. When there is a common foe confronting us, a keener feeling of fraternity and equality among the inhabitants is bound to rise. The Chinese in Burma, for instance, are equally interested in the victory of the Burman front as the Burmans. They form the additional useful manpower in the region and should be utilized to the fullest advantage. The Chinese troops are good fighters especially when properly equipped and I think that Burma should find their presence wholesome and welcome. And the Chinese troops have reasons to expect from Burma an all-out reception. The British is not unaware of this vital human element, I hope. Their attitude and policy in the colonies must not be governed by complexes of any kind.

Turning to the China front, we have always told ourselves to be prepared for the worst. The problem we are facing is also one of transportation. At a time when the Allied nations realize that their Far East problem is a transportation problem, the China picture is readily understood. On top of transportation, we have the delicate problem of apportioning the distribution of munition and equipment, a limited amount of which now reaching Rangoon. Though the earlier shipments have been earmarked for China, it would appear selfish on her part to have to press the claim, no matter how fair and legitimate, in the presence of our British Allies, who are preparing for the local defenses of Rangoon and Burma as a whole. A satisfactory and amicable distribution has to be sought, in my opinion, at the source, i.e., Washington.

To many thinking people in China, undue attention has been given in the past to the import of supplies from abroad for the execution of the war. Would it be more fundamental if China is assisted by the means of production and technique, transported and adopted to China's needs? To be prepared for a prolonged war, China must be helped to be more self-dependent in her production of essential war equipment. In the same line of thought, America will contribute much more to China's stability and well-being by helping her to stabilize her currency. With greater independence gained in her armaments and in her economic system, China will be a more substantial ally for victory and peace.

Japan's treachery is a common knowledge to those who are acquainted with her race and history. She owes her modernization to Perry and international buoyancy to the former President Roosevelt. But for malice and wanton ambition, she would not hesitate to sacrifice even her national honor. A double-faced policy in her diplomatic dealings had been repeated now once too often! When Hayashi was negotiating an alliance with England, the Japanese Government sent Ito on a similar mission to Russia. It cannot be denied that an Anglo-Japanese alliance was consummated more to her advantage as a result of such manouevring. So we find Kurusu in Washington, talking peace, while the Japanese navy was delivering her treacherous blow to the Pearl Harbour. An enemy, so devoid of a sense of honor and chivalry, has to be liquidated in a fashion fitting her disposition!

Needless to say, America will play as great or even greater a role in the post-war reconstruction as in her present day war efforts. Wisdom and action and solidarity of purpose will be gained by America as

a world leader, when all requirements, economic and political, are carefully taken into consideration. China's requirements and aspirations, I believe, will be accorded a sympathetic hearing. In leaders like President Roosevelt and your good self, we look for guidance and counsel to the end that a happier world will be created for us all to live in.

I have written at some length and hope that my views would meet with your approval. It is for nobler mutual endeavour and a durable allied victory that I have attempted to point out a few problems which deserve our very best attention. May this letter find you in the best of your health!

Yours sincerely,

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Yours sincerely,

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

April 11, 1942

Mr. Chas. Marsh
2304 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Marsh:

The Vice President asked me
to send you this.

MA
Mary Huss

*Mail to
Chas. Marshall*

MEMORANDUM



To Miss Mary Huss - for the attention of Vice-President Wallace
From Maurice Bisgyer
Date: April 9, 1942
Subject:

I am enclosing for your information a photostatic copy of an item which appeared in the Chicago Daily News on February 18, 1942, and a report on isolationist activities which I think you will find of interest.

M. B.

MB:EEG
encl.

Suite 301
1003 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Favors Peace with Axis Now, Leader of Isolationists Admits

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

Immediate "peace" with the Axis is the objective of William J. Grace, chairman of the Citizens' Keep America Out of War Committee, renamed the "Citizens' Committee" after Pearl Harbor.

Grace, who ran next to last on the ticket in 1940 as Republican candidate for the Municipal Court, continues to hold periodic rallies of his committee. At the last meeting, attended by some 500 men and women at 32 West Randolph street, Britain and Russia were booed, President Roosevelt ridiculed and China's war needs made a laughing stock.

"Do you favor a negotiated peace?" Grace was asked today.

"I am in favor of the warring powers, if at all possible, working out a settlement of the issues and saving life," said Grace.

Would Hold Parley Now.

"Do you want a conference now?"

"The time is always present to sit at a conference table and save life and principles," declared Grace.

"Should we have a conference with Hitler?"

Grace parried: "Is he the only one?"

"Should we have a conference with Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy, Premier Tojo's Japan?"

"I am in favor," Grace affirmed, "of all involved in the war sitting at this moment at the conference table and trying to work out all the problems of the war."

"By problems you mean seeking peace?"

"All problems," stated Grace.

"But we wouldn't sit with Hitler to work out war strategy, would we?" the "citizens' chairman was asked. "The purpose would be peace, wouldn't it?"

"Yes—peace," Grace answered.

Flares Back an Answer.

"And you believe we could get along all right with Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan?"

Grace flared back: "And imperialist England and imperialist China. What's the difference between one imperialist and another

imperialist, one murderer and another murderer?"

Grace asserted that he'd always told the committee members the organization was purely American—that anyone found working for any other country—Germany, Japan or England—would be thrown out of meetings.

Asked if he believed Americans should differentiate in their attitudes between Nazi Germany and our ally in war, England, Grace replied:

"We have no ally—not under the law."

Grace had hard words for Communism and Union Now, and said of his committee:

"We are fighting enemies on the home front while the Army fights enemies on the war front."

U. S. Must Win, He Says.

After unburdening himself orally with those words, Grace sent the following written statement to The Daily News:

"When the United States was attacked and declared war on Japan, the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee changed its name and changed its policy to one of helping America win the war as quickly and as efficiently as possible. That is our guiding principle now."

"We believe that unless the United States wins this war and establishes a peace satisfactory to the United States, there will be no lasting peace. We know our country has made a very poor start, but that is over the dam. We must keep on constant watch that America must not be invaded by un-American policies and the war used as an excuse to destroy our freedom. Win the war that we may keep our freedom is our only policy now."

The organizations who previous to December 7th actively participated in isolationist activities are still functioning, albeit they have revised their programs and activities to conform more evenly with existing circumstances.

is
The Keep America Out of War Congress, whose Chicago unit/headed by Captain Grace, has changed its name to the Citizen's Committee. The same officers and same crowd attend the meetings which are held Friday evenings at the Hotel La Salle. In an interview between Frank Smothers of the Chicago Daily News and Grace, the latter admitted that he and his group were interested in promoting a negotiated peace. I attach the news item referring to the interview.

The Citizen's Committee has distributed and circularized petitions for Senator Brooks and Congressman Stephen Day. As a matter of fact, with the exception of criticizing the administration's war effort at every meeting, their chief activity is along political lines. Of course, the sale of Social Justice and Pelly's Galilean are held at all meetings.

Another group which is worthy of mention is We, the Mothers Mobilize with Mrs. Grace Keefe as their secretary. This group is actually an auxiliary of Coughlin's Christian Front. Recently, they staged a march on the City Hall protesting the sugar rationing on the grounds that it was an international plot to deprive American children of necessary sweets. At all their meetings, speeches are constantly made asking the people to support Brooks, Day and Stratton and to keep in mind the names of men such as Lindbergh, Wheeler and Nye.

At a meeting held on March 10th, this group said of Brooks: "I know of no greater man in Chicago than Wayland Brooks. Also, Stephen A. Day is going to need your support. Like Ham Fish, they tried to smear him." This group has joined the Citizen's Committee in agitation for a negotiated peace.

The Patrick Henry Forum which meets on Saturday nights at the Hotel La Salle (the hotel, incidentally, is owned by a corporation of which Avery Brundage, the America Firster and totalitarian admirer is president) is headed by a Mr. Higgins. They are in full agreement with Captain Grace, distributed petitions for the various isolationist politicians and participated last Friday evening at a big dance given for Stephen A. Day at the Skyline Athletic Club.

The Chicago Leader, the weekly newspaper published by Fred Hunt, is the local organ for most of these groups. In each issue, news item contain the reports of the meetings of these various groups as well as editorials commenting on the brilliancy of Brooks and other isolationists. Prior to December 7th, the Chicago Leader was actually the organ of the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First.

These are but a few of the groups presently operating in the Middle West, specifically in Chicago. One of their people, a Ralph Byers, has recently organized a group known as Lend Lease to America and has formed a committee calling itself "Committee for a Negotiated Victory."

Perhaps the operations of these groups could ordinarily be looked upon with slight notice if it were not for the important support given to them indirectly by people of strategic influence. Col. Robert McCormick and his Tribune is read by approximately one million Chicagoans a day. To the vast

majority of these people, the Tribune is regarded as a respectable American sheet. Coupled with the aid given by the Hearst press, the Middle West is pretty well indoctrinated with isolationist attitudes. It is not unusual, while sitting in a restaurant, to hear a conversation in which criticism of the Allies, in keeping with what has been pounded out daily by the Tribune and Hearst, is constantly made. "England fights to the last American," "Let's worry about the Japs not the Germans," "Beat them in the Pacific," "To heck with Europe," "Too many communists in Washington," etc. are every day statements in Chicago.

When one realizes that the average mid-westerner was fairly much an isolationist originally, mainly because of his religious pacifism, one can then see that the activities of these groups, which are insignificant compared to the daily poison of the Tribune and Hearst, are increasingly becoming a dangerous problem.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Saturday
morning papers, May 9

THE PRICE OF FREE WORLD VICTORY

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, at a dinner of the Free World Association at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, May 8, 1942, 10:00 - 10:30 P.M., E.W.T., broadcast nationally by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

We, who in a formal or an informal way represent most of the free peoples of the world, are met here tonight in the interests of the millions in all the nations who have freedom in their souls. To my mind this meeting has just one purpose--to let those millions in other countries know that here in the United States are 130 million men, women and children who are in this war to the finish. Our American people are utterly resolved to go on until they can strike the relentless blows that will assure a complete victory, and with it win a new day for the lovers of freedom, everywhere on this earth.

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other.

As we begin the final stages of this fight to the death between the free world and the slave world, it is worth while to refresh our minds about the march of freedom for the common man. The idea of freedom--the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well--is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago. Even then, the march of the common people had just begun. Most of them did not yet know how to read and write. There were no public

schools to which all children could go. Men and women can not be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over. Down the years, the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of production--that is, how to make a living. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of self-government.

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of Western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last 20 years. In many nations, a generation ago, 9 out of 10 of the people could not read or write. Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was enormously enhanced. In China, the increase during the past 30 years in the ability of the people to read and write has been matched by their increased interest in real liberty.

Everywhere, reading and writing are accompanied by industrial progress, and industrial progress sooner or later inevitably brings a strong labor movement. From a long-time and fundamental point of view, there are no backward peoples which are lacking in mechanical sense. Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march. Thousands of them are learning to read and write, learning to think together, learning to use tools. These people are learning to think and work

together in labor movements, some of which may be extreme or impractical at first, but which eventually will settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man.

When the freedom-loving people march--when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live --when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

But in countries where the ability to read and write has been recently acquired or where the people have had no long experience in governing themselves on the basis of their own thinking, it is easy for demagogues to arise and prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends. Such a demagogue may get financial help from some person of wealth who is unaware of what the end result will be. With this backing, the demagogue may dominate the minds of the people, and, from whatever degree of freedom they have, lead them backward into slavery. Herr Thyssen, the wealthy German steel man, little realized what he was doing when he gave Hitler enough money to enable him to play on the minds of the German people. The demagogue is the curse of the modern world, and of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political "it" to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery of the most degraded kind. Unfortunately for the wealthy men who finance movements of this sort, as well as for the people themselves, the

successful demagogue is a powerful genie who, when once let out of his bottle, refuses to obey anyone's command. As long as his spell holds, he defies God Himself, and Satan is turned loose upon the world.

Through the leaders of the Nazi revolution, Satan now is trying to lead the common man of the whole world back into slavery and darkness. For the stark truth is that the violence preached by the Nazis is the devil's own religion of darkness. So also is the doctrine that one race or one class is by heredity superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves. The belief in one Satan-inspired Fuehrer, with his Quislings, his Laval, and his Mussolinis--his "gauleiters" in every nation in the world--is the last and ultimate darkness. Is there any hell hotter than that of being a Quisling, unless it is that of being a Laval or a Mussolini?

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form, in a Hitler who has the daring to spit straight into the eye of God and man. But the Nazi system has a heroic position for only one leader. By definition only one person is allowed to retain full sovereignty over his own soul. All the rest are stooges--they are stooges who have been mentally and politically degraded, and who feel that they can get square with the world only by mentally and politically degrading other people. These stooges are really psychopathic cases. Satan has turned loose upon us the insane.

The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this Great Revolution of the people, there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German

revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. When the Nazi psychologists tell their master Hitler that we in the United States may be able to produce hundreds of thousands of planes, but that we have no will to fight, they are only fooling themselves and him. The truth is that when the rights of the American people are transgressed, as those rights have been transgressed, the American people will fight with a relentless fury which will drive the ancient Teutonic gods back cowering into their caves. The Götterdämmerung has come for Odin and his crew.

The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counter-revolution will stop it. The common man will smoke the Hitler stooges out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Lavals, no Mussolinis will be tolerated in a Free World.

The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression,

and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution can not stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

And now, as we move forward toward realizing the Four Freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties. It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege has its price, its corresponding duty without which it can not be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today, are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
4. The duty to build a peace --just, charitable and enduring.

The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

We failed in our job after World War No. 1. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from rearming. We did not insist that she "learn war no more". We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive whole-heartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically and, I hope, spiritually sound.

Modern science, which is a by-product and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world get enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinoff: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day." She replied: "Yes, even half a pint." The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America -- not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

Some have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering -- the century which will come out of this war -- can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin. India, China, and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century. As their masses learn to read and write, and as they become productive mechanics, their standard of living will double and treble. Modern science, when devoted whole-heartedly to the general

welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream.

And modern science must be released from German slavery. International cartels that serve American greed and the German will to power must go. Cartels in the peace to come must be subjected to international control for the common man, as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments. In this way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for inventions to serve all the people instead of only the few.

Yes, and when the time of peace comes, the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we can not perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable and enduring.

If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy. Production, yes--it will be easy to get production without either strikes or sabotage; production with the whole-hearted cooperation between willing arms and keen brains; enthusiasm, zip, energy geared to the tempo of keeping at it everlastingly day after day. Hitler knows as well as those of us who sit in on the War Production Board meetings that we here in the United States are winning the battle of production. He knows that both labor and business in the United States are doing a most remarkable job and that his only hope is to crash through to a complete victory some time during the next six

months.

And then there is the task of transportation to the line of battle by truck, by railroad car, by ship. We shall joyously deny ourselves so that our transportation system is improved by at least 30 percent.

I need say little about the duty to fight. Some people declare, and Hitler believes, that the American people have grown soft in the last generation. Hitler agents continually preach in South America that we are cowards, unable to use, like the "brave" German soldiers, the weapons of modern war. It is true that American youth hates war with a holy hatred. But because of that fact and because Hitler and the German people stand as the very symbol of war, we shall fight with a tireless enthusiasm until war and the possibility of war have been removed from this planet. We shall cleanse the plague spot of Europe, which is Hitler's Germany, and with it the hell-hole of Asia --Japan.

The American people have always had guts and always will have. You know the story of Bomber Pilot Dixon and Radioman Gene Aldrich and Ordnanceman Tony Pastula -- the story which Americans will be telling their children for generations to illustrate man's ability to master any fate. These men lived for 34 days on the open sea in a rubber life raft, eight feet by four feet, with no food but that which they took from the sea and the air with one pocket knife and a pistol. And yet they lived it through and came at last to the beach of an island they did not know. In spite of their suffering and weakness, they stood like men, with no weapon left to protect themselves, and no shoes on their feet or clothes on their backs, and walked in military file because, they said, "if there were Japs, we didn't want to be crawling."

The American fighting men, and all the fighting men of the United

Nations, will need to summon all their courage during the next few months. I am convinced that the summer and fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all. Hitler, like the prize-fighter who realizes he is on the verge of being knocked out, is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow. There is abject fear in the heart of the madman and a growing discontent among his people as he prepares for his last all-out offensive.

We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will cooperate to do the unexpected -- perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our Northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive.

We must be especially prepared to stifle the fifth columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plants, but even more important, our minds. We must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace. When I say this, I recognize that the peoples, both of Latin America and of the nations supporting the agencies through which the fifth columnists work, are overwhelmingly on the side of the democracies. We must expect the offensive against us on the military, propaganda and sabotage fronts, both in the United States and in Latin America, to reach its apex some time during the next few months. The convulsive efforts of the dying madman will be so great that some of us may be deceived into thinking that the situation is bad at a time

when it is really getting better. But in the case of most of us, the events of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit, we can not be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat. As we nerve ourselves for the supreme effort in this hemisphere we must not forget the sublime heroism of the oppressed in Europe and Asia, whether it be in the mountains of Yugoslavia, the factories of Czechoslovakia and France, the farms of Poland, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, among the seamen of Norway, or in the occupied areas of China and the Dutch East Indies. Everywhere the soul of man is letting the tyrant know that slavery of the body does not end resistance.

There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West and Middlowest--the will of the American people is for complete victory.

No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the Nazi yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory.

The people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels can not prevail against it. They can not prevail, for on the side of the people is the Lord.

"He giveth power to the faint; to them
that have no might He increaseth strength ...
They that wait upon the Lord shall mount up
with wings as eagles; they shall run, and
not be weary; they shall walk and not be faint."

Strong in the strength of the Lord, we who fight in the people's cause will never stop until that cause is won.

Wallace
1.
NORTH AFRICA

Report of conference of Marsh, Elliott, Ezekiel, plus suggestions from Cot (latter was not present at tactical discussions).

It appears likely that Hitler will attack North Africa soon -

- a) it is the easiest spot for him to hit;
- b) it would help restore his shaken prestige;
- c) it would divert and possibly immobilize considerable allied sea power;
- d) it would provide a new threat to British shipping in the South Atlantic and to us in South America.

It would be possible to avert this by a limited American force getting to North Africa first with a complete surprise, military and political. Complete surprise is the prime necessity - military surprise supporting simultaneously political action to obtain the support of local forces both French and native. If political is attempted before military action is begun that might only precipitate military action by Hitler. Military action by us will form a strong foundation for such political action as we might thereafter see fit to undertake.

Outline of the proposed campaign:

1. Seize Spanish Morocco with adequate force striking simultaneously at Madeira Islands, International Settlement at Tangiers, and Casablanca.
2. Immediately following the military action initiate political negotiations with the native groups in Spanish Morocco and French Morocco, with Frenchmen and French military and naval leaders in French Morocco and Algeria and with the De Gaullist government in London.
3. Follow-up with such further military campaign in Northwest Africa as developing situation might require.
4. Attack Dakar if it did not automatically fall into our hands.
5. Drive for junction with British troops in Libya as developing situation would justify.

Details are as follows:

1. The attack on Morocco.
 - a. The attack would be made simultaneously on the International Settlement at Tangiers with a strong striking force composed of a division of marines, and an army armored division with heavy supporting anti-aircraft regiment, and an adequate force of fighters followed promptly by bombers.
 - b. Simultaneously Casablanca would be attacked by three or four divisions of infantry supported by such naval vessels as necessary to over-power French ships there, including the partially

completed battleship Jean Bart. (Two British battleships might be borrowed to help here, or our partially completed Washington might be used.)

c. Simultaneously a small naval force with perhaps a regiment of marines would seize the Madeira Islands and prepare air bases to support the land attacks if needed.

Seizing Tangiers in this way would control the railroad from Spanish Morocco to Casablanca and would make it impossible for Spanish troops in the Spanish militarized area east of Tangiers to help the French at Casablanca. Once Tangiers and Casablanca were occupied it would be relatively easy to overcome the remaining Spanish forces if they show any fight. This control of the southern shores of the Straits of Gibraltar would enable us to support Gibraltar and block off any German movement into North Africa, particularly if we had air superiority.

2. The political contacts with the natives and the French should not be started before we deliver the surprise attack. If we attempt to negotiate with them ahead of time Berlin would hear of it at once and we would be too late. In any case if our negotiations are not supported by a show of force they are not likely to do the work.

For the political negotiations we should have a few trusted agents in advance going to London to become acquainted with De Gaulle and to various points in French Morocco and Algeria where friendly French military and naval officials are located. They might go as assistant consuls or in some other minor governmental capacity so as not to excite suspicion. Their first job would be to get acquainted especially with the friendly officials. They would carry with them sealed instructions which would be opened the moment they heard that an American attack had taken place and these instructions would inform them of the negotiations they would undertake in each locality.

3. In addition to these Americans on the spot, immediately following the attack we would bring in a group of from 50 to 200 American "tourists" selected and trained (so far as the time permits) for Fifth Column activities as follows:

One group to work with the native rulers of Spanish Morocco, including the Spanish Caliph..

The second group to work in French Morocco with the two native groups - a) the Sultan, and b) the Shiek of Marrakech.

The third group to work with the friendly French military and naval officials located at Algeria, Oran, Tunisia, and other points, and also to start immediate contacts at Dakar.

The fourth group of French labor leaders and Leftists to work with the sailors of the French fleet to appeal to them not to fire on United States ships.

As one step in this procedure Abl el Krim, or his brother, Sidi Mohammed, might be brought back from where they are now interned on a French island off the coast of East Africa to stir the Riffs up against the Spanish and to re-establish native control of portions of Spanish Morocco.

4. Simultaneously, agents in London should put before De Gaulle proposals for him to move upstairs as the titular head of the French Government in the Inter-Allied Council, and to bring in General Georges Catroux now in Syria to head the actual French movement from London, with Colonel Collet in actual command of French forces cooperating in North Africa. (Catroux is a seasoned and democratic French military administrator with considerably more vision than De Gaulle and better trusted by the French democratic elements. Collet is a dashing military leader who carried his whole command over to the English when they took Syria, and who is greatly adored by the French military.)

The Fifth Columnists would be adequately prepared with gold or other cash where bribery was needed and with promises of more to come, with assurances as to future increased independence for native groups and political equality in their region with other races, and also with promises as to security of their positions after the war was over. The minor French officials in North Africa should also be guaranteed security of tenure and the maintenance of their pension status to insure their support.

5. Military Preparations. Preceding the attack it would be desirable to send a few American ships to join the British in the Mediterranean, possibly two old cruisers and some submarines and publicize this fact widely. This would help strengthen resistance to German movements into the area before the attack was ready and would help deter the French fleet from firing on the British, as many of them who are unfriendly to the British are very friendly to us.

For the surprise attack to succeed the naval, military, shipping, and political operations must be planned swiftly, speedily, and secretly. If we are to beat Hitler to the draw we have only five or six weeks to get there. There is a real question whether this can be done through the usual bureaucratic channels, and on the contrary, it would be desirable to place one official in complete charge of the military aspects of the operation aided by a civilian partner to carry through all the non-military aspects. Both individuals should have power to draw on all services and departments for necessary supplies and personnel and should be given supreme authority to cut across red tape and use their own discretion in dealing with the problems in the area, reporting directly to the Inter-Allied Council and the Commander in Chief.

It is suggested that Rear Admiral F.J. Horn, who has just completed negotiations with the French at Martinique, would be excellent to command the military operations. The attack on Tangiers under him might be headed by the Marine Major General Smith, who now has a trained division in North Carolina. They could be sent back to the marine base at Guantoma Bay in Cuba to organize and sail, and other troops could be infiltrated there and shipped off from time to time to prevent any news leaking out that anything else than ordinary training maneuvers were under way.

Major General Carl Truesdale might command the army corps for the attack on Casablanca.

Organizing the Fifth Column workers would involve getting together at least one thousand Americans skilled in Arabic and Spanish and other languages, starting training them vaguely for possible remote service in the Near East, sorting out of these 50 to 100 top-notchers and giving them intensive training on the areas they are to operate in and the steps they would undertake, at the same time perfecting their language.

In addition to the details outlined above, a number of details have been worked out as to the names of individuals in the region who are friendly, or whose support needs be obtained, and where they are located, together with individuals in the country who can help provide information along similar lines. These personalities and details will be checked Monday with Jay Allen, who has just returned from interviewing many of the leaders in this region.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

For release in Tuesday
morning papers, June 9

WHY DID GOD MAKE AMERICA?

Address by Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, before a group called together by The Churchman for the purpose of honoring President Roosevelt, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, and broadcast over the NBC Red Network, 10:30 - 10:45 P.M., E.W.T., Monday, June 8, 1942.

For four centuries the name "America" has been a beacon light, inspiring a new and vibrant hope in the hearts of all the Old World peoples. At every stage in America's history there have been men who felt her destiny, but this has been especially true only during recent years. For the first time, hemispheric consciousness begins to emerge as a new, powerful and determining entity in world affairs. We are met here tonight to honor a man who, by spreading understanding among the nations of America, has made it possible for each of the Americas to begin to realize their historic destiny in a time of world crisis.

History thus far seems but a prelude to a magnificent world symphony. In this prelude many themes have been played. One glorious theme is how the Lord God Jehovah had a special interest in one chosen race, the Jews; in one promised land, Palestine, Century after century, according to the Good Book, God planted in the hearts of the Jews in the land of Palestine the seeds of justice, peace, long-suffering and charity. But the Jews by themselves and Palestine by herself could not build the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth. The spiritual essence of Judaism would eventually find its expression in America. But God held America back, and the Romans destroyed the Jewish nation.

The Roman theme, one of the most powerful in all history, laid down for the first time the broad concepts of large-scale administrative law. The Roman idea of law and discipline would later prove of great service to America. But God held His hand over America. Her time had not yet come.

Centuries went by. A new empire arose. This new empire, the British, built by a sea-faring people who had come to England from the shores of the Baltic, had a stronger feeling about the rights of the common man than the Roman Empire had had. For thousands of years the ancestors of the British had lived an intense family and village life, and, based on this life, they developed the common law to govern relationships between man and man. On the common law, the factory and the art of world trading, England erected the mighty British Empire.

God still held His hand over America as a place where He would eventually weave together the historic ideas, the great cultures, or, if you please, the inmost essence representing that contributed by Palestine, by Rome and by Britain. America was to be something new - a composite culture, a composite people, and something greater in culture and people than the mere addition of its component parts.

This land of America over which God had held His hand - how enormous her resources! Her mighty river systems - the Amazon, the Mississippi, and the Plata - finding their sources in the lofty backbone of the hemisphere, called in the North the Rockies and in the South the Andes. And in these mountains, the metals so necessary to modern civilization. And in the mountain valleys and at the foot of the mountains, vast acres of most fertile soil, soil which was meant to feed well hundreds of millions of people for the first time in the history of the world, soil to produce starch out of which alcohol can be made to furnish the motive power

when at last our enormous petroleum resources run low.

But America is more than a tale of rivers and mountains and metals and soil. In the electricity of her air, the brightness of her sunshine and the color of her landscapes, there is a lift, a breadth, which is the physical manifestation of the word "liberty". This is sensed throughout the hemisphere, and nowhere more than in the nations of South America. I freely translate from a book of children's poems published in Argentina:

"America, clothed with sun and all marvelous things, extending from the golden magnificence of the tropics to the white glory of the poles, may your beauty, your greatness and your joy be blessed; may the name of America be sanctified day by day; give us O America, the serene majesty of your Andes. Give us the generous purity of your sun."

For thousands of years, this America, this glorious physical America, was appreciated but not exploited by the Indians. And then God said: "Time is ripe. Here is a chosen land, a land of promise to be given to all - all - my people to be a blessing for the world."

And so the ideas of ancient Rome marched in to America via Spain, Portugal, Italy and France. And the ideas of northern Europe marched in via England. Bolívar, the great South American liberator who was also a political philosopher, in his famous speech of 1819 to the Venezuelan Congress, spoke of the extraordinary mixture of races which was going on in South America. Perhaps more than any other man of his time, Bolívar, while realizing the Iberian ancestry of

Latin America, appreciated that something altogether new was being built here. He was the first to perceive clearly the meaning and eventual destiny of Pan-Americanism.

In the United States there is an even greater mixture of customs and cultures than in most of the countries of Latin America. English in language, we are not British in blood or customs. We have too many Irish, Germans, French, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Russians and Poles for that. South America is neither Spanish nor Portuguese, and North America is not English. Both together represent the greater America - Pan-America - made for the most part out of the Old World, but essentially new, with a hope in the future based on pride of strength and joy in liberty, and through it all, humility and tolerance. We may live in a chosen land, but we do not belong to a chosen race.

And if America is a chosen land, it is not for her sake that she is chosen of the Lord at a certain stage of the world's history, but for the sake of all the world. We appreciate what has come to us from the steadfast British, the light-hearted Irish, the industrious Germans, the thrifty Frenchmen, and all the rest, just as in Latin-America there is the greatest admiration for the long-suffering patience of the Indians, the fiery pride of the Spaniards, the happy good nature of the Portuguese, and the artistic feeling of the Italians. Yes, we appreciate all that has come to us out of the past, but we insist that it be transformed into a greater hope for the future, into something which Europe and Africa and Asia will welcome as their brightest hope in the time to come.

All simple people who live close to the soil and the weather have a deep feeling for the sun as a symbolical father of our being, as the source of our food and our strength, and as the bringer of life and hope. Who can say that the prophet did not have America in his mind and the present day in his heart when he visioned the sun as a "sun of righteousness"? When he said in the last chapter of the Old Testament:

"For, behold, the day that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, sayeth the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch. But unto you that feareth my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise, with healing in its wings."

The Spanish translation is slightly less poetic, but more literal, saying: "The Sun of justice will be born under whose wings or rays is salvation."

America, without pride of race but with complete tolerance and great power, can be that "Sun of righteousness" with healing in its wings. America can establish the time of truly great peace based on justice to all the peoples. It is because President Franklin D. Roosevelt has demonstrated again and again that he carries this vision in his heart that we are met here tonight to recognize him as one of the world's great citizens.

More universally than any other name in all history, the name Franklin D. Roosevelt has stood for political, economic and genetic democracy in all the Americas. As a great geographer and statesman

who felt the breath of the oncoming future, but above all as a lover of humanity, he created the Good Neighbor policy in 1933, in order that we, by example in the New World, might inaugurate an era of peace and understanding for the whole world. When President Roosevelt traveled through the streets of Rio and Montevideo and Buenos Aires in November and December of 1936 and heard the crowds shouting, "la democracia", his faith in the peoples of America was profoundly deepened, and he came back to the United States resolved to give the Good Neighbor policy a more tangible meaning, so that the day may come when every American nation will wholeheartedly rejoice in the strength and in the friendship of the United States.

Recognizing the supreme importance of America to the future of peace and understanding in the world, President Roosevelt set up a special government agency to spend all its time developing a sense of hemispheric unity, improving the standard of living and laying the foundations here in the New World for that great peace which we hope will govern the whole world.

America, the heir of the religious concepts of Palestine and the culture of Rome and England, is building in the full sun of a new day for a peace which is not based on imperialistic intervention. The American peace, the peace of the common man, must be translated into freedom everywhere. America will not have made her contribution until nine out of ten of the adults of the world can read and write, until all the children of the world can have at least a pint of milk a day, until education brings with it such a sense of

responsibility that all of the people of the world can be trusted to take part in democratic government.

The mighty cultural rivers which have come rushing down upon us from the mountains of the past have joined here in America to build a new civilization which blends the social justice of the prophets, the legal justice of Rome, the stability of Britain, the fire of Spain, the tolerance of Portugal, and the fortitude of the Indians with the aspiration of the common man, which is the essence of the sun and soil of America. We shall see the day when the sun of our America is the sun of righteousness, and when that sun will rise with healing in its wings.

Chandler
Ferguson
May 11/42
BO

Wallace Sees Peoples' March For Freedom

Vice-President warns of
a joint Japanese-Nazi
attack on Alaska and
Latin America.

By a Staff Correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK, May 9 — People everywhere are today on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed, in the opinion of Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. No Nazi counter-revolution will stop this march, he told the Free World Association at a dinner at the Commodore Hotel here last night. At the same time, he warned that a joint Japanese-Nazi attack on Alaska and Latin-America must be expected before 1942 is scratched from the calendar.

Other speakers were T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China; H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Jan Masaryk, Foreign Affairs Minister to Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Wallace in his address highlighted revolutions that advanced the freedom march of peoples, characterizing this advance as "a long-drawn-out people's revolution." He named as milestones in this evolution the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848 and the Russian Revolution of 1918.

Learned to Think

"Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield," he recalled. "Some went to excess; but the most significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together. . . ."

"The people in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is the very human soul, holds as its credo the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his Message to Congress on Jan. 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom from the fear of secret police; but when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want of the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

"And now as we move forward toward realizing the four free-

Continued on Page 8, Column 6

PRESERVATION COPY

March On to a Fuller Freedom, Wallace Says

Continued from Page 1

doms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak of four duties. It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege, has its price, its corresponding duty without which it cannot be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution as I see them today are:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable and enduring.

Mr. Wallace characterized the century which will come into being after this war as that "of the common man." He held it would,

perhaps, be America's opportunity to support the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live.

"When the time of peace comes," he continued, "the citizen will again have a duty, the consumer will have a duty—the supreme duty—of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis; and we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is charitable and enduring.

"If we really believe we are

fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy...."

Mr. Wallace, sensing difficult months ahead, paid tribute to the American fighting man and those of the United Nations and called upon them to summon all their courage during the next few months.

"I am convinced that the summer and fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all," he said. "Hitler... is on the verge of being knocked out and is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow.... We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will co-operate to do the unexpected—perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with or anticipate by a few weeks the height of the military offensive.

"But in the case of most of us, the evils of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit, we cannot be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat.... There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West, and Middle West—the will of the American people is for complete victory."

Common People March Toward Fuller Freedom . . .

Wallace Defies the Demagogues and Their Employers . . . But Warns Us We Face a 'Supreme Crisis'

Vice President Wallace made a speech in New York Friday night. The Herald Tribune reported it in part on Page 1, the Times put it on Page 3 and the other leading papers virtually buried it.

PM considers it such an important speech that nearly all of it is printed here today.

Mr. Wallace was addressing the Free World Assn. Dinner in the Hotel Commodore. He warned that we must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth-columning both in Latin America and this country, and forecast a "supreme crisis" this year.

But he did more than that. He told us plainly and eloquently what we are fighting for and why we must and will win this war.

The Vice President said:

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other.

Common Man's Freedom

As we begin the final stages of this fight to the death between the free world and the slave world, it is worth while to refresh our minds about the march of freedom for the common man. The idea of freedom—the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well—is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our Nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago. Even then, the march of the common people had just begun. Most of them did not yet know how to read and write. There were no public schools to which all children could go. Men and women can not be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over. Down the years, the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of production—that is, how to make a living. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of self-government.

Cites Russia, China

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of Western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last 20 years. In many nations, a generation ago, nine out of 10 of the people could not read or write. Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was tremendously increased. In China, the increase during the past 30 years in the ability of the people to read and write has been matched by their increased interest in real liberty.

Everywhere, reading and writing are accompanied by industrial progress, and industrial progress sooner or later inevitably brings a strong labor movement. From a

long-time and fundamental point of view, there are no backward peoples which are lacking in mechanical sense. Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march. By the millions, they are learning to read and write, learning to think together, learning to use tools. These people are learning to think and work together in labor movements, some of which may be extreme or impractical at first, but which eventually will settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man.

World Moves Ahead . . .

When the freedom-loving people march—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

But in countries where the ability to read and write has been recently acquired, or you know that 82 per cent of the people in this world don't yet know how to read and write, where the people have had no long experience in governing themselves on the basis of their own thinking, it is easy for demagogues to arise and prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends. Such a demagogue may get financial help from some person of wealth who is unaware of what the end result will be. With this backing, the demagogue may dominate the minds of the people, and, from whatever degree of freedom they have, lead them back into a most degraded slavery. Herr Thyssen, the wealthy German steel man, little realized what he was doing when he gave Hitler enough money to enable him to play on the minds of the German people.

The demagogue is the curse of the modern world, and of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political "it" to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery of the most degraded kind. Unfortunately for the wealthy men who finance movements of this sort, as well as for the people themselves, the successful demagogue is a powerful genie who, when once let out of his bottle, refuses to obey anyone's command. As long as his spell holds, he defies God Himself, and Satan is turned loose upon the world.

Return to Darkness

Through the leaders of the Nazi revolution, Satan now is trying to lead the common man of the whole world back into slavery and darkness. For the stark truth is that the violence preached by the Nazis is the devil's own religion of darkness. So also is the doctrine that one race or one class is by heredity superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves. The belief in one Satan-inspired Fuehrer, with his Quislings, his Laval, and his Mussolinis—his gauleiters in every nation in the world—is the last and ultimate darkness. Is there any hell hotter than that of being a



Vice President Wallace warned the U.S.A. against an expected peace offensive by Hitler. He said "the people" must win the war to preserve the dignity of man.

Quisling, unless it is that of being a Laval or a Mussolini?

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form, in a Hitler who has the daring to spit straight into the eye of God and man. But the Nazi system has a heroic position for only one leader. By definition only one person is allowed to retain full sovereignty over his own soul. All the rest are stooges—they are stooges who have been mentally and politically degraded, and who feel that they can get square with the world only by mentally and politically degrading other people. These stooges are really psychopathic cases. Satan has turned loose upon the world.

People's Revolution

The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this Great Revolution of the people, there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1917. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. When the Nazi psychologists tell their master Hitler that we in the United States may be able to produce hundreds of thousands of planes; but that we have no will to fight, they are only fooling themselves and him.

Stooges Will Fail

The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the world have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counterrevolutionist will stop it. The common man will smother the Hitler stooges out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Laval, no Mussolini will be tolerated in a free world.

The people in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on Jan. 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revo-

lutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution can not stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

And now, as we move forward toward realizing the Four Freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties:

- 1. The duty to produce to the limit.
- 2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the line of battle.
- 3. The duty to fight with all that is fit, fit, and enduring.
- 4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable and enduring.

The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

We failed in our job after World War No. 1. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from rearming. We did not insist that she "learn war no more." We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive wholeheartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically and, I hope, spiritually sound.

The Post-War Century

Modern science, which is a by-product and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world get enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinoff: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day." She replied: "Yes, even a pint." The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

Some have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come into being after this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to support

MORE

And Won't Be Stopped

oms and duties by which the com- must live. Everywhere the com- must learn to build his own indus- his own hands in a practical. Everywhere the common man must increase his productivity so that he children can eventually pay to the community all that they have re- to nation will have the God-given exploit other nations. Older nations to the privileges to help younger et started on the path to industrial- but there must be neither military omie imperialism.

Science Must Be Free

modern science must be released rman slavery. International cartels e American greed and the German over must go. Cartels in the peace must be subjected to international or the common man, as well as be- r adequate control by the respective erversments. In this way, we can the Germans from again building achine while we sleep. With inter- monopoly pools under control, it possible for inventions to serve all le instead of only the few.

nd when the time of peace comes, en will again have a duty, the duty of sacrificing the lesser inter- the greater interest of the general. Those who write the peace must the whole world. There can be no ed peoples.

really believe that we are fighting ople's peace, all the rest becomes oduction, yes—it will be easy to get on without either strikes or sabo- oduction with the whole-hearted con- between willing arms and keen enthusiasm, zip, energy geared to po of keeping at it everlastingly day y. Hitler knows as well as those who sit in on the War Production neetings that we here in the United re winning the battle of production. ws that both labor and business in ted States are doing a most remark- and that his only hope is to crush to a complete victory some time the next six months.

then there is the task of transporta- the line of battle by truck, by rail- r, by ship. We shall joyously deny s so that our transportation system oved by at least 30 per cent. There g to be some denying. You'll hear about it soon.

S. A. Hates War, But—

ed say little about the duty to fight. e people declare, and Hitler believes, e American people have grown soft last generation. Hitler agents con- preach in South America that we ards, unable to use, like the "brave" soldiers, the weapons of modern. is true that American youth hates th a holy hatred. But because of that id because Hitler and the German stand as the very symbol of war, we ght with a tireless enthusiasm until d the possibility of war have been d from this planet. We shall leave gue spot of Europe, which is Hitler's ny, and with it the hell-hole of Asia.

American people have always had nd always will have. You know the f bomber pilot Dixon and radioman Aldrich and ordnanceman Tony Pas- he story which Americans will be tel- eir children for generations to illus- nian's ability to master any fate. These ived for 34 days on the open sea in

a rubber life raft, 8 feet by 4 feet, with no food but that which they took from the sea and the air with one pocket knife and a pistol. And yet they lived it through and came at last to the beach of an island they did not know. In spite of their suffering and weakness, they stood like men, with no weapon left to protect themselves, and no shoes on their feet or clothes on their backs, and walked in military file because, they said, "If there were Japs, we didn't want to be crawling."

The American fighting men, and all the fighting men of the United Nations, will need to summon all their courage during the next few months. I am convinced that the Summer and Fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all. Hitler, like the prize-fighter who realizes he is on the verge of being knocked out, is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow.

Unexpected Attack

We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will co-operate to do the unexpected—perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our Northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive.

We must be especially prepared to stifle the fifth columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plants, but even infinitely more important, our minds. We must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace. When I say this, I recognize that the peoples, both of Latin America and of the nations supporting the agencies through which the fifth columnists work, are overwhelmingly on the side of the democracies. We must expect the offensive against us on the military, propaganda and sabotage fronts, both in the United States and in Latin America, to reach its apex some time during the next few months.

For Complete Victory

The convulsive efforts of the dying mad-man will be so great that some of us may be deceived into thinking that the situation is bad at a time when it is really getting better. But in the case of most of us, the events of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit we can not be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat. As we nerve ourselves for the supreme effort in this hemisphere we must not forget the sublime heroism of the oppressed in Europe and Asia, whether it be in the mountains of Yugoslavia, the factories of Czechoslovakia and France, the farms of Poland, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, among the seamen of Norway, or in the occupied areas of China and the Dutch East Indies. Everywhere the soul of man is letting the tyrant know that slavery of the body does not end resistance.

There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West and Middle West—the will of the American people is for complete victory.

No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the Nazi and Japanese yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

Cardinal Charges Nazi Persecution

Michael Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich and a militant leader of German religious opposition to Hitler, has charged from his pulpit that the Nazis are oppressing the Catholic Church in Germany, and are waging "a veritable war against Christianity."

This extraordinarily courageous attack on the Nazis was made in a sermon delivered at the Cathedral of Munich on New Year's Day. It was made public Saturday for the first time in the Swiss newspaper *Die Nation*.

Cardinal Faulhaber dictated an 11-point indictment of the Nazi persecution of the Church.

The *New York Times*, in a special dispatch from Berne, summarizes Cardinal Faulhaber's indictment as follows:

¶ The war against Christianity has contributed in large part to the "spiritual unrest" in Germany, which is translated into "manifestations against the regime that are catalogued by the authorities as 'machinations of foreign Judeo-Communistic elements.'"

Interference with Church

¶ The Church continues to be treated with mistrust by the regime which maintains an elaborate system of "anti-Christian espionage" in the principal religious centers. This system attempts to prevent the reading of certain "episcopal documents" from the pulpits by the simple process of arresting the bishops concerned.

¶ Moral blackmail is being applied to faithful Catholics with reminders that "less faithful attendance at Church means keeping your job." The Church is called on for proportionately greater sacrifices in money and property than the "unbelieving individual citizens of Greater Germany."

¶ Intensified propaganda efforts are being developed among lower-paid workers to get them to disavow the Church.

¶ Nazis accuse the Church of being a "super-national organization," and imply that loyal Germans cannot reconcile their duties to the State with those to the Church.

¶ Violence is often employed in the "catechism" of a "doubtful" German who must "develop a consciousness of his nationality" or "suffer the consequences."

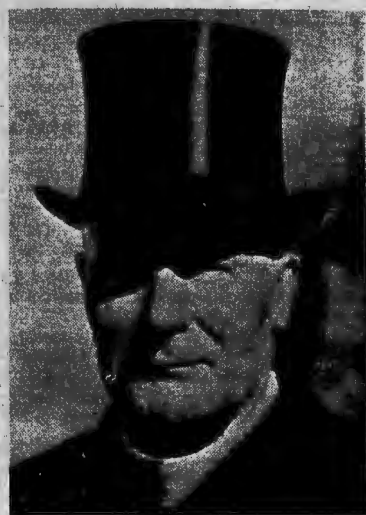
¶ Grave measures have been taken in schools to prevent religious instruction. School cards still bearing the subject "religious instruction" are withdrawn or amended.

¶ Publication of religious textbooks and other Church publications are forbidden. But Nazi booklets attacking the Church have increased "beyond measure."

¶ Young persons are forbidden to attend Church festivals in the evenings on the grounds that they "don't get enough sleep." Yet attendance at party functions, which often last well past midnight, is obligatory.

¶ Church organizations have been prevented from buying land on which to build religious structures.

¶ Church property, such as bronze bells and even ritual vessels have been sequestered without warning "for the prosecution of the war."



Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, has long been a severe critic of the Nazis.

Photo by Wide World

Murmansk Repels Nazi Air Blitz

By HAROLD KING

Reuter's Special Correspondence

ARCTIC FRONT, May 9.—I just have spent eight days in Murmansk at the height of a Nazi air blitz aimed at smashing Stalin's Arctic supply line. With 24 hours of daylight to fly in, the Germans made a determined attempt to wipe out this vital all-year-round port. But the Soviet's antiaircraft defenses and fighters, including British Hurricanes, flung them back.

Murmansk had four or five alerts every day, but few bombs fell on the port, showing that the Red fliers had mastery of the air.

At the same time, Soviet bombers blasted the Germans' secret air bases, forcing Gen. Stumpf, commander of the Nazi's northern air fleet, to withdraw many of his bombers, fighters and reconnaissance planes to the rear. These bases were strung out west of a line from Murmansk to Kandalaksha, on the White Sea coast, opposite Finland's "waist-line."

On land, too, the Nazi threat to Murmansk has been reduced by Soviet local offensives all along the 300-mile front from the Arctic Circle to the North Russian coast. When I arrived in Murmansk, the Red Army just had forestalled a German attack by capturing an important height.

South of the Kola Peninsula down to Leningrad, there have been several local successful Soviet actions in which secrecy and surprise have been the main factors. Finnish and German troops on one sector of the Karelian frontier appear to be hard pressed.

1, 1942

*Nash. Daily News
May 11/42*

Watch Wallace

By Raymond Clapper



NOT only because of his importance in the Administration but because he may have a hand in the conduct of the post-war world, the views of Vice President Wallace have a special bearing on the future policy of the United States.

For that reason his address before the Free World Association becomes more than just another speech by a Vice President.

Mr. Wallace does not regard this as merely another imperialistic war. He does not regard it as only a war to smash aggressors, altho that is the first necessity.

This war, as Mr. Wallace sees it, is an interruption in a long march of freedom for the common man, a threat to the continuation of that march, and for that reason a people's war that must be won so that what he calls the people's revolution may continue.

MR. WALLACE therefore considers a complete victory as only a necessary prelude to a resumption of a long-drawn-out people's revolution which he considers as having been in progress for 150 years, dating roughly from the American Revolution.

He regards this revolutionary movement as world-wide, and as part of it he lists the French Revolution, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German revolution of 1848 and the Russian revolution of 1918.

Each of these, Mr. Wallace says, spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the people were groping their way and more and more of them learned to think and act together.

THE Nazi regime has attempted to interfere with that advance of human freedom and it must be defeated along with its allies. But Mr. Wallace says the people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence. He considers that the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt "are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand."

To realize these freedoms, Mr. Wallace believes we have a duty to produce to the limit, to transport as rapidly as possible to the battlefield, to fight with all that is in us, and to build a just, charitable and enduring peace.

PUTTING it half in fun and half seriously, Mr. Wallace says the object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day.

This must be, he says, the Century of the Common Man. Methods of the 19th Century, with economic and military imperialism, will not work in this century, Mr. Wallace says. Therefore he says India, China and Latin-America, for instance, have a tremendous stake in this people's century.

AS YET, Mr. Wallace has not spelled it out, but the implications are clear. After this war imperialism as it has been practiced by western nations must go. Industrialization must spread. Colonial areas must not be exploited without regard to their own development.

What we have seen in Russia in one generation, the industrialization of a peasant country, must be repeated in other places. Out of it must come freer exchange of goods and tools, for a common and world-wide increase of production that will bring about a higher standard of living everywhere.

Mr. Wallace phrases his ideas in general language. But inside the generalities are wrapped up many concrete ideas which are destined, if they come into effect, to work deep changes in many parts of the world.

When he says no nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations, when he says that cartels must be subjected to common international control, he is looking straight at the God of Things as They Were and is laying down a challenge of which a great deal more may be heard as time goes on.

PRESERVATION COPY

SIDE GLANCES



"Gee, I had a lousy week-end—got paid Friday and still have five dollars left."

War Changes Mid West

By Thomas L. Stokes



THE MID WEST HOME FRONT—The seismograph of war scrawls its finger across the face of the Middle West. The surface scratches tell of deeper changes, deeper meanings, in the mass underneath.

Older men, men between 45 and 64, standing in long queues, waiting to be registered, chat amiably, all one big brotherhood now. Some speak shyly of their days "across the big pond" in the last war. . . . Seems so long ago now—yet not so long ago as they recall common experiences. The boss in the front office, the night watchman, side by side. . . . Democracy has a new meaning for them.

So it has for women who stand in line, waiting for their ration cards, the banker's wife and the cook who has a big family of her own to feed. . . . Women ringing door bells, in house-to-house canvasses to sell War Bonds and Stamps. . . . Men and women attending meetings, discussing air-raid protection (tho they can't believe they'll ever be bombed), planning feeding stations, taking first-aid courses, training as auxiliary firemen and policemen. . . . A new community endeavor, a new game.

Young women in slacks, striding with healthy, efficient steps out of plants making the implements of war, proud of their new jobs, heads high. . . . More women in slacks on the streets—the Kansas City won't let them dress that way to work in its city hall. The city manager decrees no slacks unless the Government ration skirts and stockings. Dear old Kansas City!

Fewer young men in civilian clothes—more and more in uniform. . . . Girls, hanging like clinging vines on the arms of boys in Army khaki or Navy blue, proudly possessive, giving the world—meaning other women—that "don't-you-dare-touch-him—he's-mine" look.

Watch Wallace

By Raymond Clapper



NOT only because of his importance in the Administration but because he may have a hand in the conduct of the post-war world, the views of Vice President Wallace have a special bearing on the future policy of the United States.

For that reason his address before the Free World Association becomes more than just another speech by a Vice President.

Mr. Wallace does not regard this as merely another imperialistic war. He does not regard it as only a war to smash aggressors, altho that is the first necessity.

This war, as Mr. Wallace sees it, is an interruption in a long march of freedom for the common man, a threat to the continuation of that march, and for that reason a people's war that must be won so that what he calls the people's revolution may continue.

MR. WALLACE therefore considers a complete victory as only a necessary prelude to a resumption of a long-drawn-out people's revolution which he considers as having been in progress for 150 years, dating roughly from the American Revolution.

He regards this revolutionary movement as world-wide, and as part of it he lists the French Revolution, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German revolution of 1848 and the Russian revolution of 1918.

Each of these, Mr. Wallace says, spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the people were groping their way and more and more of them learned to think and act together.

THE Nazi regime has attempted to interfere with that advance of human freedom and it must be defeated along with its allies. But Mr. Wallace says the people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence. He considers that the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt "are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand."

To realize these freedoms, Mr. Wallace believes we have a duty to produce to the limit, to transport as rapidly as possible to the battlefield, to fight with all that is in us, and to build a just, charitable and enduring peace.

PUTTING it half in fun and half seriously, Mr. Wallace says the object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day.

This must be, he says, the Century of the Common Man. Methods of the 19th Century, with economic and military imperialism, will not work in this century, Mr. Wallace says. Therefore he says India, China and Latin-America, for instance, have a tremendous stake in this people's century.

AS YET, Mr. Wallace has not spelled it out, but the implications are clear. After this war imperialism as it has been practiced by western nations must go. Industrialization must spread. Colonial areas must not be exploited without regard to their own development.

What we have seen in Russia in one generation, the industrialization of a peasant country, must be repeated in other places. Out of it must come freer exchange of goods and tools, for a common and world-wide increase of production that will bring about a higher standard of living everywhere.

Mr. Wallace phrases his ideas in general language. But inside the generalities are wrapped up many concrete ideas which are destined, if they come into effect, to work deep changes in many parts of the world.

When he says no nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations, when he says that cartels must be subjected to common international control, he is looking straight at the God of Things as They Were and is laying down a challenge of which a great deal more may be heard as time goes on.

Blow-Off Due

By Al Williams

Washington
Star May 11/42

THE EVENING

On the Record

Vice President Wallace's Speech Called Best Definition of Post-War Aims

By DOROTHY THOMPSON.

The first statement from a high American personality giving this war a real sense was made by Vice President Wallace in New York Friday night. Mr. Wallace chose the right platform for it—a dinner of the Free World Association.

The fact that the war has a millennial sense is vaguely comprehended by everyone; but this sense has



not yet been so clearly articulated as it was Friday evening. The lack of adequate articulation of war aims has resulted in a certain sense of frustration and inadequacy. There has been lots of talk about "morale"—a horrid word—but not enough about morals. Mr. Wallace appealed to the morality of mankind, not to "morale."

And he is the first American of high position to dare to stress the essential revolutionary nature of this war. The object of this war is to create a great peace in a new world. And in envisioning such a peace and world, Mr. Wallace set Hitler's war in its correct historical perspective, and revealed it as a counter-revolution of immense virulence against the great developing revolution of the last 150 years.

He does not see our war or our victory as a return to a previous epoch, but as the means by which this great revolution will be liberated to greater fulfillment.

This revolution for the rights of man arose in the first place—in Mr. Wallace's analysis—from a deeply religious view of man's relation to man and God, out of which came demands for law, justice, human dignity, education and freedom. He who would try to halt the course of this movement to more God-like ideals of man and society, is, for Mr. Wallace the devil. (Mr. Wallace does not underrate the devil. He merely has contempt for the devil's henchmen and minor crooks.)

Development Uneven.

He recognizes that this revolutionary development has been uneven in advanced and backward countries, but rejects the idea that in this unevenness there is any pre-established will of God or nature.

And, most importantly, Mr. Wallace does not claim that we, in some material ways the most advanced people, have yet fulfilled our possibilities or our mission. We have not abolished the fear of want, and that is a basic step in the march of the liberation of man.

In this philosophy and scheme it is impossible to damn any peoples—even our enemies. But Mr. Wallace is not a bit soft on this

subject. It happens that the counterrevolution is being carried by peoples who must be defeated. Mr. Wallace's was one of the fightingest speeches delivered in this war. Yet he can fit our defeated enemies, as peoples, into a vision of the future.

And he did something else: He placed the Russian revolution where it belongs in the historical scheme of things. For Mr. Wallace, this revolution, the most radical of our epoch, is only a half-way house; only embodies partial truth; is something neither wholly to be condemned nor wholly to be praised, but, rather, to be understood. He is not afraid of it.

He sees where and to what extent it fits into the movement of mankind toward greater liberation. He would not dream of fearing that a revolution which was reaction from extreme feudalism, occurring in a largely illiterate country, could impose itself intact upon a highly developed and literate nation with a long tradition of education, prosperity, and self-government.

Mr. Wallace's speech was utterly without damagogy, even in its delivery. In his desire to speak precisely and in the inhibition that he placed on himself not to inflame but to clarify, he risked dryness. But there was more vital thought in his dryness than in most people's eloquence. It was the speech of a man intellectually convinced and spiritually supported—the speech of a somewhat prosaic prophet.

His candor was equal to his courage. Putting the Russian revolution where it belongs, as a step in the struggle of a great people toward fuller consciousness and higher organization, he clearly affirmed his belief in private property as a basic human right. But he does not believe that private property rights stretch to the unchecked control of huge international cartels covering basic raw materials and industries from which live whole nations of men.

Mr. Wallace sees that the Nazi-Japanese world affirms the whole of the last 130 years of human progress as aberration and blunder. He thinks our enemies are fighting a century and a half and that encourages him to optimism.

And, in imagining a peace, he is most concerned with the fulfillment of the basic liberal trend. He knows that all mankind can be lifted to an immensely higher economic level by reasonable international organization, and, as a deep Christian recognizes that the soul inhabits a body with justified demands and needs. So he does not leave economics out of peace.

His speech should be compared with Anthony Eden's, made the same day, foreseeing a United Nations policing of the world in the interim between victory and a more universal order. Eden's

(See THOMPSON, Page A-10.)

11 May 1942

THE NATION

Wallace's Speech on War Aims Hailed as Defining Basic Issue

Here are some reactions to Vice President Wallace's historic speech in which he described this war as a "people's revolution" against slavery. Enthusiastic comment came from those who heard the speech over the radio Friday night or read the text in the few papers that gave it more than passing mention. PM printed most of the speech, considering it one of the most important ever made about the war. Other newspapers played the threat of an Alaskan invasion, mentioned briefly by Wallace.

Ralph Barton Perry, professor of philosophy at Harvard University, said:

"Henry Wallace should be heard from more often. He should be taken from the position of assistant coach and put in the sitting order next to the clean-up position occupied by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is a straight thinker and a hard hitter. He is good defensively and good offensively.

"In his speech before the Free World Assn. on Friday, he reminded us sharply that we are vulnerable to attack, and that our wounded (and therefore more dangerous) enemy will attack us where we are most vulnerable, perhaps in Alaska or South America.

It's Our War

"But above all he reminded us that this is our war, in which our means all of us, and in which we have everything to gain and everything to lose. The war is beginning to get around, not only in the newspapers, but in our daily lives. It is beginning to cost us something, and it is going to cost us more, but why should it not, because everything we have or hope for is at stake—everything, quite literally. For everything that we have depends on our freedom to enjoy it and everything we hope for depends on our freedom to work for it.

"It is all or nothing, for everybody. That is what is meant by a people's war. The people means everybody, and freedom means everything. Hence this is a people's war for freedom.

"So says Henry Wallace, and such is the fact."

Hill's Comment

Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama said: "I happened to tune in on that speech and I'm happy that I did. I thought the Vice President went to the heart of things—answered any question that could be asked about the reasons we must fight and win this war—as no one else has. It is a speech that should be read by every American citizen. I hope copies will be made available for the widest possible circulation of the text."

Bruce Bliven, editor of the *New Republic*, said:

"I agree wholeheartedly with Vice President Wallace's magnificent address. He is right when he says the world cannot continue half slave and half free. We must recognize that this war is and must be a people's revolution and must clasp hands with everyone fighting under that banner."

Freda Kirchwey, editor of the *Nation*, said:

"Vice President Wallace's speech was certainly the most boldly democratic statement to come from any American official since

Series on Smith

Howard W. Smith of Virginia is one of the most powerful, important and least-known members of Congress. He is the Smith who sponsors the anti-labor legislation—all the many "Smith bills." He is to be opposed for renomination this summer by Emmett Davison, secretary-treasurer of the Machinists Union, AFL. Because we consider this one of the most significant of the year's election contests and one of the most interesting, PM will start tomorrow a series analyzing the leader, the men, and the community involved.

the war began and I hope it will be adopted as a yardstick against which major national policies henceforth will be measured. It should be reproduced immediately in every European language and spread by plane and radio and the underground press to the people of all the enemy and conquered countries. It should be similarly translated and broadcast throughout Latin America and the Far East. I congratulate PM on publishing the speech while the other papers reported it briefly, eliminating its most significant passages.

Liberal Seeks Woodrum Seat

By KENNETH C. CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Rep. Clifton A. Woodrum (D., Va.), House economy bloc leader, will be opposed for renomination in the Virginia primary election this year by Moss Plunkett, of Roanoke, corporation lawyer and liberal.

Plunkett, an official of the Southern Electoral Reform League, is a sparkplug of the campaign for abolition of the poll-tax laws. Plunkett ran a lone-wolf campaign for the lieutenant governorship in 1941 and polled 20,000 votes on the poll-tax and school-reform issues.

Woodrum is best known for his determined opposition as chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee, to Works Progress Administration (WPA) appropriations and other New Deal expenditures. The Woodrum committee once conducted an investigation of WPA projects in New York City.

Woodrum has represented the 6th District since 1922. The District is highly industrialized and the labor vote is expected to be an important factor. It is believed that Plunkett will draw most of it.

Plunkett considers the poll-tax issue the crux of the problem of democracy in the South.

"Today," he said, "we are sending hundreds of thousands of boys from the South to fight for and perhaps die for democracy. Yet most of these boys never have voted in their lives, because of the poll tax. I intend, if elected, to see that when these boys return they will not have to pay \$6 for the privilege of participating in the democracy they preserved for us."



Rear Adm. John H. Hoover, commander of the Caribbean sea front, has been instructed by the State Dept. to negotiate an understanding covering French possessions in this hemisphere.

Illinois CIO Plans War Job

CHICAGO, May 11.—More than 300 delegates, representing 250,000 CIO workers in Illinois, laid plans yesterday for the extension of labor-management committees to speed war production.

The delegates assembled for a one-day war-production conference called by the Illinois State Industrial Union Council.

Harry E. Rolph of the Labor Division of the War Production Board (WPB) told the conference that the formation of such production committees was ordered in March by WPB Chief Donald M. Nelson, and that management was expected to co-operate.

"Our first job to win the battle of production is to set up joint labor-management committees," he said. "If you run into any resistance from management, notify the WPB and we'll see that the plan is put into operation."

Resolutions were passed calling for:

- ¶ The opening of a second front in Europe.
- ¶ The full support of FDR's seven-point economic program.
- ¶ A conference of leaders of the CIO, AFL and British and Russian unions.
- ¶ Improved health conditions in war plants.

Gore to Ask Enforced Savings, Wage Ceiling

By United Press

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Rep. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.), will submit to Congress today sweeping legislation to implement the President's anti-inflation drive. His plan, which is not endorsed by the Administration, provides universal enforced savings and over-all ceilings on wages, salaries and on farm-commodity prices at parity.

Endorse Fight on Coughlin

The New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild today endorsed the suppression of Social Justice.

In a message to Attorney General Biddle and Postmaster General Walker, the organization condemned Charles E. Coughlin and all others who "have, by their conduct, pursued a deliberate policy calculated to disarm and divide the American people by the use of enemy propaganda."

U. S. Progress On Martinique

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Progress was reported yesterday in U. S. moves to keep French possessions in this Hemisphere out of Axis hands.

Rear Adm. John H. Hoover, Commander of the Eastern Caribbean, returned to Puerto Rico from Martinique, where he conferred with Adm. Georges Robert, High Commissioner of the French Antilles. Hoover is expected to return to Martinique in the near future.

Other developments in the diplomatic tug-of-war between Washington, Martinique and Vichy:

¶ Pierre Laval interviewed U. S. Charge d'Affaires S. Pinkney Tuck yesterday in Vichy about Martinique.

¶ Laval was reported to have ordered Gaston Henry-Haye, his Ambassador in Washington, to protest the American moves to neutralize the French possessions.

¶ Pro-Axis followers of Jacques Doriot, right-wing leader, demonstrated before the U. S. Embassy at Vichy yesterday, shouting: "Down with Roosevelt."

These developments were precipitated by the U. S. A.'s anxiety to make sure that Laval won't turn French possessions on this side of the Atlantic over to the Nazis. Observers also saw an indication that the U. S. A. wants to neutralize the French war vessels tied up at Martinique.

The strategically important French possessions have been coveted by Hitler as jumping-off places for an all-out attack on the U. S. A. (See map, ▼).



AN EDITORIAL

On the Martinique Talks

Now that the British have shown the way at Madagascar, the only possible attitude that we can take at Martinique and Guadeloupe is a similar fighting one. The State Department has taken the position that aggressive action by Vichy in Martinique would be regarded as equally against us as member of the United Nations. Vichy killed British soldiers at Diego Suarez. And now we are conducting negotiations with the Vichy representative at Martinique. Negotiations! Let's not fail to remind Vichy that we can sock, too.

—A. H. U.

Minister Quits

By United Press

OTTAWA, May 11.—Transport Minister P. J. A. Carlin has handed his resignation to Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, authoritative quarters reported last night.

12 May 1942

2 Columnists See Importance of Wallace's Freedom Speech

Miss Thompson Calls It 'Great'; 'More Than Just Another Speech,' Says Clapper

Alert columnists on two New York afternoon newspapers yesterday used their limited space to praise Vice President Wallace's historic speech defining our war aims.

The comment of Dorothy Thompson, in the *Post*, and Raymond Clapper, in the *World-Telegram*, could be taken as tacit apology for the lapse of editors who on Saturday dismissed Wallace's speech with a word of a column dwelling on the speaker's assing remark that the Japanese might attack Alaska or our Northwest.

A *Great Speech*, was the headline on Miss Thompson's *Post* column. Her opening line:

"The first statement from a high American personality giving the war a real sense was made by the Vice President, Henry Wallace, in New York, on Friday night."

Miss Thompson said in part:

"He is the first American of high position to dare to stress the essential revolutionary nature of this war. The object of this war

is to create a great peace in a new world. Mr. Wallace set Hitler's war in its correct historical perspective, and revealed it as a counter-revolution of immense virulence against the great developing revolution of the last 150 years."

"Mr. Wallace was one of the fightingest speeches delivered in this war. Yet he can fit our defeated enemies, as peoples, into a vision of the future."

"His candor was equal to his



Dorothy Thompson

Pat on the Back Dept.

Mild applause for the *Herald Tribune*, which gave the most thorough Saturday morning coverage to the Wallace speech of any New York newspaper. The *Herald Tribune* used one and a half columns, starting on front page, and, near the end of its story, mentioned Wallace's important theme, that "this is a fight between a slave world and a free world."

courage. Putting the Russian Revolution where it belongs, as a step in the struggle of a great people toward fuller consciousness and higher organization, he clearly affirmed his belief in private property as a basic human right."

Clapper headed his column *Freedom March*, noted that Wallace's speech was "more than just another speech by the Vice President."

"This war, as Mr. Wallace sees it," Clapper wrote, "is an interruption in a long march of freedom for the common man, a threat to the continuation of that march and for that reason a people's war that must be won so that what he calls the people's revolution may continue..."

"... As yet Mr. Wallace has not spelled it out, but the implications are clear. After this war imperialism as it has been practiced by western nations must go."

"Mr. Wallace phrases his ideas in general language. But inside the generalities are wrapped up many concrete ideas which are destined, if they come into effect, to work deep changes in many parts of the world."



Raymond Clapper

You Missed This . . . If You Depended on Other Newspapers

This summary of our war aims in a "people's war against slavery" is for those who didn't tune their radios to Vice President Wallace's speech Friday night and didn't read the text in Sunday's *PM*.

Readers of other New York newspapers, if they got any impression at all, probably felt that it was "just another speech by a Vice President," speculating on the possibility of Japanese raids on North America.

Here are some striking statements from Wallace's important speech, which was either ignored or brushed off by most newspapers and news services:

"This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other."

"If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last 20 years. . . . Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was tremendously increased."

"... Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march."

"When the freedom-loving people march

—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the products of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead."

"The demagog is the curse of the modern world, and of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political 'it' to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery."

"The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long drawn-out people's revolution. . . . The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub."

"The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan."

"No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism."

What Some Other Americans Say About Wallace on War Aims

Vice President Wallace told us plainly and eloquently, in a speech in New York City last Friday night, what we are fighting for. Thanks to the radio he had a nationwide audience and didn't have to get his message across through America's "free press."

Here are some more reactions from thinking people who don't depend on conventional daily newspapers to know what's going on in the world:

Charles Poletti, Lieutenant Governor of New York:

"Vice President Wallace's speech before the Free World Assn. was magnificent. His brilliant and forceful statement of our war aims should be read by every American."

His realistic appraisals of the critical months ahead and his summons to the Nation to be courageous and steadfast in this people's war against slavery and barbarism rank with the most important and stirring utterances that have come out of the war."

Raymond Gram Swing, radio commentator:

"You did me a service in publishing Vice President Wallace's great speech in full. It

should be read by all Americans and most of them, the common men of whom he spoke, would be grateful to find that their own aspirations have been wisely voiced."

Stephen S. Wise, noted Jewish leader: "Ever since hearing Vice President Wallace Friday night at the Free World Assn. dinner I have urged friends to study the speech carefully, as fully reported in *PM* rather than in the inadequate versions in the New York morning papers."

"I consider Vice President Wallace's speech one of the most important by any American since the war began. It is doubly important in view of the fact that its spirit conforms to the spirit of President Roosevelt. It could hardly have been made, viewing the relations between the President and Vice President, without the President's approval. It was a mighty word which gives direction to the forces of the United Nations. Vice President Wallace's speech will endure as one of the utterances which will bring healing and hope to Hitler's blighted people and reinforcement of purpose to our own country."



Stephen S. Wise

Walter White, secretary, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People:

"The kind of world Mr. Wallace dreams of and predicts is the only one which gives hope of lasting any reasonable length of time without too recurrent destructive wars."

Dr. Francis E. McMahon, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame University, president of the Catholic Assn. for International Peace:

"In his address the Vice President formulated clearly and adequately the ideal for which we should fight. The Nazis and the Japs have their perverted ideal of a master race dominating the world. If we are to win we must ourselves be dynamized by a positive ideal stronger, truer and more enduring than theirs. Such is the ideal of freedom sketched in all its height, length and breadth by Mr. Wallace. I liked his global vision of freedom for all peoples. I liked his emphasis upon economic justice for the common man everywhere. I liked his grim determination to win the peace as well as to win the war. The world we have had gave us the war we now have. Unless we have lost our senses we shall fight not to preserve the *status quo*



Walter White

but to build a better world founded on justice and charity—the kind of world envisioned by the Vice President in his inspiring address."

Frank Boss, honorary chairman of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, distinguished anthropologist and debunker of the Nazi "race nonsense":

"I cannot refrain from expressing my thanks to you for making available the epoch-making words of Vice President Wallace, which the *Times*, the paper I generally read, has suppressed so far as its true implications are concerned. To Vice President Wallace, our gratitude for the force and clarity with which he declared the true meaning of the present conflict, the fight against the exploitation of the world for the benefit of the few, nationally as well as individually; the courage with which he assailed those in our midst who would rather protect their privileges than join in the task of giving happiness and security to those whom our complex civilization denies the privilege to work joyfully with others in our common life."



Frank Boss

...SPEAK UP

IMPROVEMENT

Gentlemen:
I served in the last war and quite often these days I hear some of our soldier boys complaining and making comments. I inclose three pictures and would ask them to compare conditions then and now. Maybe this comparison will make them feel better.

Picture No. 1—The gas mask, as we wore it.

Picture No. 2—Our first meal in one of the camps.

Picture No. 3—Aviation cadets on their way to Texas.

Sincerely yours,
FRANK J. MERRITT
Bay Shore, L. I.



ARMED FORCES

Dear "PIC":
Another shipmate and I noticed on the cartoon page of the "PIC" magazine, a slight incidence which demands an explanation of "any member of the military or naval service whose cartoon, etc."

We were under the impression that the navy was a military service.

According to your article, there seems to be a slight doubt of this fact.

We have no hard feelings, but, only a misunderstanding.

Yours till the last Jap goes down,
W. M. STANTON
Dearborn, Mich.

A synonym for the word "military" is army. However, in deference to the navy, we will in future use the phrase "Armed Forces."—ED.

"PIC"

Sec. U. S. Pat. Off.

COVERING THE ENTIRE FIELD OF ENTERTAINMENT
MAY 12, 1942 VOL. XI, No. 10



"PIC's" cover girl is Pat Ogden, who is blond, has blue eyes and is five feet eight in height. Pat went to school in Honolulu, has always had theatre aspirations. She likes to dance and play tennis, and has never suffered a lack of partners for either activity.

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Art Director—Alex D. Sniffen Photographer in Chief—Sam E. Andre

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David Brown: Theater and Broadway H. R. Brown, Jr.: Washington Correspondent
Helen A. Frame: General Features Sandra Karyl: West Coast Research
Margaret Fowler: Research
John Fellew: Art and Layout Frank Phillips: Hollywood
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...SPEAK UP

ESTELLE FRUITT DOWNS

Dear Sir:
I am a Canadian who has spent the past seven years in Europe. I returned to America on the 7th of December from England for a brief visit to this country. Now I am returning to England.
There, I have seen the brutal attack by the Nazi savages on Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester and London. I have witnessed the full horrors of the raids on Britain—and yet, the most HORRIBLE and REVOLTING sight I have ever seen was the photograph in the March 17th issue of your magazine. I refer to the eleven-year-old bride, Estelle Pruitt Downs, and her 62-year-old husband. How your photographer restrained himself from giving that miserable old wretch the beating of his life, is a mystery to me.

For God's sake, can't something be done to save this child from the living death that must be hers?

Yours very truly,
CARROLL LEVIE
Montreal, Que.

JOHNNY PESKY

Dear Sir:
File this picture of Johnny Pesky because you will need it. He is a rookie with the Boston Red Sox and will oust Joe Cronin from the shortstop job this year. He has been in organized ball three years, breaking in with Rocky Mount in the Piedmont League in 1940. Last year he played with Louisville. Hit .325 both seasons and has been looking good in practice.

Watch wires for further details.
BUGS BARRINGER
Rocky Mount, N. C.



ANSWERS TO QUIZ ON PAGE 24

scuttled its fleet at Scapa Flow.
1906. It is false because Germany
Great Britain bombed Japan in
the Seattle. It is false because
under of reason at Honolulu because
which Tokyo is located. It is false
the island of Honolulu is the island
don't not attack. It is false because
under of reason at Honolulu because
present one. It is false because the
World War, much larger than our
an army of 4,000,000 men in the first
Bismarck. It is false because we had
seers which may have puzzled you.
A word of explanation about an-
1. true, 2. true, 3. true, 4. true, 5. true, 6. true, 7. true, 8. true, 9. true, 10. true, 11. true, 12. true, 13. true, 14. true, 15. true, 16. true, 17. true, 18. true, 19. true, 20. true, 21. true, 22. true, 23. true, 24. true, 25. true, 26. true, 27. true, 28. true, 29. true, 30. true, 31. true, 32. true, 33. true, 34. true, 35. true, 36. true, 37. true, 38. true, 39. true, 40. true, 41. true, 42. true, 43. true, 44. true, 45. true, 46. true, 47. true, 48. true, 49. true, 50. true, 51. true, 52. true, 53. true, 54. true, 55. true, 56. true, 57. true, 58. true, 59. true, 60. true, 61. true, 62. true, 63. true, 64. true, 65. true, 66. true, 67. true, 68. true, 69. true, 70. true, 71. true, 72. true, 73. true, 74. true, 75. true, 76. true, 77. true, 78. true, 79. true, 80. true, 81. true, 82. true, 83. true, 84. true, 85. true, 86. true, 87. true, 88. true, 89. true, 90. true, 91. true, 92. true, 93. true, 94. true, 95. true, 96. true, 97. true, 98. true, 99. true, 100. true.



Franklin D. Roosevelt, President

WHAT IS AN HONEST POLITICIAN?

By MORTON SMITH

(The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policy of the magazine.)

TO be honest is to be great. Pure honesty does not exist and will not as long as human beings occupy this earth. That man, as big as nature will permit, who sees things as they are and not as he wishes them to be, who willingly bares his soul for the world to appraise, who recognises the right of other pebbles to the beach, who will not squeeze his power to the disadvantage of the people, is semi-honest. Honesty is all that plus the ability to understand the truth and to understand it is to approach greatness, to understand and speak it is greatness itself. The men in this article know what they stand for, say what they think, and stick to what they say. They are utterly reliable in the

human sense, and their ability to cope with the truth is eminent.

There are thousands who think they are honest and who assuredly are in business transactions as well as in thought, but who fail miserably to understand the truth—it is to their advantage not to.

Men like Donald Nelson, Federal judges and other political figures were not considered. Those in the first two classifications conspicuously transcend politics as we know it today and the others were excluded, but not forgotten, simply because this article is designed to make its point as briefly as possible by using as examples a group of politicians who are in the public eye.

IT is worth stressing again and again about Franklin D. Roosevelt as President that he has never in any major issue tried to fool or double-cross the people. While he has frequently changed his mind he has been candid, to the point of recklessness, about where he stood and what he intended to do. His enemies have used his own words as the basis for some of the most vicious attacks ever made on an American President while the voters have backed him in three elections for the same reason. In the cat and dog fight which is politics, and remembering that the President is also head of a not-too-pure political party, as well as head of the nation, Roosevelt's record of square dealing is remarkable for showing few instances of important compromises on political personalities and almost none on principles. As far as he could he has kept his administration free of the double dealers and opportunists.

HE likes to climb mountains. He is a conversant yokel. To make the world safe for the corn breeders was his childhood ambition and he is still arguing the farmer's case and fighting for the general welfare and will continue to fight like hell until there is "a steady balanced increase in the production of physical goods more evenly distributed among the people, but not so distributed as to destroy the initiative on which the incentive for wealth and production is based." Henry Agard Wallace, Vice President of the United States is all wool and a yard wide and all on the table and he's got religion. His use of the Bible, which he points out, is "heavily loaded on the side of progressive independents," as a source of common-sense thinking is second only to his faith in it.

When Wallace came to Washington in 1933 as Secretary of Agriculture, one of the first things he accomplished was to put through the Agricultural Adjustment Act which brought cheers from the administration bigs and littles and rough words from the objectionists who were then being noticeably ignored and who claimed that his act (AAA) was a "class-ridden measure." Wallace stuck to his theory; instead of trying to explain away or apologise for the wholesale killing of pigs and plowing under of the corn to which he had consecrated his life, he countered with: "The burden of sabotage practiced by labor and capital has been borne chiefly by the farmer. When the farmer also practices sabotage, labor and capital will be forced to come to an agree-

HAROLD ICKES is so cantankerously honest some people wonder if he even trusts himself. This isn't so improbable as it sounds. When he was head of the Public Works Administration, with something like five billion dollars to spend, his office was packed with house detectives to make sure that nobody got away with a dishonest nickel of the Government's money.

Ickes' doubts may be accounted for by the fact that he entered politics in Chicago. His first political experience was gained in the discouraging job of trying to elect a reform mayor in Chicago. At the same time he was venting his sympathy for the underdog by taking Civil Liberties law cases without pay. He also taught Americanism at Jane Addams' Hull House and spent a good deal of time making life miserable for the Chicago utility interests, then under the beneficent guidance of Samuel Insull. He was christened the Gadfly of Cook County.

The education of Ickes continued with Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose movement. It was an education in disillusionment and in the rottenness of politics. He has told the story of the collapse of that starry-eyed campaign in a bitter article entitled "Who Killed the Progressive Party?" blaming a Morgan partner, G. W. Perkins and T. R.

Ickes wants everybody to be prosperous and happy. In announcing his support of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he said, "We fought one war to abolish physical slavery. Now we must fight to abolish economic slavery."

Henry Wallace, Vice President



Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior



ment with farmers on production and price matters." He is winning his point.

To Wallace the ability of the individual to discover for himself the nature of the general welfare is the ultimate in human attainment. Concerning our system of government he has this to say: "Under capitalism men have exploited backward peoples more rapidly than under any form of organization.

Capitalism if it adheres to its nineteenth-century methods, and democracy if it does not pervade economic life as well as political, are confronted by very powerful dangers. . . . The hope of the future is that corporations (the Holy of Holies of the system) and the workers will learn to co-operate with the government in serving the general welfare." He criticizes most of the press for first being interested in making money and lastly in the general welfare. Our teachers must be "live human beings" and must think in terms of whole and not partial human beings. We must have continued prayer on behalf of the general welfare, "to create a burning desire for the Kingdom" which will manifest itself on earth, when (first of four conditions) he who wants to work can work; can have a decent place to live, clean clothes and leisure time. "Democracy tends to put human rights first and property rights second." Answering Martin Dies' charge that 35 officials of the Economic War Board are guilty of former communistic activities, Wallace declared, "If we were at peace these tactics could be overlooked as the product of a witchcraft mind."

Pride of birth plays an important role in the Ickes philosophy. He is descended from old American stock that helped William Penn found Pennsylvania. He once said: "Neither Karl Marx, Adam Smith, Hitler nor Mussolini can guide us. The determination of our problems must be related to the problems themselves and to our particular social and political background. It must be American in its concept and application."

Ickes can point to PWA as a monument to his ideals in practice. Although widely criticized for hogtying the project with excessive supervision against graft, Ickes accomplished the building of billions of dollars' worth of highways, railroad improvements, schools, hospitals, sewers, water systems and dams, including the great power projects at Boulder, Bonneville and Grand Coulee. He was also responsible for establishing a yardstick for power rates which acted as a club over private utility companies and was upheld by the supreme court.

He has railed against constitutional lawyers as great obstructionists, urging that "we preserve the quality and not the custom of the American heritage. I believe in the people, yes, and in the individual. I am against the rugged individual because he believes in dog eat dog. I am for minority rights but only when they do not conflict with the rights of the majority. I am for culture for all, for education and equal opportunity for the rich as well as the poor."

As one of the rich commented, he wants to help us even if he has to make us poor to do it.

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE



Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

JUST as some men are said to experience a "call" to the ministry, you might say that Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard experienced a "call" to the job he now holds. For Wickard is a farmer who believes that farming is the noblest work of man. His instinct toward the soil is a beautiful, almost religious thing. To him the earth is the good earth, and the men who work the earth are good men, and best of all are the fruits of the earth.

He once told an audience of farmers, "Everything becomes obsolete except food." This is the cornerstone of his faith and practice. Food is life, and the men who grow food, the farmers, are the givers of life. As you might expect, his approach to the politics of agriculture is monolithic. "There is only one farm policy worth talking about," he said. "That is: Grow more food."

The man who believes that "The only real

wealth is good food" was naturally hard put to condone the early Roosevelt policy of plowing under crops and destroying livestock. He learned to tolerate it simply because he felt it was the only way to help the farmer under the chaotic condition then prevailing. As he explained wryly, "If the people whose business it is to see to such things are not intelligent enough to work out a plan whereby an abundance of food can be distributed to the people who need it, then the only thing we can do is protect the farmer by restricting production." He has no patience with farming that doesn't pay. "Whether we distribute food more evenly or not, the farmer has to be allowed to make a living."

Wickard does not pretend to have the answer to all the big problems that face the government. Yet his experience and earthly common sense, lead inexorably to the development of a liberal and even radical social philosophy. He has said, "The people won't tolerate indefinitely the existence of

hunger along with abundant crops." At another time he said, "There is no such thing as overproduction; there is only underconsumption." He has warmly supported the distribution of surplus foods through such methods as free school lunches, direct relief payments, and the food-stamp plan.

As head of the greatest food producing country in the world, Wickard has tackled the job of food production for war in a bold and highly significant manner. Simply stated, the plan consists of determining the needs of this country and its allies and then allotting production quotas in certain types of crops to all farmers.

Wickard still looks and talks like the dirt farmer from the rich farming country of Indiana, which he really is. He graduated from the agricultural college of Purdue University and has successfully applied scientific farming methods to the family farm of 880 acres on which he raises wheat, corn, alfalfa, Hampshire hogs and pure-bred Aberdeen Angus cattle.

HE won't conversationalize if he feels like keeping silent, you won't catch his eye if he's looking at his watch, and he will never slap you with a grin; he is the "human icicle," hotter than a coal stove in August. In his losing battle for the governorship of New York State (1910) the opposition, low on political ammunition, invented this graphic trademark for Henry L. Stimson—and they didn't tell a lie.

Seventy-five years ago his socially prominent parents had their only child. After boarding school, Scull & Bones, Harvard Law, and big-game hunting, he landed in Elihu Root's office, a protégé of the famous lawyer. He became Secretary of War under Taft, accompanied the first A. E. F. as Colonel of the Thirty-first Field Artillery (today he holds the rank of Brigadier General in Inactive Section of Officers Reserve Corps), was appointed Governor General of the Philippines. As Secretary of State in Hoover's cabinet, he distinguished himself by becoming "the original anti-appeaser" and the first and only Secretary of State to have a military aide. Between these starring roles, he succeeded in fixing his \$800,000 Long Island estate, "High-Gold," as a mecca for two-with-lemon enthusiasts.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson believes in the democratic form of government but is willing to see impurities as they rise to the surface. He does not believe in public ownership; congressmen, to his way of thinking, are virtually the attorneys for the districts they represent and unfortunately must

Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War



obtain special favors if they wish to continue in office. Consequently the Federal government by its very structure "is wholly unsuited for a task requiring such concentration of power." He further believes that if a system of government consistently backwaters, there is something wrong with the system, not with the individuals who compose it, because "they are laboring under a wretched and impossible system which promotes selfishness and even corruption." He damns as "an unmitigated evil" the practice of using the National Guard (unpaid militia), as a substitute for paid police, to quell labor troubles. He opposed the non-intervention agreement engineered by Great Britain during the Spanish Revolution on the grounds that international law assured the Loyalists the use of world markets. He holds the future of China to be a world-important problem, but she must be allowed to develop without greedy interference.

Speaking before the A. F. of L. a year ago last December the Secretary of War said, "Without industrial peace we cannot defend America. The Congress has declared that only through the democratic process of collective bargaining can the nation achieve a lasting and durable peace. That is true in times of tranquillity. It is doubly true in times of emergency. . . . In times of emergency . . . the responsible trade union is an indispensable instrument of national well-being because through it the free co-operation of labor is enlisted and assured in the national task which confronts us. . . ."

CLINTON P. ANDERSON of New Mexico is the sort of congressman you don't often read about in the newspapers. He is neither spectacularly radical nor spectacularly reactionary, but concentrates on doing the best job he can in Washington.

Anderson now lives in the Southwest, where the center of American liberalism moved after the great New England tradition died of malnutrition. He was born in South Dakota in 1895 of a Swedish immigrant father and an American mother. After college at Dakota Wesleyan and Michigan, he moved to New Mexico and got a job as a reporter on the Albuquerque Journal. He quit when the paper was bought by the Scripps-Howard chain. "I just didn't care to work for chain journalism," he says.

He went into insurance and did very well, working up to be a director of the Chamber of Commerce, president of International Rotary, stockholder in the local bank, owner of a 1,000-acre irrigated farm and of a dairy with 100 cows. He had dabbled in politics for a good many years before he was elected to the House in 1940. He worked for Al Smith in 1928 as chairman of the State Democratic Committee and for Roosevelt in 1932. As head of relief in New Mexico he opened the files of his bureau to the newspapers, gaining their support without alienating relief clients. Meanwhile, he had done his personal bit in the great depression by assuring his employees in 1929 that he would not lay off anybody, nor cut his salary as long as the money held out. The money

Clinton Anderson, Representative New Mexico



held out and Anderson stuck by his pledge.

As Rotary president, Anderson was among the first to protest Nazi excesses. He says, "I supported Roosevelt in everything he has stood for in this war because I felt he could call the shots better than anybody else." He is inclined to be emotional about the virtues of American democracy because, as he says, "My father was an immigrant from Sweden who became an educated man through home study. He was able to go to school only half a term. The thought that I, his son, could be elected to Congress means a lot to me and makes me proud that this could happen in America."

Typical of the way Anderson works was his reaction to the drive to abolish the overtime-pay provisions of the forty-hour week. Although a businessman and employer of labor on a large scale by New Mexico standards, and although labor had not supported him for Congress, Anderson made a careful study of the issue and concluded, as he told Congress: "The agitation for the so-called forty-hour week was whipped up all over the country to conceal the fact that industry itself was falling down on war production. Overtime pay, which is in reality only a raise of five or ten percent, does not meet the increased cost of living. To repeal overtime provisions now could plunge the country into a series of wage disputes that would be far more costly than overtime itself." Privately, he told friends, with singular lack of self-interest, "I am against taking from labor any advantage it has been able to get for itself."

This Is What We're Fighting For!

EDITORIAL*

by HENRY A. WALLACE

We, who in a formal or an informal way represent most of the free peoples of the world, have at heart the interests of the millions in all the nations who have freedom in their souls. We have just one purpose—to let those millions in other countries know that here in the United States are 130 million men, women and children who are in this war to the finish. Our American people are utterly resolved to go on until they can strike the relentless blows that will assure a complete victory, and with it win a new day for the lovers of freedom, everywhere on this earth.

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other.

As we begin the final stages of this fight to the death between the free world and the slave world, it is worth while to refresh our minds about the march of freedom for the common man. The idea of freedom . . . the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well . . . is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our Nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago. Even then, the march of the common people had just begun. Most of them did not yet know how to read and write. There were no public schools to which all children could go. Men and women can not be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over. Down the years, the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned; and are still learning, the art of production . . . that is, how to make a living. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of self-government.

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, educa-

But the Nazi system has a heroic position for only one leader. By definition only one person is allowed to retain full sovereignty over his own soul. All the rest are stooges . . . they are stooges who have been mentally and politically degraded, and who feel that they can get square with the world only by mentally and politically degrading other people. These stooges are really psychopathic cases. Satan has turned loose upon us the insane.

The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this Great Revolution of the people, there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. When the Nazi psychologists tell their master Hitler that we in the United States may be able to produce hundreds of thousands of planes, but that we have no will to fight, they are only fooling themselves and him. The truth is that when the rights of the American people are transgressed, as these rights have been transgressed, the American people will fight with a relentless fury which will drive the ancient Teutonic gods back cowering into their caves. The Gotterdammerung has come for Odin and his crew.

The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counter-revolution will stop it. The common man will smoke the Hitler stooges out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Laval, no Mussolini will be tolerated in a Free World.

The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting (here on earth) the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance

Yes, and when the time of peace comes, the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable and enduring.

If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy. Production, yes . . . it will be easy to get production without either strikes or sabotage; production with the whole-hearted cooperation between willing arms and keen brains; enthusiasm and energy geared to the tempo of keeping at it everlastingly day after day. Hitler knows as well as those of us who sit in on the War Production Board meetings that we here in the United States are winning the battle of production. He knows that both labor and business in the United States are doing a most remarkable job and that his only hope is to crash through to a complete victory some time during the next six months.

And then there is the task of transportation to the line of battle by truck, by railroad car, by ship. We shall willingly deny ourselves so that our transportation system is improved by at least 30 per cent.

I need say little about the duty to fight. Some people declare, and Hitler believes, that the American people have grown soft in the last generation. Hitler agents continually preach in South America that we are cowards, unable to use, like the "brave" German soldiers, the weapons of modern war. It is true that American youth hates war with a holy hatred. But because of that fact and because Hitler and the German people stand as the very symbol of war, we shall fight with a tireless enthusiasm until war and the possibility of war have been removed from this planet. We shall cleanse the plague spot of Europe, which is Hitler's Germany, and with it the hell-hole of Asia . . . Japan.

The American people have always had guts and always will have. You know the story of Bomber Pilot Dixon and Radioman Gene Aldrich and Ordnanceman Tony Pastula . . . the story which Americans will be telling their children for generations to illustrate man's ability to master any fate. These men lived for 34 days on the open sea in a rubber life boat, 8 feet by 4 feet, with no food but

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of Western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last 20 years. In many nations, a generation ago, 9 out of 10 of the people could not read or write. Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was enormously enhanced. In China, the increase during the past 30 years in the ability of the people to read and write has been matched by their increased interest in real liberty.

Everywhere, reading and writing are accompanied by industrial progress, and industrial progress sooner or later inevitably brings a strong labor movement. From a long-time and fundamental point of view, there are no backward peoples which are lacking in mechanical sense. Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march. Thousands of them are learning to read and write, learning to think together, learning to use tools. These people are learning to think and work together in labor movements, some of which may be extreme or impractical at first, but which eventually will settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man.

When the freedom-loving people march . . . when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live . . . when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

But in countries where the ability to read and write has been recently acquired or where the people have had no long experience in governing themselves on the basis of their own thinking, it is easy for demagogues to arise and prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends. Such a demagogue may get financial help from some person of wealth who is unaware of what the end result will be. With this backing, the demagogue may dominate the minds of the people, and, from whatever degree of freedom they have, lead them backward into slavery. Herr Thyssen, the wealthy German steel man, little realized what he was doing when he gave Hitler enough money to enable him to play on the minds of the German people. The demagogue is the curse of the modern world; and of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political "it" to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery of the most degraded kind. Unfortunately for the wealthy men who finance movements of this sort, as well as for the people themselves, the successful demagogue is a powerful genie who, when once let out of his bottle, refuses to obey anyone's command. As long as his spell holds, he defies God Himself, and Satan is turned loose upon the world.

Through the leaders of the Nazi revolution, Satan now is trying to lead the common man of the whole world back into slavery and darkness. For the stark truth is that the violence preached by the Nazis is the devil's own religion of darkness. So also is the doctrine that one race or one class is by heredity superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves. The belief in one Satan-inspired Fuehrer, with his Quisings, his Laval, and his Mussolinis . . . his "gauleiters" in every nation in the world . . . is the last and ultimate darkness. Is there any hell hotter than that of being a Quisling, unless it is that of being a Laval or a Mussolini?

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form in a Hitler.

of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution can not stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

And now, as we move forward toward realizing the Four Freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties. It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege has its price, its corresponding duty without which it cannot be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today, are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
 2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
 3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
 4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable and enduring.
- The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

We failed in our job after World War I. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from re-arming. We did not insist that she "learn war no more." We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive whole-heartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically and, I hope, spiritually sound.

Modern science, which is a by-product and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world get enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Mme. Litvinoff: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day." She replied: "Yes, even half a pint." The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

Some have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin. India, China, and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century. As their masses learn to read and write, and as they become productive mechanics, their standard of living will double and treble. Modern science, when devoted whole-heartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream.

And modern science must be released from German slavery. International cartels that serve American greed and the German will to power must go. Cartels in the peace to come must be subjected to international control for the common man, as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments. In this way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for intentions to serve all the people.

the open sea in a rubber life boat, 8 feet by 4 feet, with no food but that which they took from the sea and the air with one pocket knife and a pistol. And yet they lived it through and came at last to the beach of an island they did not know. In spite of their suffering and weakness, they stood like men; with no weapon left to protect themselves, and no shoes on their feet or clothes on their backs, and walked in military file because, they said, "if there were Japs, we didn't want to be crawling."

The American fighting men, and all the fighting men of the United Nations, will need to summon all their courage during the next few months. I am convinced that the summer and fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all. Hitler, like the prize-fighter who realizes he is on the verge of being knocked out, is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow. There is abject fear in the heart of the madman and a growing discontent among his people as he prepares for his last all-out offensive.

We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will cooperate to do the unexpected . . . perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our Northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive.

We must be especially prepared to stifle the Fifth Columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plants, but even more important, our minds. We must be prepared for the worst kind of Fifth Column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace. When I say this, I recognize that the peoples, both of Latin America and of the nations supporting the agencies through which the Fifth Columnists work, are overwhelmingly on the side of the democracies. We must expect the offensive against us on the military, propaganda and sabotage fronts, both in the United States and in Latin America, to reach its apex some time during the next few months. The convulsive efforts of the dying madman will be so great that some of us may be deceived into thinking that the situation is bad at a time when it is really getting better. But in the case of most of us, the events of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit, we cannot be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat. As we nerve ourselves for the supreme effort in this hemisphere we must not forget the sublime heroism of the oppressed in Europe and Asia, whether it be in the mountains of Yugoslavia, the factories of Czechoslovakia and France, the farms of Poland, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, among the seamen of Norway, or in the occupied areas of China and the Dutch East Indies. Everywhere the soul of man is letting the tyrant know that slavery of the body does not end resistance.

There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West and Middle West . . . the will of the American people is for complete victory.

No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the Nazi yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory.

The people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it. They cannot prevail, for on the side of the people is the Lord.

"He giveth power to the faint; to them that have no might He increaseth strength. . . . They that wait upon the Lord shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk and not be faint."

Strong is the strength of the Lord, we who fight in the people's

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form, in a Hitler who has the daring to spit straight into the eye of God and man.

way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for inventions to serve all the people instead of only the few.

as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk and not be faint."

Strength is the strength of the Lord; we who fight in the people's cause will never stop until that cause is won.

AS A PUBLIC SERVICE,

this compelling statement of our war aims is printed in full

by INTERNATIONAL LATEX CORPORATION • PLAYTEX PARK • DOVER, DELAWARE

Henry Wallace delivered this address before the Free World Association dinner in Friday. We consider it great editorial material, important to the American people.

*Vice-President
New York last

THE WASHINGTON POST, WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1942

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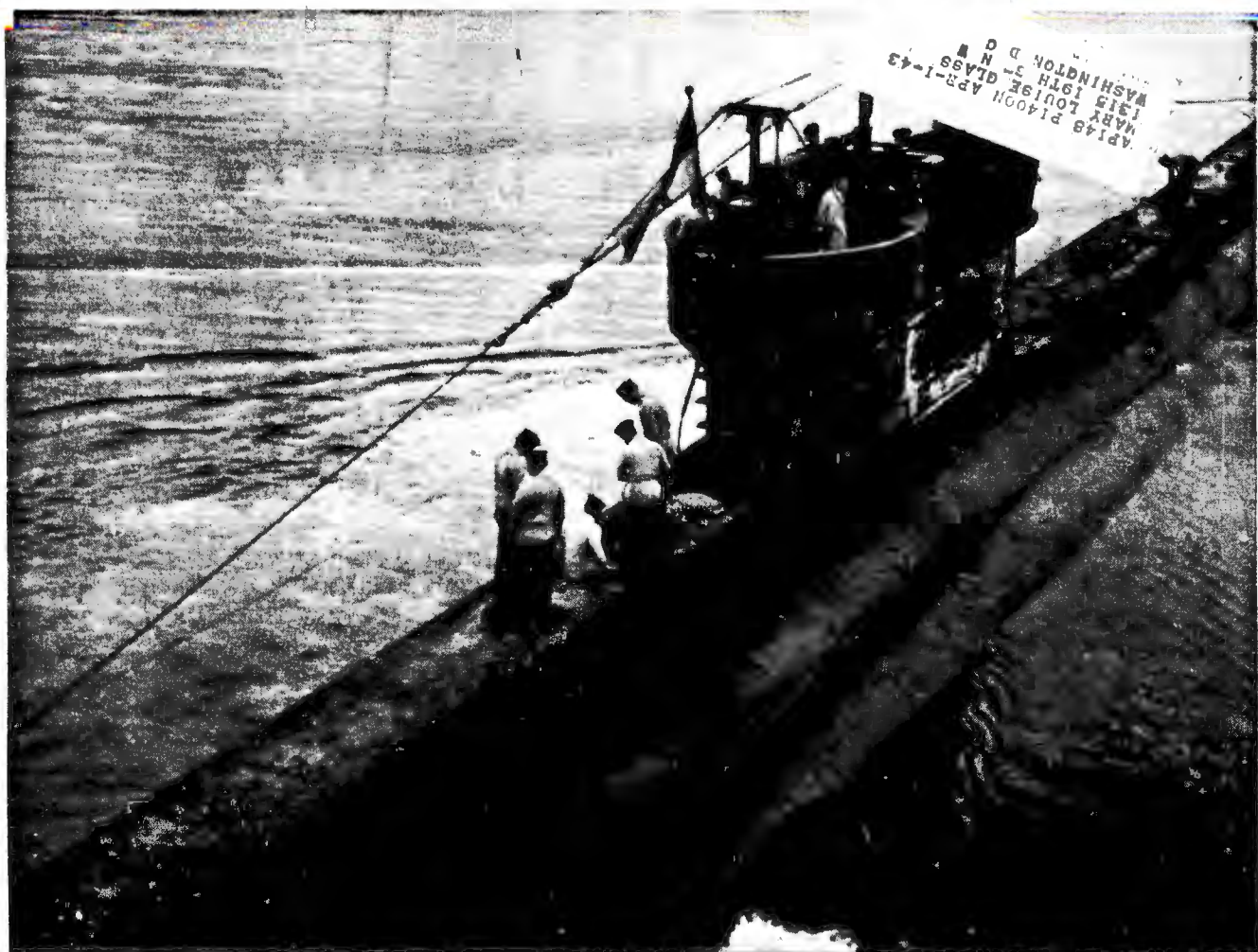
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Dies Set To Smear Wallace

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U-boats are taking tremendous toll of United Nations shipping. But our submarines' work has also been notable. U. S. Navy subs have gone to Japanese coast to sink shipping. British undersea vessels like this see action almost daily in Atlantic, Mediterranean.

Photo by Wide World

PM TELLS YOU MORE NEWS IN LESS TIME

PRESERVATION COPY

Dies Tries Hard to Smear Wallace

THE NATION

Texan Directs Committee Aids to Search Writings to See If He Can 'Get' the Vice President

By I. F. STONE
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 14.—The Dies Committee is trying hard to get something on Henry A. Wallace.

Though I have promised to shield my source and report few of the details, I can state as a fact that the Dies Committee has been going meticulously through the writings of the Vice President.

A search of everything written by or about the Vice President was ordered by Rep. Martin Dies several days after Wallace blasted the Texan's Committee for its attack on the Board of Economic Warfare (BEW).

Investigators for the Committee even went far back into the files of Wallace's *Farmer*, which was edited by the Vice President's father before him. The intention is to find passages which can be used, either in or out of context, Dies Committee style, to "prove" that the Vice President is a "dangerous radical."

Recent Speech Scanned

The Dies Committee also is considering the text of the Vice President's speech before the Free World Assn. dinner in New York last Friday, with its stress on the People's Revolution.

Vice President Wallace in his speech Friday night said, among other things:

"This is a fight between a free world and a slave world. . . . The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan. . . . No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. . . . the march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. . . . the people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub."

Aiming High

Wallace's speech, hailed by liberals everywhere as a great document in defining our war aims, was ignored largely by the press. In New York only PM and the *Herald Tribune* gave extensive coverage, and the *Trib* did not print the text, most of which appeared in PM.

Examples of persecuted lesser officials are C. Hartley Grattan and Maurice Parmelee. Grattan was hired as an expert on Australia, which he is, and Parmelee for the knowledge and experience gained in his work with Anglo-American blockade authorities in the last war. Grattan was smeared for contributing an article to a radical youth magazine many years ago; Parmelee for writing a book on nudism, also many years ago.

Although the Vice President defended both in a letter that left the Dies Committee snarling for revenge, Milo Perkins, Director



Vice President Wallace, who is the target of Martin Dies's latest smear attempt. Photo by Alan Fisher, PM

of the BEW, forced the resignation of Grattan and discharged Parmelee for fear of public criticism aroused by Dies.

The Dies Committee never has gone gunning for a figure as high as Wallace, though it has done plenty of oblique smearing of FDR and the New Deal.

Whether the Dies Committee has found anything in Wallace's writing which could be twisted for its purposes has not been learned. Whether Dies consulted any other members of the Committee before ordering a study of Wallace's writings is not known. But the study has been made and the excerpts and reports are before the Texan.

It remains to be seen whether Dies will have the courage for a direct attack.

Criminal Action On GE Weighed

WASHINGTON, May 14.—Assistant Attorney General Arnold intimated yesterday that the Justice Dept. was considering criminal action against General Electric under the broadened powers granted in Supreme Court anti-trust decisions Monday.

Testifying before the Senate Patents Committee, which is inquiring into the delay in the civil prosecution of General Electric on anti-trust charges, Arnold said that since GE won a postponement of its trials all companies accused as violators were seeking similar deferments.

High Army and Navy officials are to be called by the Committee today to explain why they thought it necessary to intervene in the courts to get postponement of the GE trials until after the war.

AN EDITORIAL

On Dies and the Wallace Speech

News from Washington that Martin Dies is studying Vice President Wallace's speech of Friday night with a view to smearing the Vice President is a challenge that every freedom-loving American must accept eagerly.

Here was a speech that sounded the call to a free and decent world. It was a speech that synthesized the whole history of the U. S. A.—more than 150 years of the slow and toiling struggle of men to live their lives, free and independent, worthy of the great country which they built from a wilderness.

It was the kind of speech that—could it have been heard there—would have reached into the hearts of the enslaved peoples of Europe and would have moved

them as nothing else could. It was a speech that every American who understands the meaning of our country must have been proud of.

And Martin Dies is studying it to smear a man like Wallace!

The very fact that he is doing so symbolizes this war as nothing else can—a war not only against Fascism abroad, but its black ally, reaction at home.

Here is the issue, clear-cut and plain for all to see.

Reactionary, petty, mean-souled little men of America against men who have caught a vision of what America means and can mean.

OK, Martin Dies. Let's have it out!

—ALEXANDER UHL

Soldier-Sailor Pay Boost Gets OK From Congress

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 14.—A sizable pay rise for U. S. soldiers and sailors was virtually assured today, almost a year after PM started its campaign for higher wages for our fighting men.

The House, with only one dissenting vote, approved a bill raising the minimum pay of brick privates and apprentice seamen to \$50 a month.

It appeared likely that powerful forces would move to get the wage rates back to the Senate-approved minimums of \$42.

The bill passed by the House yesterday was the same one which Sen. Ed C. Johnson (D., Cal.), piloted through the upper House, except for an amendment increasing the base pay from \$42 to \$50.

Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.), sponsor of the \$50 base, got little opposition when the vote to delete his proposal was taken. In the roll-call vote on the amended measure, 356 Representatives voted for it. The lone dissenting vote was cast by Rep. Wesley Disney (D., Okla.).

The bill now goes to a Senate-House conference committee.

The House and Senate measures differ on the future base pay of first-class privates and second-class seamen. The Rankin amend-

ment raised this from \$36 to \$54 monthly while the Senate held the top to \$48.

Both measures provide pay increases for all noncommissioned officers in both branches of service and for second lieutenants and ensigns. Commissioned officers also would receive higher allowances for rent and rations.

The officer's food allowance would be increased from 60 to 70 cents a day—officers with no dependents to get one ration a day, officers with one or more dependents, two rations.

Monthly rental allowances would range from \$60 for second lieutenants to \$120 for major generals with dependents; from \$45 to \$105, without dependents.

Authorities estimated that the wage increases provided by the House bill would add about \$300,000,000 to the pay roll of the 3,000,000-man Army which is expected to be in uniform before the year's end.

Rep. Overton Brooks (D., La.) put into the record figures which he declared showed that the basic pay scale of \$42 a month would make U. S. enlisted men the second-best-paid soldiers in the world. The Australian private gets \$62.10 a month.

Negroes Fear Color Line in WAAC

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 14.—The National Negro Council appealed to FDR today to obtain guaranties against discrimination before approving the creation of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps.

Charging that anti-discrimination amendments had been eliminated from the legislation because of the opposition of Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers (R., Mass.), the Council expressed fear that Negro women "will be confined to menial jobs despite their training, qualification and culture."

Edgar D. Brown, director of the Council, bitterly protested the boom for Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby of Houston, Tex., as Director of the WAAC. She has been mentioned widely in newspaper reports as the leading candidate.

Brown's letter declared that Mrs. Hobby "is known to share the lily-white traditions and Jim Crow practices of her native state." She is at present chief of the Woman's Interest Section of the War Dept.'s Public Relations Bureau. Asserting that "we have been unable to secure consideration for colored women who wish to volunteer at this time," Brown blamed Mrs. Hobby for barring their admission.

He urged FDR to veto the legislation should she be named Director of the WAAC.

Mrs. Hobby could not be reached for comment.

Legislation creating the WAAC obtained final Congressional approval Tuesday when it was passed by the Senate. The issue is now in FDR's hands.

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Room
Reserved
at
Widgy

Times Herald

SUNDAY, JUNE 7, 1942

SUCCESS in war depends upon men,
not money.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR.

Brave New World

Vice President Henry A. Wallace and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles have been thinking out loud of late about the world after this war. Mr. Wallace made



Henry A. Wallace



Sumner Welles

an eloquent, if somewhat, vague speech on the subject in New York on May 8. Mr. Welles an equally eloquent and vague speech on Memorial Day.

From these gentlemen's remarks, which of course had Administration ap-

proval, we gather that it is to be a brave new world indeed when the drums have ceased to roll.

Everybody in the world, says Mr. Wallace, must have the right to drink a quart of milk a day. The U. S. Army, says Mr. Welles, must do most of the work of policing the world until the world settles down to this state of milk-drinking bliss. Both gentlemen agree that it is up to the United States to underwrite this future of plenty and literacy for the human race. There must be no exploitation of one nation by another, and no hogging of natural resources by the more fortunate nations.

This is a lovely thing to talk about and to dream about. We can assure the talkers and the dreamers, however, that when and if they try to bring these dreams into cold, solid reality after the war, they will fan up a fight in this country which will make the recent isolationist-interventionist fight look like a mere warm-up.

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The United States is, comparatively, the garden spot of the earth. We have more natural resources, and more varied ones, than any other country with the possible exception of Russia. We are far ahead of any other nation in ability to make those resources yield us comfort and happiness.

It's Our Country

It is just our dumb luck that we have this gorgeous country. Our forefathers were shrewd and bold enough to come over here, kick out the British, French and Spanish and kill or corral the Indians, and make this country theirs. But that was more of our dumb luck.

The wealth of this country has been unevenly distributed among us, and was becoming dangerously so when President Roosevelt was first elected. That condition was in process of being cured when we got into the war.

Suppose that after we win the war, the Wallaces and Welleses propose to let as many of our Chinese friends move into this country as wish to do so. The Chinese are

The Answer Will Be No our Allies; they fought the good fight against Japan long before Japan elected us into the war. Besides, our postwar planners insist that no nation must selfishly refuse to share its good fortune with others after the war.

If it is proposed to drop the bars against the Chinese, there will be a thunderous "No!" from the farmers and workers of the Pacific Coast. They will simply not stand for an inflow of Orientals who will work for less and can live on far less than Americans.

Suppose it is proposed after the war to let in all the Greeks and Jews who have survived starvation, and the Serbs, and Poles, and the other downtrodden people from Europe, who will be clamoring to come to the United States.

The answer from workers and farmers of the Atlantic seaboard area, will be an equally thunderous "No!" They will be no more willing than the Westerners to let in hordes of people to compete for jobs and undercut American wage and work-week standards.

Up to now, the farmers and workers have benefited financially from this war, through higher farm prices and higher wages which are being borrowed from the future and must be repaid by the future. Farmers and workers can smell a threat to their wellbeing as far away as anybody else can. If they are called on after the war to let the world and his wife move into our rich and favored country and eat it up, they will refuse. They will refuse, we believe, in such determined fashion that no Administration in Washington will be able to take chances on trying to override them.

The same sort of refusal will be forthcoming if it is proposed after the war to drop the tariff bars and let Russian, Chinese, German and Italian labor, working long hours at sweatshop wages, flood our domestic market with products to compete with those made by well-paid American labor working American hours.

That is the dream of a brave new world reduced to factual terms. It doesn't look to us as if all our problems will disappear as soon as the Allies win the war.

Eden Echoes Wallace Plan For Rebuilding

Speech Makes
British Aims
Same as U.S.

NOTTINGHAM, England, July 23.—(AP)—Sketching the outlines of the future peace "at one of the gravest hours of the war," Foreign Secy. Anthony Eden said Thursday that Britain is ready to meet and work with the United States in shaping the post-war world.

In a speech which was generally regarded as the most definite pronouncement of Britain's after-war policy that has yet been made by a British statesman, Eden echoed ideas previously expressed by Vice Pres. Henry A. Wallace and Undersecy. of State Sumner Welles, and appealed to Britons to give a generous welcome to American soldiers and airmen in this country.

Making no mention of a second front, he nevertheless praised Russia and asserted "we, together with our allies, are in this war to the victorious end."

"With the United States, the Soviet Union, China and other nations, we shall take our part in working for the development of a great world-wide civilization," Eden continued, naming three urgent problems of peace:

1. Complete disarmament of the aggressor powers.
2. Feeding of the starving populations.
3. Enabling the devastated, impoverished and economically undeveloped countries to restart their industry and agriculture.

Two principles which should govern the solution of these problems he listed as follows:

1. Receipt of financial and economic aid "must not result in the loss of the independence of any country."

2. Any assistance or guidance given a country "unpracticed in the art of self-government must be such as to help it achieve its own development."

Choosing an audience largely composed of factory workers, soldiers, sailors and airmen for his pronouncements, Eden told them that winning the peace will be as hard a task as winning the war but that Britain was "pledged to play our full part in the building of a peaceful active international society."

He continued: "It is therefore most encouraging to note that in the United States of America the president himself and a number of leading statesmen have repeatedly expressed determination to work for a world in which each country shall be given the opportunity to develop its own life and its own resources to the benefit of all. In this task our American friends can be sure we shall be ready to meet and work with them all the time and all the way."

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

AIR MAIL

August 11, 1942

Mr. Charles Marsh
% The Adolphus Hotel
Dallas, Texas

Dear Charlie:

In reply to your query about General
Eisenhower, I am submitting the following:

Original Eisenhowers came from Switzerland
to Elizabethville, Pennsylvania in 1732.
General Eisenhower's father went to Kansas
in 1878, then to Denison, Texas in 1889 and
back to Kansas in 1891. General Eisenhower's
mother's paternal immigrant ancestor came
to Virginia in 1720.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

H. A. Wallace

Wallace

AMERICA'S SECOND CHANCE

The United States now has her second opportunity to make the world safe for democracy. During World War No. 1 and the fifteen years which followed our intentions were of the highest but our judgment was not good. From the depths of our hearts we responded to the idealism of Woodrow Wilson. Our boys enlisted to save the democracy of Western Europe and the New World from encroachment by the Imperialism of a militaristic Prussia. Our boys thought they knew what they were fighting for. That is why they fought so well.

In World War No. 1 we fought well, believed profoundly and produced tremendously. Aside from that our record was not so good. When the peace came we refused to accept responsibility for the world we had helped to create. We turned our back on Europe and said we were isolationists. During the war, prices, taxes and wages had doubled. When the war ended we wanted lower prices and taxes and therefore talked about getting back to normalcy.

The desire of the American millions for normalcy and for isolation caused our people to refuse to accept the world responsibility which had been brought to them by World War No. 1. They didn't know that the great war had suddenly changed us from a debtor nation to a creditor nation. They didn't know that as a creditor nation the United States would have to import more goods and services than it exported. The United States of the 1920's thought that as a creditor nation could create prosperity by

exporting more goods than we imported. That was the reason we raised our tariff in 1922 and again in 1930. That was the reason we could maintain an adequate market for our exportable goods only ^{by} loaning money to the outside world. We didn't know that a creditor nation which cultivates a high-tariff policy and an isolationist psychology is certain to bring disaster on itself and the rest of the world as well. Yes, after World War No. 1 we were offered responsibility but instead of accepting it we gave to the world high tariffs and isolation. We thought by employing high tariffs and isolation we could protect ourselves and avoid the responsibility which our creditor position, our geographical situation, our ^{vast} high-natural resources and our trained population have so clearly marked out for us at this stage of world history.

Those who preached isolation and normalcy were skilled in their political insight. They appealed successfully to the blind prejudices of the people who were disillusioned when the war excitement stopped, when taxes went higher and prices fell and unemployment increased. The people were hungry for isolation, high tariffs and normalcy — the very things which would make our problem worse. Looking backward, we can afford to be charitable toward the isolationists and high-tariff men of the nineteen twenties, but we cannot allow our charitability toward those mistaken men to encourage us in the future to repeat their mistakes. ?

The responsibility which was offered to us following World War No. 1 we declined. We didn't realize that while we might evade the responsibility for ten or fifteen years, the time would inevitably come when our growing

power and position in the world would force us to act appropriately for our own sake, the sake of the Western World, and eventually for the sake of the entire world. The United States can no more evade shouldering her responsibility than a boy of eighteen can avoid becoming a man by wearing short pants. The word "isolation" means short pants for a grown-up United States.

Tonight we are not greatly concerned with the past except insofar as it furnishes a lamp to guide our footsteps in the future. As we have pondered on the lessons of World War No. 1 our desire to remain at peace has increased. But at the same time, our study of the aggressor nations has led us to realize that the only sure way of remaining at peace is to make these nations understand that the American people are ready to go to war at the drop of a hat if their rights are transgressed at any vital point. It is one of the rights of the American people to help Britain, China and Greece to the limit with planes, ships, munitions and food. In helping the democracies threatened by the aggressor nations, we are helping to defend the solidarity of this hemisphere and to perpetuate our own democracy in the United States. Neither the Bismarck of old Germany nor the Hitler of Nazi Germany look^{ed} on the Monroe Doctrine as one of the rights of this country. Bismarck called the Monroe Doctrine an impudence and the Nazis use stronger language. The Germans look on ^{Latin} South America as their eventual happy hunting ground and

therefore we may be sure that they will force us into war as soon as they have the power to force the issue. With the situation as it is today I believe the United States can stay out of the war if the nations of the world know we are ready and willing to get in at a moment's notice if our rights are transgressed.

Today we know much more about psychological warfare than we did twenty-five years ago. We know that the Nazis start carefully planned psychological warfare against a nation long before the tanks, planes and submarines get into action. The Nazis in 1933 began their psychological warfare upon the United States not only in our own country but also in Latin America, Asia and Europe. This warfare has been greatly intensified since the fall of 1939 and especially during the past few months. It is my belief and hope that the United States will not be forced into this war in a military sense, ^{would be} But in a psychological and economic sense we have been the object of fierce German attacks for several years. We have done some counter-attacking in speeches, books, magazines and newspaper articles. As that counter-attacking becomes more vigorous, it is important that we

not to realize that

use ammunition of a sort which will leave us intellectually strong and able to shoulder the burden of our responsibility to ourselves, the Western Hemisphere and the New World when the peace comes.

In order to win the psychological war, the battle of the nerves, it is vital to define the difference between Nazism and democracy in such a way that the young people of the United States are wholeheartedly with us. The issue must be drawn not in terms of a short-time propaganda but as an everlasting reality.

We must believe in the worth-whileness of that for which we are now fighting and that for which we intend to fight with even greater passion when peace comes.

The Nazi youth led by evil men are fighting with all the intensity of their souls. Our youth must fight with an even greater intensity. Today the battle field for our youth is only on the psychological and economic front, and if we do a thorough, good job there, we shall never have to fight on any other front. But if young men of good American and Scandinavian names serving unwittingly as tools for the Communists, the Nazis, and defeatists are able to weaken our efforts at psychological and economic defense, we shall inevitably get into military warfare.

The very heart of Nazism is the belief that the German race has not only the right, but the positive duty, to dominate all other races and to control and manage the entire world for the benefit of the German race alone. This domination is to be brought about by a hierarchy of Nazi leaders heading up in one supreme Fuehrer. The hierarchy has no scruples

as to the use of force and deceit. The rulers of Prussia for generations have had the morals of an Al Capone. The present-day Nazi gangsters are worse than the old Prussian rulers because they are more thorough in their use of economic and psychological warfare and more brutal in their use of deceit, violence, and physical torture. They send carefully trained men into all the countries of the world to carry on ideological warfare. Their monetary control is so tight that no one can leave Germany to travel unless he or she agrees to act as a spy, a propagandist or an investigator. True it is, the Germans, even under Hitler, have a fanatical devotion to duty and are excellent in the careful, orderly performance of small details. They are passionately eager to put their all at the service of the state. Not one in a hundred has any appreciation of the fact that what he has been taught in school and is being taught over the air and through the press is a complete lie. It is therefore certain that in any long-drawn-out conflict the German psychology will crumble. It thrives on success but it cannot stand up against even temporary failure.

In strengthening our youth against the Nazi lie, we must make their faith glow in the truth which is that the essence of democracy is belief in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the dignity of the individual soul. Democracy so defined is almost identical with religion. Hitler has no concern whatever for the individual soul and, boasted to Rauschnig: "To the Christian doctrine of the supremacy of the individual conscience and personal responsibility, I oppose the emancipating doctrine that the individual is nothing and survives in the immortality of the nation."

I reject the dogma of man's redemption by the suffering and death of a divine savior and I put in its place a new dogma of the communication of merit, namely that individuals are redeemed by the life and action of the new lawgiver and leader who delivers the masses from the burden of liberty."

The Nazis may believe in the brotherhood of the German race, but even here there are many distinctions because members of the Nazi party rank above the German farm people and there are gauleiters who rank above the rank and file of the Nazi party. Democracy, of course, also has gradations of authority, but the authority is not exercised ruthlessly in complete disregard of the rights of the individual soul to freedom of speech and freedom of worship. The modern Nazis drive their people like cattle to the slaughter. Like cattle without wills of their own, they do only that which Hitler tells them. The democracies, if they are to survive, must work out some way of holding fast to the human rights and at the same time permeate the individual souls with a feeling of responsibility so that the citizens of a democracy will be as willing to give wholehearted, unselfish

service to the state in time of trouble as the citizens of a totalitarian power. Without giving up the Bill of Rights, the democracies must by education inculcate in the youth a more intense desire to serve unselfishly the general welfare.

Modern civilization, in order to continue, must have order. Under the Nazi scheme of things order is imposed from above. In a democracy most of the order must and should come from the individual human heart. The most perfect order in the world will eventually be obtained whenever the citizens in a democracy recognize instinctively and fully in all of its implications the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the dignity of the individual soul. Individuals who have meditated on the full meaning of these fundamental principles which characterize both religion and democracy will treat their fellow human beings in such a way that the entire state can serve with power as a unit on behalf of the general welfare and especially so in any time of crisis. In time of crisis special education is needed. Above everything else right now, we in the United States and in all of the Western World need a counter-offensive to correct the lies which the Nazis are so busily spreading over the air, through the press and through their American-born tools.

Every young man, his sweetheart and his mother, should realize the difference between the various types of peace. A Nazi victory means a peace which is not a peace - a peace which is preliminary to either slavery or war for this hemisphere. A Nazi victory and a Nazi peace is unthinkable. To avoid such a calamity we will help ourselves through helping England by all methods short of war. Britain will win. Only defeatism on the psychological and economic front in the United States can prevent it.

After the victory, what of the peace? Let us consider the world which will emerge from the war, and of our place in that world. President Roosevelt said in his speech of a few Saturday nights ago, "When dictatorships disintegrate ...then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction."

We cannot, once the present menace is overcome, trust again to the blind forces of chance, to the oceans that have shrunk, to wishful thinking and illusions based on a false reading of history to save us.

The battle of the peace will be more difficult to win than the battle of the war. All Europe will be a mad swirl of chaotic forces. Unless we are prepared to help in the reorganization of a shattered world, these forces will leap from continent to continent and destroy even the United States. Our help must be of such a nature that neither a mad man nor a mad nation will ever again have the opportunity to kill millions of people and destroy ^{tens of} billions of dollars of property. The Nazi ideology with its belief in violence and deceit, its hatred of non-German races

and its denial of the rights of man must be so crushed that it can never rise. The peace, if it is to be a lasting peace, must also make certain that neither the barbaric philosophy nor the militaristic imperialism of Prussia will ever again have the opportunity to find incarnation in the person of a demon from Hell.

But the battle of the peace is far more than protecting the fine people of Germany from their heritage of deceitful Prussian statecraft. There must be worked out an international order sufficiently strong to prevent the rise of gangster nations. When a gangster nation is down we must never again allow it as a nation to gain any of the elements of offensive power. Neither must we allow such a nation to engage in economic warfare by the use of controlled currency, substantially higher tariffs, and bilateral trade agreements. The victor nations in such case should also refrain from economic warfare. We must remember that we cannot compel a defeated nation to pay an impossibly high indemnity and at the same time forbid such nation to export by means of impossibly high tariffs in the victor nations. The next peace must take into account the facts of economics. Otherwise it will serve as the seedbed for more gangsters. The next peace must give the disarmed gangster nations the opportunity to buy raw materials and sell manufactured goods without discrimination as long as they do not produce offensive weapons, engage in economic warfare or treat their labor unfairly.

Labor and agriculture in the United States will demand jobs and

security from the next peace. They can have jobs and security provided the peace is such a real one that private initiative feels safe to move again as it did from 1870 to 1910. Here is Latin America to the south of us ready to go through during the next forty years what the United States went through from 1870 to 1910.

Here in the United States we have tremendous reserves of unused capital, technical understanding, and trained labor eager to cooperate with our brothers to the south in the development of a hemisphere. A real peace will unleash such an expansion as the world has never seen. But such an expansion will require the most understanding cooperation between private and governmental capital in planning to take care of what otherwise will be a most serious unemployment problem. Peace will bring world-wide chaos unless the United States furnishes positive leadership in meeting the problems of this hemisphere. To meet such a problem we can dispense with narrow partisanship of the sort which last month caused every Republican in one of our great legislative bodies to vote to slap one of our great sister republics in the face.

Before we have the right to talk so very much ~~more~~ ^{definitely} about the foundations of a just and democratic peace we must put our backs under the job of defeating the forces of evil. These forces are

immensely stronger than most of us realize. The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.

At the moment most of us in the United States are over-confident.

We are not working hard enough. We do not realize that our very

lives are at stake and that speed now may make the difference of

millions of lives in this hemisphere. I myself am confident of

the final outcome because I know in the long run that that which

is good will triumph over that which is evil. I know that

democracy has a tremendous reserve strength. We have the ability

to prepare. We have millions who are anxious to labor for

democracy. Labor and brains built the skyline of New York,

we built 457,000 miles of road by men on work relief, and there

is nothing decadent in a country where five million automobiles run

off the lines each year. Speed is the essence now. Let us put all [?]

of our unemployed who are physically able to work at jobs in air-

ports, and in modern tank and ordnance plants.

A generation ago the United States missed her first chance to serve the world in a big way because of a naive belief in such catch words as isolation and normalcy. Our second chance is now with us. There are those who will wish to make the same mistakes again. There are none so blind as those who will not see. As for us we are wide awake. We shall make this hemisphere safe for peace and prosperity. That is why we shall strain every nerve right now to help England, Greece, China, and all other victims of aggression.

God grant that when this war ends we may enter that period foreseen by the Author of the Apocalypse: "There shall be no night there and they shall need no candle - neither the light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth the light. And they shall reign forever and forever."

October 5, 1942

Political Notes:

Because only Massachusetts, California, and the South were looked at, from a political standpoint there is no basis for saying that the Republicans will gain Congress.

If the general dissatisfaction with Washington is as prevalent in the Middlewestern and North Central states as it is in Colorado, Texas, Florida, and Georgia and Massachusetts, it would not be surprising to see a swing deeper than that indicated by the polls and political forecasters. It is simply a question of whether people will vote their dissatisfaction by moving from the positive Democratic to the negative Republican which has nothing to offer, or whether they will take their dissatisfaction out in talking and vote positively behind the war effort. Certainly there is something deeper than politics in it.

The President's trip and the appointment of Hynes were political pluses for the Democrats as results of the wage and commodity freeze because it showed "doing something."

October 5, 1942

General Impression After Scraps of Talk with Many People in the Past Three Weeks in California, Texas, New York, Massachusetts, Georgia, Texas, Florida, and Colorado:

All people profess or believe they are patriotic. Practically none articulate approve the over-all Washington effort. Practically every one had a special or personal complaint.

The President's son Eliot, at Colorado, and a First Class Private college graduate from Mississippi, and a First Lieutenant in Massachusetts, and a Lieutenant Commander in South Carolina all said that there has been no effort whatsoever to tell the men in the service what they are fighting for and that the name Hitler and war aims are both non-existent in the daily routine. They indicate that there is no "college spirit", and that, if they did not read the newspapers, there is not even any cohesion of knowledge of war progress, and that most men do not read the newspapers except possibly for world series results, and are still in the Bing Crosby peacetime mentality on the radio.

Indications are that they really need an evangelism of spirit from top officers to the lowest negro battalion. (Attached find First Class Private's report.)

Most articulate criticism of Washington is on some specific dislocation such as the capitalistic operator who says he can buy 27 suits of clothes with no cuffs on them (slurring the rationing and conservation) to the young Georgia farmer who says the Government sold him bum peanut seed, improperly graded, and that some grafter must have made a barrel-full of money selling to the Government to sell to the farmers.

Everywhere labor shortage on farms, ranches, and in fruit and vegetable production is picking up a tremendous criticism of draft boards. The producers want to know where all the men are going, and whether they are working. They are hearing from the relatives in the draft, especially

from skilled workers who have volunteered or have been drafted for special needs such as doctors and mechanics in the air services. These men are writing home that they are in there, but haven't a thing to do, but are just being held "in case."

A young Sergeant in California says that the average man in the service is for Russia, and against England. "We hate the word 'defense', we want an offense. The men are offensive and the officers are defensive," he said.

Another Sergeant from California said to his Captain, "I am just back from home. My brother waved a \$125 weekly check in my face and called me a sucker. Why don't they work us all equal in the war shops as well as on the Army line? What is this volunteering and drafting getting us folks? I would not care if we all got \$50 a month, but we sure do hate being suckers." (This man, apparently with all other men in the service, has not been told that the difference^{is} between a man being given board and room and supporting no family as against a man who is supporting a family and paying for board and room. He sees only the check.)

This complaint of peacetime war work wages against military wages is universal in all services.

Enlisted men complain, and many junior officers agree, that the general officers are held up by their age, and that the tops live like kings. From a South Carolina Lieutenant Commander it is stated that his top superior has two yachts, that he is living on about a \$25,000-a-year basis with the Government providing about \$15,000 of it in the way of perquisites, such as personal boats and the like.

An Air Aide in a Western unit says his superior in command of the Division took sick on December 7 of last year and was not superseded until a month ago.

General complaint is that top officers are very much too old, and that many of them are social minded and alcoholic to an extreme.

From the factory workers themselves there is relatively little complaint except the usual trouble about crowded living conditions and high prices. The voluntary sale of war securities has had a very good effect in evangelizing the munitions and shipyard worker who seems to feel that he has his part in the war, and in a much more healthy realization than is shown by the men in the services themselves. There are terrific bad spots, such as Akron, where labor restrictions are still controlled by a very bad leadership selling a class consciousness to the mountaineers from West Virginia and Kentucky who largely constitute the present labor supply at Akron. They still look upon the factory owner as a capitalistic enemy, and still practice slow-down, and apparently are on a six-hour day, with about one hour of semi-conscious slow-down under their leaders' directive that they "mustn't speed up."

When different executives and contractors and some smart workers were asked about how to improve the war-worker morale, the main statement was that there are not enough good foremen—that the factories were crowded with men, but that the war plants have not been able to manufacture foremen capable of directing men, and that there is much standing around. Wherever you have a highclass man like Kaiser, or effective Union leader cooperation, the work is excellent and fast. A check into Akron will give you the reverse.

From the bad spots in the capitalistic picture, such as Detroit, there is still much class warfare. Attached is a bit of propaganda sent all editors with a Detroit postmark on the envelope, but, of course, no name of the sender and no identification. This one was picked up in Macon, Georgia, where it was sent to both an editor and a business manager. I believe the mailing list must have been taken from a newspaper directory, and, if the work were done with thoroughness, it is quite obvious that the newspaper group was only one of many other industries which was circularized.

In the general public estimate Nelson is not as favorably spoken of as formerly. Henderson is violently criticized, and McNutt is not as yet in disfavor with the middleclass or thinking producers. No report on McNutt among the workers themselves.

The battle between Lewis and
Murray for control of the United Mine
Workers, as Lewis seeks to take same
out of the C.I.O., probably will be
won hands down by Lewis.

October 6, 1942

The F. B. I. and the Treasury have files on Lewis in connection with his activities with W. R. Davis, the Nazi oil operator in Mexico. I vaguely remember that an effort was made to smear Toledano at Mexico City by connecting John L. Lewis and Toledano with Davis at the time when Toledano considered John L. Lewis the Great American--that is, the great internationalist.

The period of Lewis' greatest anger at Roosevelt was the six months before the Philadelphia Convention at which Willkie was nominated. During this time Lewis was meeting at the St. Regis Hotel with large-scale Capitalism, and was seen in the Colony Club eating with the same. I believe personally this was the time when Westrick was most active in New York as Hitler's agent selling his appeasement deal to Wall Street through Reiber of the Texas Company and others. All the detail of this Westrick-Reiber business, is, of course, in the Herald Tribune files in New York, as this newspaper exposed them.

But the point is that Westrick did go to the Philadelphia Convention with his proposition to sell it to the Republican Party chieftans. The basis of the proposition was that America loan Germany \$5 billion to re-establish their currency base and to provide a \$20 billion credit in order to keep Germany from going to war and blowing up the world. Actually, it was a "come on" to get \$5 billion gold to make some more war with.

But I think that John L. Lewis was just mad enough and dumb enough to have been approached by Westrick, because Westrick saw a great many people. Reiber was merely the one found out. But since John L. Lewis did go over from Roosevelt to Willkie, and Reiber was using every person who hated Roosevelt in his operation which ended in the fiasco at Philadelphia, my imagination (not my information) says this is a fruitful place to look around.

October 9, 1942

If Roosevelt goes to the show Thursday matinee with Leahy and Byrnes and comes out with "Best show I ever saw," what does this mean?

A politician would say that Byrnes and Leahy are fairhaired boys—one running strong in a military sense, and one running strong in a political sense.

A psychologist might say that the President is tired, that he wanted a couple of soft boys of his own age around him while he is resting.

A Jesuit with a pipeline into Pennsylvania Avenue would say that the day of Hopkins was shorter than we thought, and that at least two women are in good health and possibly a bit noisy in a small way.

One trying to add up a Jesuit and a psychologist and a politician and then simply to divide by common sense might say, "The long strain of the presidential mind has swung his subconscious values within the last year toward the normal values which an old man most loves—the friendship of men of his own age—cronies who laugh with him—men of slightly inferior mentality who may give to the assembler of the old men a slight sense of egotistical benefit as his mental processes slip."

A physician might say: "Physical reflexes are, of course, slowing up. I do not know whether the mental reflexes are slowing. That would require scientific tests on a wide front."

A newspaper reporter might say: "The old man is slipping, and not in serenity."

Some book writer from the Cosmos Club, negotiating with a publisher in New York, would say: "This Roosevelt is just about at the place Wilson was a little before Versailles. He is ill natured. He has to jerk himself up to attention because of his genetic fatigue; he is apt to listen to the little people from the time he takes his bath to the time he reaches for his old fashion."

All this means an observation of the past year might be in order as far as the effect on the present asset value of the United States in its own President is concerned. Only by so doing could one intelligently forecast 1943. The reason is that the contract of the Roosevelt mind lasts until 1944. This extemporaneous work done on pure early morning impulse will try to be honest and make the first forecast of motives and general driving forces—not events and specific personal fortunes. As far as men and events are brought into this picture in a forecast, they will be purely illustrative of the main theme of the Roosevelt mind in 1944. Then we should attempt to assemble nations as forecasts of mass health and mass motives, knowing full well that neither Hitler nor Stalin nor Roosevelt nor Churchill are the basic forces, but merely the men who are riding the forces and occasionally pulling at the reins in an effort to direct the horse—the horse which is tremendously more powerful and more necessary in the march of time through space and into the conclusion of this war, both as to date and to victory.

The third movement should be to take the first two movements and start with the Armistice Day.

October 13, 1942

Comments on September 25 Memorandum - War Manpower Commission

This report has the earmarks of the same authorship as the September 1941 which is in SPAB files. The September 1941 model was a forerunner of the McNutt Manpower Authority. It was a product of the U. S. Employment Service.

The report shows a section of democracy in evolution. It is an effort to straddle voluntary and involuntary concepts by a bureau of administration. There is an especial emphasis on the difficulty of administration. The report stresses particularly statistics. It nowhere discusses the Union Labor element, or existing Federal laws on this subject. It particularly emphasizes that in the Marx nature of things only the federal employment bureau, with adequate new salaries and control over all state employment bureaus can meet the need.

If war had not the time element, then it might be possible to review this report constructively. It does say legislation is needed to change from advisory to the authoritative manpower form. It delicately points out that there has been labor hoarding, and possibly unnecessary over congestion in a half a dozen city points where war contracts have apparently been placed without regard to natural labor scarcity and definite under housing.

The report indicates that this will continue. It says that a manpower authority must be prepared to re-organize and move all forms of American labor to the war contracts. Nowhere does it indicate that men and families in placement may have management and material and war contracts moved to them.

Nowhere is the congested housing and transportation problems discussed. The report in brief seemed to be drawn by a mind seeing labor control in place and vocation the entire problem within itself.

The particularly inept part of the report deals with proposals for transfers and changes in the agricultural labor market. It is suggested that a mobile migratory farm labor set-up—a sort of a Dr. Lay labor corps, is the best method of handling labor shortages. It suggests the closing down of about one-third of the farm family homes with the transfer of working units to other farms. It suggests a large increase in farm wages in order to provide an approach to the cash wages of high living congested war industry districts without any mention of such an effect upon prices and, of course, inflation.

It offers no suggestion of working directly in craft units but contents itself merely by saying that certainly specific crafts are short. In almost every case these crafts are highly specialized closed shop union groups with an apprentice system based on peace time and which possess work contracts with employers backed by governmental laws. Nowhere is it suggested that through a combination of draftboard and war services procurements through high pressure selling methods that there has been any uneven or unjust assembly of such specialists as doctors or dentists. Nowhere is any plan made or any discussion concerning the significance of the civilian population. Entirely and only is discussed war making and fighting forces. The report apparently does not go beyond the factory or the fight.

October 29, 1942

Wire and list of names for Sunday afternoon Cheese party.

TELEGRAM:

The Vice-President will cut some Russian cheese which came back on the plane, at his apartment, 200H, Wardman Park Hotel, Apartment Annex, at five P.M. Sunday. He hopes you can be there. Please wire reply.

Joseph Barnes
Office of War Information
Social Security Building
Washington, D.C.

NAMES:

L.L. Engelking--Herald Tribune
Ralph Ingersoll-PM
I.F. Stone--PM
Raymond Clapper
John P. Lewis--PM
Major George Fielding Eliot
Robert Sherwood
740 Elmer Davis
Albert Rhys Williams
Abe Spanel
Lewis Bean
Bressman
2 BEW men (Economists from Texas)
Milo Perkins and five
740 Geroid T. Robinson
740 Michael Straight
Walter Lippman
Ernest Lindley
Andrew Steiger
740 deLozado and three - *Arger, Silva of Chilean Embassy,*
William L. Shirer
Prof. Samuel Harper--University of Chicago
740 Vilbjalmur Steffansson
740 Gardner Cowles
George Kennan--Department of State, been in Berlin and Moscow
Dr. Henry E. Segerist--John's Hopkins
740 Joseph Barnes
740 Mr. Crickmore 740th } with B E W
740 Mr. Robert Montgomery }
740 Mr. William Hard
740 Kenneth Crawford

October 29, 1942

Arrangements for Dinner Monday evening, November second, 1942
at 2136 R Street, N.W.

TELEGRAM:

At the suggestion of Paul deKruif I am inviting you to dinner
at my house, 2136 R Street, N.W. Monday evening, November
second at seven P.M. to meet with the Vice President. Please
wire reply. Thanks a lot.

Charles E. Marsh

Telegrams sent to:

Mr. William Hard
1731 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Paul Palmer
Reader's Digest,
Pleasantville, N.Y.

Wire to deKruif confirming this and naming the date.

Release in Monday morning
papers, November 9, 1942

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

A TRIBUTE TO RUSSIA

Remarks by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace at the
Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, 5 p.m.
(E.W.T.) Sunday afternoon, November 8, 1942,
Madison Square Garden, New York City, New York,
broadcast nationally over the Blue Network.

From north, south, east and west, Americans have come this day to pay tribute to our Russian ally. It is right that we should do so, because the Russians have thus far lost in the common cause of the United Nations at least 50 percent more men killed, wounded and missing than all of the rest of the European allies put together. Moreover, they have killed, wounded and captured at least 20 times as many Germans as have the rest of the allies. In all of Russian history, there is no more striking example of courage and willingness to sacrifice than Russia presents today.

This meeting demonstrates just one thing--the desire and the determination of the American people to help Russia and help her now. President Roosevelt has told the Army and Navy and all the other war agencies in terms which cannot possibly be misunderstood that help to Russia comes first--up to the limit of shipping possibilities. The American people are solidly behind President Roosevelt in his decision to give Russia priority number one.

It is no accident that Americans and Russians like each other when they get acquainted. Both peoples were molded by the vast sweep of a rich continent. Both peoples know that their future is greater than their past. Both hate sham. When the Russian people burst the shackles of Czarist absolutism, they turned instinctively to the

United States for engineering and agricultural guidance. Thanks to the hunger of the Russian people for progress, they were able to learn in 25 years that which had taken us in the United States 100 years to develop.

The first person to sense the eventual significance of Russia and the United States was the French author, Tocqueville, who 107 years ago wrote:

"There are at the present time two great nations in the world which seem to tend towards the same end, although they start from different points. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. * * * * * Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same, yet each of them seems to be marked by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

Russia and the United States today are far closer than Tocqueville could possibly have imagined when he traveled across the United States in 1835. The continental position of both countries and the need for developing rich resources unmolested from without have caused the peoples of both nations to have a profound hatred of war and a strong love of peace.

We in the United States honor Maxim Litvinov, when we recall how as Foreign Minister of Russia he worked for "collective security." Litvinov, in those days when Hitler was rising to power, wanted to preserve the peace by banding together the non-aggressor nations so they could take a decisive stand against any ruthless nation that might be out for loot. He saw Russia bounded by 14 different nations, many of which were unfriendly for definite historical reasons. He knew that Germany would use one or more of these nations against Russia when she attacked. Litvinov failed for a time, but now he has come into his

own again because he was right.

Russia has had her bitter experience with isolationism. So also has the United States. In 1919 Republicans and Democrats alike sought through a League of Nations to express their belief in the collective security of that day. Taft, Hughes, Hoover, Lowden, and Root all wanted a League. Then isolationism came out of its cave and not only killed any possibility of our entering the League, but made it certain that we would adopt international policies which would make World War No. 2 almost inevitable.

Both Russia and the United States retreated into isolationism to preserve their peace. Both failed. Both have learned their lesson.

Russia and the United States have had a profound effect upon each other. Both are striving for the education, the productivity and the enduring happiness of the common man. The new democracy, the democracy of the common man, includes not only the Bill of Rights, but also economic democracy, ethnic democracy, educational democracy, and democracy in the treatment of the sexes.

The ferment in the world today is such that these various types of democracy must be woven together into a harmonious whole. Millions of Americans are now coming to see that if Pan America and the British Commonwealth are the warp of the new democracy, then the peoples of Russia and Asia may well become its woof.

Some in the United States believe that we have overemphasized what might be called political or bill-of-rights democracy. Carried to its extreme form, it leads to rugged individualism, exploitation, impractical emphasis on states' rights, and even to anarchy.

Russia, perceiving some of the abuses of excessive political democracy, has placed strong emphasis on economic democracy. This,

carried to an extreme, demands that all power be centered in one man and his bureaucratic helpers.

Somewhere there is a practical balance between economic and political democracy. Russia and the United States both have been working toward this practical middle ground. In present-day Russia, for example, differences in wage income are almost but not quite as great as in the United States. The manager of a factory may be paid ten times as much as the average worker. Artists, scientists, and outstanding writers are usually paid even more than factory managers or political commissars. The chief difference between the economic organization of Russia and that of the United States is that in Russia it is almost impossible to live on income-producing property. The Russian form of state socialism is designed not to get equality of income but to place a maximum incentive on each individual to produce his utmost.

A third kind of democracy, which I call ethnic, is in my opinion vital to the new democracy, the democracy of the common man. Ethnic democracy means merely that the different races and minority groups must be given equality of economic opportunity. President Roosevelt was guided by principles of ethnic democracy when in June of 1941 he issued an Executive Order prohibiting racial discrimination in the employing of workers by national defense industries. Russia has probably gone further than any other nation in the world in practicing ethnic democracy. From the Russians we can learn much, for unfortunately the Anglo-Saxons have had an attitude toward other races which has made them exceedingly unpopular in many parts of the world. We have not sunk to the lunatic level of the Nazi myth of racial superiority, but we have sinned enough to cost us already the blood of tens of thousands of precious lives. Ethnic democracy built from the heart is perhaps

the greatest need of the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

The fourth democracy, which has to do with education, is based fundamentally on belief in ethnic democracy. It is because Stalin pushed educational democracy with all the power that he could command that Russia today is able to resist Germany. The Russian people for generations have had a great hunger to learn to read and write, and when Lenin and Stalin gave them the opportunity, they changed in 20 years from a nation which was 90 percent illiterate to a nation of which nearly 90 percent are able to read and write. Russia has had a great admiration for the American system of technical education and public libraries. If she can continue during the next 20 years the progress made in the past 20, she will surpass the United States. If, in the future, Russia comes wholeheartedly into the family of nations, we may expect Russian scientists to make contributions to human welfare which equal those of any nation in the world. In any event, the Russian scientists will most assuredly be doing their best to place the results of science more definitely at the service of the average man and woman. Patents based on Russian scientific work will not be held out of use to benefit international cartels.

With regard to the fifth democracy, the treatment of the sexes, most of us in the United States have felt complacent. It has taken the war experience of Russia to demonstrate the completeness of our failure. The Russian Revolution gave equality of economic opportunity to women. Those who have visited Russia recently say that about 40 percent of the work in the factories is being done by women. The average woman does about as much work as the average man and is paid as much. Thousands of Russian women are in uniform, either actively

fighting or standing guard. We in the United States have not yet in the same way as the Russians called on the tremendous reserve power which is in our women, but before this war is over, we may be forced to give women their opportunity to demonstrate that with proper training they are equal to man in most kinds of work.

The old democracy did not serve as a guarantee of peace. The new democracy in which the people of the United States and Russia are so deeply interested must give us such a guarantee. This new democracy will be neither Communism of the old-fashioned internationalist type nor democracy of the old-fashioned isolationist sort. Willingness to support world organization to maintain world peace by justice implemented by force is fundamental to the democracy of the common man in these days of airplanes. Fortunately, the airplanes, which make it necessary to organize the world for peace, also furnish the means of maintaining peace. When this war comes to an end, the United Nations will have such an overwhelming superiority in air power that we shall be able speedily to enforce any mandate whenever the United Nations may have arrived at a judgment based on international law.

The first article in the international law of the future is undoubtedly the United Nations' Charter. The United Nations' Charter includes the Atlantic Charter and there is little reason why it should longer be called the "Atlantic Charter" in view of the fact that the broader instrument has been validated by 30 nations.

This United Nations' Charter has in it an international bill of rights and certain economic guarantees of international peace. These must and will be made more specific. There must be an international bank and an international TVA, based on projects which are self-liquidating at low rates of interest.

In this connection, I would like to refer to a conversation with Molotoff, when he was here last spring. Thinking of the unemployment and misery which might so easily follow this war, I spoke of the need for productive public works programs which would stir the imagination of all the peoples of the world and suggested as a starter a combined highway and airway from southern South America across the United States, Canada, and Alaska, into Siberia and on to Europe with feeder highways and airways from China, India, and the Middle East. Molotoff's first reaction was, "No one nation can do it by itself." Then he said, "You and I will live to see the day."

The new democracy by definition abhors imperialism. But by definition also, it is internationally minded and supremely interested in raising the productivity, and therefore the standard of living, of all the peoples of the world. First comes transportation and this is followed by improved agriculture, industrialization and rural electrification. The big planes and skilled pilots which will be ours when the war comes to an end will lead us into a most remarkable future as surely as day follows night. We can make it a future of new democracy based on peace. As Molotoff so clearly indicated, this brave, free world of the future cannot be created by the United States and Russia alone.

Undoubtedly China will have a strong influence on the world which will come out of this war and in exerting this influence it is quite possible that the principles of Sun Yat Sen will prove to be as significant as those of any other modern statesman. The British Commonwealth, England herself, the democracies of northwest Europe, Latin America, and in fact all of the United Nations, have a very

important role to play. But in order that the United Nations may effectively serve the world, it is vital that the United States and Russia be in accord as to the fundamentals of an enduring peace based on the aspirations of the common man. I am here this afternoon to say that it is my belief that the American and Russian people can and will throw their influence on the side of building a new democracy which will be the hope of all the world.

2136 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
December 19, 1942

Dear Mr. Wallace:

Attached you will find a letter which I think is illuminating and interesting.

I have gone to Macon, Georgia. I am afraid the same answer of mis-management through complexity in the Department of Agriculture, will come up from there.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2136 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
December 19, 1942

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Lieut Ralph Ingersoll

#0105464

Classification H. G. E. A. C.
Camp Edwards, Mass.

Raymond Clapper

1013 - 13th Street, N. W.
Washington

Mr J. F. Stone

~~7th~~ 5618 Nebraska Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Herold T. Robinson

Office of Strategic Services
25th and E Streets

Michael Straight

1721 I Street, N. W.
Washington D. C.

The Vice-Pres will see some Russian
Shells which came back on the plane
at his apartment 200th, Wardman Park
Hotel, Apartment 4, at 5 P. M. ~~on~~ Sunday.
He hopes you will be there. Please wire
reply.

Joseph Barnes

Office of War Information
Social Security Building.

Chess Party at V.P.'s
Sunday, November 1 - 1941

William Hard 1731 I Street, NW.
Kenneth Crawford - P 31

(P) (L.H. Engelking - Herald Tribune, N.Y.C. ✓

(T) Ingersoll ✓

(P) Stone of P.M., I.F. (also Clapper) ✓

(T) (Lewis, John P. - P.M. ✓

~~Howe 2 (ask Barnes) ✓~~

(P) (George Fiddling Eliot) ✓

(Robert Sherwood) (ask Barnes)

(Elmer Davis) ✓

(P) (Albert Rhys Williams) ✓

Abe Spaul (ask Harold) ✓

Lewis Bean (ask Harold) ✓

Bressman (ask Harold)

~~Louis Fischer (ask Barnes) with fraction~~

2 B.E. Wren (ask Loony)

Wills Perkins (ask Harold) ✓

~~ask Harold about Senators & Congressmen~~

~~only those, Mead, Russell, Pepper,~~

Litvinoff should be asked if he

wants anyone from the Embassy (ask Barnes)

~~How about Russian Bigliardi of U.S.?~~

~~ask Barnes) Gerald T. Robinson~~

Michael Straight (ask Barnes) New Republic

(Walter Lippman) ✓

Ernest Lindley ✓

(Andrew Steiger) ✓

de Lozada Aud 3 ✓

(William L. Shirer CBS 52 + Madison Ave -)

(Prof. Samuel Harper - University of Chicago)

(Mihjalmur Steffanson, J.B.)

(Gardner Cowles (delivered cheese!) O.W.I. Social Security, Bldg)

(George Kennan (Dept of State Berlin + Moscow)
Dept of State Washington but man on Russia in St Dept)

Joseph Barnes

Charles E. Marsh -

(Dr. Henry Segerist - Prof. at Johns Hopkins)

Larry Todd

~~Soviet Newspaper~~

~~Kenneth Farrant~~

V.P. ~ ~ ~ Revision of 1 ~

Is ~ ~ ~ Apt 200 H Wardman Park
Hotel, Apartment Building

5 P.M. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

B Joseph Barnes, O W I Social Security
Washington D.C. Bldg.