

HILLCREST MEMORIAL HOSPITAL  
WACO, TEXAS

H A Wallace

200 H

Wardman Park Hotel

Washington DC

Sorry could not contact  
by phone at noon today

A P and W P carried good  
Carolina reports in this  
Section.

Had the inconvenience  
of an auto turnover Wednesday  
which will delay me at  
Hillcrest Hospital  
Waco Texas Telephone  
8900 Room 301 for a

Short time. Six rubs on  
collar bone and a shoulder  
but nothing to prevent  
my traveling east in  
about a week.

Suggest that soldier  
vote acton by Senate  
is most unpopular  
Action emotionally of 1943  
ad that Glass statement  
Sunday should be followed  
Monday by another one  
by you saying:

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Post War Possibilities

In the factory and at the battle front the common man is fighting for the four freedoms.

He looks on freedom from fear as meaning freedom from war.

He knows the first step toward that goal is to get to Berlin and Tokyo as soon as possible.

He is utterly loyal and the carping criticism of the small in spirit will not stop him as he fights for the complete victory that means a complete peace.

No one of the four freedoms can last long without the other three. Tonight I ~~have~~ ~~now~~

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

2

shall not talk  
~~intention of talking~~ about freedom  
of expression and freedom of  
religion but <sup>chiefly</sup> ~~only~~ about freedom  
from want. To the common man  
this means a job, food, health and  
education for his children. To the  
farmer it means high enough prices  
to maintain the fertility of his farm  
and send his children to school.  
To the <sup>small</sup> business man it means free  
enterprise without fear of being  
the monopoly, ~~in possibilities~~ ~~government~~, or unjust  
government.

The common men in the factories  
and ~~at~~ in the armed services  
are talking. They have ~~at~~



learned new skills. They have  
all seen the record breaking  
output of American industry.  
Within 4 years they have seen  
the income of the country doubled.  
They know that unemployment  
during the decade of the 30's  
subtracted ~~amount from~~ a grand  
total from the national income  
much greater than the cost  
of the war to-date.

When peace comes, the common  
man is not going back, ~~He is to~~  
~~marching forward.~~  
the old democracy. He is  
marching forward to the new

4

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

democracy based on the four freedoms with special emphasis on freedom from want regardless of race, ~~of~~ color, occupation or region of the country.

The new democracy stands for a job for everyone and the ~~max~~ full utilization of all skills and resources. It stands for a production of peace time goods here in the U.S. 50 per cent greater than 1940. In the new democracy we must not only expand our production of peace time goods by 50%, we must also

distribute that ~~good~~ in increased  
production fairly.

Only by building  
and maintaining this increased  
production and fair distribution  
can we prevent the post-war  
debt from crushing our  
business men.

If the new democracy  
is to ~~do the~~ prevent post-war  
chaos there must be planning.  
Business men have feared  
planning because they  
thought it meant regimentation  
of the individual or seizure  
of power by the planners or both.



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

These twin dangers ~~with~~ must  
be guarded against because  
we must have planning to  
avoid ~~the~~ disruption worse  
than war itself.

~~We can by watchfulness~~  
~~guard against these twin~~  
~~dangers.~~

By ~~the~~ spreading the planning  
function throughout the entire  
economic and governmental organism  
we <sup>can</sup> guard against these twin  
dangers.

But at the same  
time the planning must be  
effective at key spots.

Otherwise the resulting disruption will  
cause greater hardship than war  
itself.

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

7

I have been pleased to see the  
planning carried on by the — —  
by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce,  
by the A F of L and by the C I O.  
The <sup>executive branch of the</sup> government <sup>has</sup> <sup>been</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>cause</sup> of  
misadministration by Congress <sup>and business men</sup> has  
not been able to do any very  
comprehensive planning. ~~Fortunate~~  
This situation will no doubt  
change as peace comes closer.  
If we are to attain the  
new democracy of full  
employment instead of  
slipping back into the old  
democracy of unemployment  
we shall all of us have to do

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

8  
~~at~~ a lot of planning. (over)

We must plan  
~~to~~ our government all  
policy so we don't have  
to give things away to other  
nations in Peace II like  
we did in Peace I. In  
Peace I back in the 20's  
we pretended we were hard  
headed when we raised  
our tariff. The tariff  
subsidized our manufacturers  
a couple of billion dollars a  
year and made it impossible



Governmental planning can be reduced to a minimum only if certain sweeping over-all decisions are boldly made by Congress. For example we must

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

9

To sell wheat, cotton, pork and tobacco abroad unless we were willing to loan foreigners money. We loaned Europe money, not only to buy farm products but also to build factories, ~~for~~ amusement industries, and apartment houses. We rehabilitated Germany. All this was done by private industry. The big bankers got the commissions, The small bankers got the bonds, <sup>and the people got the work.</sup> The private industry of the U.S. in the decade of the 20's

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

10

ran the greatest charitable  
institution <sup>at</sup> in the world, The  
fellows who finally paid for  
the billions of private debts  
to Europe were not those  
who raised the tariffs or  
those who floated the bonds.  
Most of the bill was finally paid  
~~for~~ by the farmer, the  
worker, the small banker,  
and the small investor.

Europe finally got free of charge  
from the U.S. less than \$20  
billion worth of goods but the  
failure of the U.S. to plan the  
simple algebra of international  
exchange and adjust tariffs  
accounts eventually cost



11

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

the U.S. more than \$100 billion  
and in this <sup>era</sup> the big business men finally  
were ~~eventually~~ hit, and <sup>The ultimate</sup> ~~finally~~  
~~we all fought the bill in terms of~~  
<sup>payment was</sup>  
Hitler, Mussolini, ~~and~~ Togo and  
the blood of our young  
men.

At this late date we need  
not blame the little men who  
produced Peace I. Our concern  
is that Peace II recognize  
the simple realities of international  
trade. When the greatest creditor  
nation in the world holds it debtor  
to account and at the same time  
raises its tariffs, the ~~rising~~  
wrath of the foreign victims  
soon or later reavenges itself  
tenfold. In Peace I we, <sup>the great creditor nation,</sup> ~~could~~ have led  
the world toward full employment.

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

12

of man, skills, and resources  
and while the short time cost  
would have been many billions  
the long time cost would have been  
nothing. On the contrary there would  
have been a great profit.

Today Peace II is rapidly  
coming upon us. By lack of  
planning and the selfishness  
of <sup>so-called</sup> hard headed men we can  
turn Peace II into World War III.  
The common man does not want that.  
Nor the farmer <sup>nor</sup> the business  
man large or small. But  
to save Peace II ~~we must~~ we must  
make freedom from want  
~~a reality~~ that reality which  
is implicit in our resources,  
man power and skills. And  
furthermore all groups by  
common consent must learn  
(over)

the over-all restraint  
which must be observed  
by a creditor nation with  
respect to tariffs if it expects  
to collect its debts.

The time has come  
for that vast group which  
stands for the General Welfare  
in the U.S. to rise in its  
majesty ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> effectively <sup>to</sup> smite  
all lesser interests which  
would lead to a temporary  
plea or a partial  
employment. The service of  
Peace II requires an enthusiasm  
like that displayed by the Common  
men of Russia during the War.  
The New Deal increases if it solves  
the problem of full production and  
fair distribution can give us  
such enthusiasm and more.



11 14

America will find a new song- a new opportunity. In her world relations she will demonstrate the practicality of Christianity- that in serving the world she serves herself. The really hard headed are those who see furthest. Christ was the hardest headed man of historic record. Truly we are members one of another. Christian precepts and common sense will save the coming peace.

Paragraph to be inserted either page four after the first word, or page five after paragraph two just before "The Common Man etc."

We have the machines, the tools, the raw materials, the manpower just turned back from victory which could be easily and quickly re-g geared from war to peace-- industrial and the machine should be so geared that the thousands of workers in banks, offices, mines, furnaces, when they pour out of their daily tasks, do not go home and sit down to stare at nothing, contemplating the futility of their routine. But on the contrary they should be filled with the joy of living in being and important cog in the welfare of their community.

*This is mine if you remove all pencil marks & additions.*  
*H A Waller*

POST-WAR POSSIBILITIES

In the factory and at the battlefield the common man is fighting for the four freedoms. He looks on freedom from fear as meaning freedom from war. He knows the first step toward that goal is to get to Berlin and Tokio as soon as possible. He is utterly loyal and the carping criticism of the small in spirit will not stop him as he fights for the complete victory that means a complete peace.

No one of the four freedoms can last long without the other three. Tonight I shall not talk about freedom of expression and freedom of religion but chiefly about freedom from want. To the common man this means a job, food, health and education for his children. To the farmer it means high enough prices to maintain the fertility of his farm and send his children to school. To the small businessman it means free enterprise without fear of big monopoly, impossible taxes, or unjust government.

The common men in the factory and in the armed services are talking. They have learned new skills. They have all seen the record breaking output of American industry. Within four years they have seen the income of the country doubled. They know that unemployment during the decade of the 30's subtracted a grand total from the national income much greater than the cost of the war to date.

When peace comes, the common man is not going back to the old democracy. He is marching forward to the new democracy based on the four freedoms with special emphasis on freedom from want regardless of race, color, occupation or region of the country.

The new democracy stands for a job for everyone and the full utilization of all skills and resources. It stands for a production of peacetime goods

In Peace 1, in the years of  
normalcy, those who raised  
our tariffs, thought they  
were hard headed business  
men. They were, and some  
of them still are, impractical  
starry eyed dreamers.  
The tough, etc

here in the United States 50% greater than 1940. In the new democracy we must not only expand our production of peacetime goods by 50%, we must also distribute that increased production fairly.

Only by building and maintaining this increased production and fair distribution can we prevent the post-war debt from crushing our businessmen.

If the new democracy is to prevent post-war chaos there must be planning. Businessmen have feared planning because they thought it meant regimentation of the individual or seizure of power by the planners or both. By spreading the planning function throughout the entire economic and governmental organism we can guard against these twin dangers. But at the same time the planning must be effective at key spots. Otherwise the resulting disruption will cause greater hardship than war itself. I have been pleased to see the planning carried on by the \_\_\_\_\_, by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, by the A. F. of L. and by the C.I.O. The executive branch of the government, because of misunderstanding by Congress and businessmen, has not been able to do any very comprehensive planning. This situation will no doubt change as peace comes closer. If we are to attain the new democracy of full employment instead of slipping back into the old democracy of unemployment, we shall all of us have to do a lot of planning.

Governmental planning can be reduced to a minimum only if certain sweeping over-all decisions are boldly made by Congress. For example, we must plan our governmental policy so <sup>we are not compelled</sup> we don't have to give things away to other nations in Peace II <sup>as</sup> like we did in Peace I. <sup>Peace I</sup> In Peace I back in the 20's we pretended we were hardheaded when we raised our tariff. The tariff subsidized our manufacturers a ~~amount of~~ billion dollars a year and made it impossible to sell wheat, cotton, pork and tobacco abroad unless we were willing to loan foreigners money. We loaned Europe money not only to



buy farm products but also to build factories, armament industries and apartment houses. We rehabilitated Germany. All this was done by private industry. The big bankers got the commissions. The small bankers got the bonds. And the people got it in the neck. The private industry of the United States in the decade of the 20's ran the greatest charitable institution in the world. The fellows who finally paid for the billions of private charity to Europe were not those who raised the tariffs or those who floated the bonds. Most of the bill was finally paid by the farmer, the worker, the small banker, and the small investor. Europe finally got free of charge from the United States less than twenty billion dollars worth of goods, but the failure of the United States to plan the simple <sup>ultimate</sup> algebra of international exchange and <sup>To</sup> adjust tariffs accordingly eventually cost the United States more than one hundred billion dollars, and in this loss the big businessmen finally were hit. The ultimate payment was in terms of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo and the blood of our young men.

At this late date we need not blame the little men who produced Peace I. Our concern is that Peace II recognize the simple realities of international trade. When the greatest creditor nation in the world holds its debtors to account and at the same time raises its tariffs, the wrath of the foreign victims sooner or later revenges itself tenfold. In Peace I we, the great creditor nation, could have led the world toward full employment of man, skills, and resources and, while the short-time cost would have been many billions, the long-time cost would have been nothing. On the contrary, there would have been a great profit.

Today Peace II is rapidly coming upon us. By lack of planning and the selfishness of so-called hardheaded men we can turn Peace II into World War III.

The common man does not want that. Nor the farmer, nor the businessman, large or small. But to save Peace II, we must make freedom from want that reality which is implicit in our resources, manpower and skills. And furthermore, all groups by common consent must learn the over-all restraint which must be observed by a creditor nation with respect to tariffs if it expects to collect its debts.

The time has come for that vast group which stands for the general welfare in the United States to rise in its majesty effectively to smite all lesser interests which would lead to a temporary peace or a partial employment. The service of Peace II requires an enthusiasm like that displayed by the common man of Russia during the war. The new democracy, if it solves the problem of full production and fair distribution, can give us such enthusiasm and more.

America will find a new song, a new opportunity. In her world relations she will demonstrate the practicality of Christianity — that in serving the world she serves herself. The really hardheaded are those who see furthest. Christ was the hardestheaded man of historic record. Truly we are members one of another. Christian precepts and common sense will save the coming peace.

Heart D

## THE WORLD WE WANT

Pioneering for a civilized world is an excellent theme for a forum at this particular phase of history, <sup>when</sup> ~~for~~ the whole world is on the move as never before.

We want a world where men are free to grow physically, mentally, and spiritually. To get this world we shall have to work harder than our grandfathers when they subdued the forests, the plains, and the mountains. They battled physical difficulties, but we in the spirit of St. Paul have the task of wrestling against the rulers of the darkness of this world and against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Our task is to make this the Century of the Common Man. Here in our own country we have seen the great liberating force of a common purpose. Twice in a generation we have found unity and strength in the act of buckling down to war. The war has shown us the magic of production. Production - the full use of our labor and materials - is in itself the cure of most of our social and political evils. Production is good for the body and the soul. Full production, full employment, and fair distribution will give us a tough-fibered, self-respecting people, moving on with strength and courage to the job of hewing out a better world. The common man wants free enterprise. But private enterprise is not a goal in itself. Private enterprise was made for man, not man for private enterprise. It is a means to production, not the end of life. The common man will turn from private enterprise only if there is not full production and jobs enough to go around.



Is production so great an enterprise that it demands not only the full use of the energy of all the people, but also government? Is government cooperation an indispensable factor in securing full production? In time of war, yes. In the decade immediately following war, undoubtedly, governmental planning can be reduced to a minimum only if certain sweeping over-all decisions are boldly made by Congress. For example, we must plan our governmental policy so that we are not compelled to give things away to other nations in Peace II as we did in Peace I. In Peace I, in the years of normalcy, those who raised our tariff, thought they were hard headed businessmen. They were, and some of them still are, impractical, starry-eyed dreamers. The tariff subsidized our manufacturers a billion dollars a year and made it impossible to sell wheat, cotton, pork and tobacco abroad unless we were willing to loan foreigners money. We loaned Europe money not only to buy farm products, but also to build factories, armament industries and apartment houses. We rehabilitated Germany. All this was done by private industry. The big bankers got the commissions. The small bankers got the bonds. And the people got it in the neck. The private industry of the United States in the decade of the 20's ran the greatest charitable institution in the world. The fellows who finally paid for the billions of private charity to Europe were not those who raised the tariffs or those who floated the bonds. Most of the bill was finally paid by the farmer, the worker, the small banker, and the small investor. Europe finally got free of charge from the United States less than twenty billion dollars worth of goods, but the failure of the United States to plan the

Right

simple arithmetic of international exchange and to adjust tariffs accordingly eventually cost the United States more than one hundred billion dollars, and in this loss the big businessmen finally were hit. The ultimate payment was in terms of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo and the blood of our young men.

At this late date, we need not blame the little men who produced Peace I. Our concern is that Peace II recognize the simple realities of international trade. When the greatest creditor nation in the world holds its debtors to account and at the same time raises its tariffs, the wrath of the foreign victims sooner or later revenges itself tenfold. In Peace I we, the great creditor nation, could have led the world toward full employment of men, skills, and resources and, while the short-time cost would have been many billions, the long-time cost would have been nothing. On the contrary, there would have been a great profit.

Today, Peace II is rapidly coming upon us. By lack of planning and the selfishness of so-called hardheaded men we can turn Peace II into World War III. The common man does not want that. Nor the farmer, nor the businessman, large or small. But to save Peace II, we must make freedom from want that reality which is implicit in our resources, man- power and skills. And furthermore, all groups by common consent must learn the over-all restraint which must be observed by a creditor nation with respect to tariffs if it expects to collect its debts.

The time has come for that vast group which stands for the general welfare in the United States to rise in its majesty effectively to smite all lesser interests which would lead to a temporary peace or a partial



1 employment. The service of Peace II requires an enthusiasm like that displayed by the common man of Russia during the war. The new democracy, if it solves the problem of full production and fair distribution, can give us such enthusiasm and more.

Americans have learned at last that we cannot isolate ourselves from the world. It is no longer a question of whether isolationism is good or bad. Isolationism is impossible. The airplane and radio settled that. When the war is over, the central fact will be hunger - physical and spiritual hunger. Within two years the United Nations will rebuild with physical food the shattered bodies of the tens of millions who have been starved by the Nazis. Food that you can get your teeth into - food you can fill your stomachs with comes first. But even more important in the long run than physical food is the spiritual food represented by genuine democracy. Those who have lived for years under the dictator's heel want to be sure that Fascism and the forces that lead to it are stamped out everywhere in the world.

Unfortunately, we are much further from victory over Fascism than from victory over the German armies. Fascism fights us on both sides of the line. Fascism fights us in both continents in the New World. Fascism will fight on after military victory is complete. Fascism is a world pestilence. Let us not commit the tragic folly of underestimating our enemy. Fascism has a fierce vitality. No country has escaped it. Fascism - the world wide assault on the power, on the worth and dignity of man - is the living issue of our time. Fascism

flourishes in a time of faltering and divided purpose. Fascism dies in a time of dynamic common purpose and faith.

We must make that common purpose inevitable. The future of the world holds a promise greater than the past has ever shown us. The future is not a fixed thing. It is not predestined. We have only to bestir ourselves in order to realize our dreams. For we have the lands, the forests, the mines, and the people. We have in our hands the tools of science, gigantic in their power, miraculously swift in their accomplishment. We can control floods, make the desert bloom, house a nation in comfort, conquer poverty and stamp out most disease. We know we can do these things if we will to do them.

The common man is on the march. His vision of the future will largely determine the world's future.

We shall realize that we are a part of the great world and start to plan to live in that world. We want life to be more humane. We want to live up to the great historic issue of America - freedom - freedom for our own land and for all the world.

America will find a new song, a new opportunity. In her world relations she will demonstrate the practicality of Christianity -- that in serving the world she serves herself. The really hardheaded are those who see furthest. Christ was the hardest headed man of historic record. Truly we are members one of another. Christian precepts and common sense will save the coming peace.

Insert A

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

They battled physical difficulties  
but are in the spirit of St. Paul  
have the task of wrestling against  
the rulers of the darkness of this  
world and against spiritual wickedness  
in high places.

This is Cornell's if you  
eliminate all pencil  
marks & additions,  
it is a  
whole

## THE WORLD WE WANT

Pioneering for a civilized world is an excellent theme for  
a forum at this particular phase of history, for ~~we are living in~~ <sup>The world</sup>  
~~is on the move as never before.~~  
~~Historical period.~~

We want a world where men ~~can live~~  
~~The world we want that every decent person wants is a~~  
~~are free to grow physically, mentally, and spiritually~~  
~~civilized world, a world where men can be free, free to grow~~  
~~intellectually, spiritually and physically. It is not that~~  
~~to work harder than our grandfathers~~  
~~world, we shall have to pioneer for it with all the rugged~~  
~~when they subdued the forests, the plains,~~  
~~qualities of our forefathers~~ <sup>we Americans like the word</sup>  
~~and the mountains.~~  
~~"pioneer" because we see a picture of men and women blazing~~  
~~trail and building a home and a nation.~~

Men's eyes are strained not toward the past any longer, but  
toward the future. Yet the future is shrouded in fog. We need  
to get a focus of light into that dense fog. The dream of  
a richer, fuller life is a dream that belongs not to America  
alone, but to all humanity. ~~The dream to conquer nature~~  
~~This driving force has always~~  
been enshrined in all American hearts, and the common man of  
America has been the great figure in our drama of national  
life.

Our task is to make this  
~~I have said before that this is the Century of the~~  
Common Man. ~~I believe it now today that when I first uttered it.~~

This idea, this dream, can become a reality. Once a man was  
discussing with Carlyle the whole question of ideas and how  
ineffective they were. Carlyle replied: "There was once a man  
named Rousseau. He wrote a book which contained nothing but  
ideas. People laughed at it. But the skins of those who laughed

~~went to bind the second edition of the book."~~

~~"We must now have a common purpose. When the energies of the people are focused on a common purpose, they do not fail. Here in our own country we have seen the great liberating force of a common purpose. Here in America the common man has seen twice in a generation his country step from the doldrums of unemployment and scarcity into labor scarcity and phenomenal production."~~

*found unity and strength in* ~~seen his country immensely strengthened twice in a generation~~ *we have*  
the act of buckling down to war. The war has shown *us* the magic of production. Production - the full use of *labor and* our materials - is in itself the cure of most of our social and political evils.

*Full*  
Production is good for the body and the soul. Production, and *full employment and fair distribution* production alone will give us a tough-fibered, self-respecting

people, moving on with strength and courage to the job of hewing out a better world. The common man *wants free enterprise.*

~~but he makes it. He wants private enterprise.~~ But private enterprise is not a goal in itself. Private enterprise was made for man, not man for private enterprise. It is a means to production, not the end of life. The common man will turn from private enterprise only if there is not *full* production and jobs enough to go around.

*the full use of* Is production so great an enterprise that it demands not only *all* the energies of the people *but also* and government? Is government ~~as~~ cooperation an indispensable factor in securing

full production? *I think it is. In time of war, yes. In the decade immediately following war, undoubtedly. - Insert A*



When the war is over  
the central fact will be hunger -  
physical and spiritual hunger.  
Within two years ~~we shall rebuild~~  
~~the~~ the United Nations will  
rebuild ~~that~~ with physical  
food the shattered bodies of <sup>the</sup> ~~ten~~ tens  
of millions who have been starved  
by the Nazis. First that you  
can get your teeth into - Food you  
can fill your stomachs with comes first.  
~~But more lasting than~~  
But even more important in the long run  
than physical food ~~is~~ <sup>is the</sup> spiritual food  
represented by genuine democracy.  
Those who have lived for years under  
the dictator's heel want to be sure  
that fascism and the forces that  
lead to it are stamped out every  
where in the world.

Agriculture, labor, science, industry, finance, and government must cooperate. One great thing has happened in recent months.

Americans have learned at last that we cannot isolate ourselves from the world. It is no longer a question of whether isolationism

is a good thing or a bad thing. Isolationism is impossible,

*The airplane and radio settled that.*  
~~It is not work.~~ Americans know that we cannot isolate

ourselves from typhoid fever by locking ourselves indoors while

*MARY*  
typhoid ~~money~~ roams the streets. This dead issue of isolationism

remains unburied by some people. The energies of our people

should not be used to take care of this dead issue. Our people's

energies should be used instead to the living issue of our part

in the new world. A great task lies before us.

When the war is over, hunger will be the central fact of the world situation. At this very moment, most of the inhabitants of the world are suffering from two kinds of hunger: hollow hunger, that is to say, insufficient calories; and hidden hunger, that is to say, relative starvation in vitamins, minerals, and high grade proteins. *Call it for convenience, metabolic starvation.* The peoples of Europe under the Nazi heel have already faced its torture. Poor food, always and everywhere means a poor life and good food always and everywhere is the necessary foundation of a good life. This is science that cannot be gainsaid.

In the light of this science, it is the most miserable hypocrisy to attempt the ~~stamping up~~ *restoration* of the shattered world without at the same time and above all, rebuilding shattered men with the bricks

and mortar of essential nourishment.

The formulation of a program to feed the human race is mandatory at this time. Such a program, when the drums of war have ceased to beat the funeral march of men, will appeal to the conquered people. It will appeal much more and have more reality than any Barmecide feast of lofty political abstractions. When the free peoples win this war, they will be faced with the problem of peoples driven half mad by suffering and hunger. That is why we are planning on rehabilitation, on drawing up a program. <sup>new.</sup> A healing hand must be laid on these people, and it must be a strong hand. For the future of civilization we must pioneer in many fields. We must learn to cooperate with other nations. We must learn that we reside in the world and know that the world does not reside in us.

~~I have said that isolationism was dead. I also say that~~  
~~unfortunates~~  
~~Fascism is dead.~~ We are much further from victory over Fascism than from victory over the German armies. Fascism fights us on ~~Fascism fights us in both hands~~ both sides of the line. Fascism will fight on after military victory is complete. Fascism is a world pestilence. Let us not commit the tragic folly of underestimating our enemy. Fascism has a fierce vitality. No country has escaped its ~~power~~. Fascism - the world wide assault on the power, on the worth and dignity of man - is the living issue of our time. Fascism flourished in a time of faltering and divided purpose ~~and disillusion~~. Fascism dies in a time of dynamic common purpose and faith.

*in the new world.*

*We must make*

~~that common purpose ~~is~~ inevitable? It is based on our ancient faith in the worth and dignity of man.~~

The future of the world holds a promise greater than the past has ever shown us. The future is not a fixed thing.

*It is not predestined.*  
~~The future is not something that is going to happen to us. It is~~

~~not all laid out and if we do not have to speak our lines like actors~~

~~in a script.~~ We have only to bestir ourselves in order to realize our dreams. For we have the lands, the forests, the mines, and the people. We have in our hands the tools of science, gigantic in their power, miraculously swift in their accomplishment. We can control floods, make the desert bloom, house a nation in comfort, conquer poverty and stamp out most disease. We know we can do these things if we will to do them.

Those who measure the forces of our time and say this is the way we are going, must look for that great immeasurable thing, the human spirit. Men have never been satisfied with the world in which they live because since time began, they have always been making it over, and they have always made it better. This is the clear line of history, the golden thread that can follow in a pattern often confused and dark and bloody.

The common man is on the march. *His vision of*  
~~what he sees in the future,~~  
*would*  
~~this vision, will largely determine what the future shall be.~~

I believe the future is plastic and that we can forge it to a pattern of our will if we are hot enough about it, as a blacksmith beats a horseshoe out of an iron bar.

We all know that a closer social integration has to follow in a mass production, mass consumption society. Civilization's future itself depends upon a world view of a mass production, mass consumption society.

We need to take a world view and we need a little humility. "Humility like darkness reveals the heavenly lights."

We shall realize that we are a part of the great world and start to plan to live in that world. We want life to be more humane. We want to live up to the great historic issue of America - freedom - freedom for our own land and for all the world.

"Man kicks and howls about his little fate until at long last he feels the universe around him and then there is peace."

Insert D



# The World we Want

Pioneering for a civilized world is an excellent theme for a forum at this particular phase of history. ~~Future at History~~  
~~will probably be~~

For we are living in History's crowded hour.

The world we want - that every decent person wants is a civilized world, a world where men can be free. Free to grow intellectually, spiritual and physically.



If we want this world  
 we shall have to  
 pioneer for it with  
 all the rugged qualities  
 of our forefathers. We  
 Americans like the  
 word pioneer because  
 we see a picture of  
 men and women blazing  
 a trail and ~~building~~  
~~a home out of the bush~~  
 a home and a nation.

Men eyes are strained  
 not toward the past  
 any longer but toward  
 the future. Yet the future  
 is shrouded in fog. We  
 need to get a focus of



right into that dense  
 fog. The dream of  
 a richer fuller life is  
 a dream that belongs  
 not to America alone  
 but to all humanity.  
 This driving force has always  
 been enshrined in all  
 American hearts and  
 the Common man of America  
 has been the great figure  
 in our drama of national  
 life.

I have said before  
 that this must be the  
 Century of the Common  
 man. I believe it more  
 today than when I first  
 uttered it.



4.

This idea, this dream  
can become a reality,  
once a man was dealing  
with Carlyle the whole  
question of ideas and  
how ineffective they were  
Carlyle replied, "There  
was once a man named  
Rossian. He wrote a  
book which contained  
nothing but Ideas. People  
laughed at it. But the  
skins of those who laughed  
went to bind the second  
edition of the book.

We must now have a  
common purpose



5.

When the energies of the people are focused on a common purpose, they do not fail.

Here in our own country we have seen the great liberating force of a common purpose. Here in America the common man has ~~to~~ seen, twice in a generation, his country step from the doldrums of unemployment and scarcity into labor security and phenomenal production. He has seen his country, commonly



6.

strengthened twice in a  
generation, by the act of  
buckling down to work.  
The world has shown him  
the magic of production.

Production the full  
use of our materials, is  
in itself the cure of most  
of our social and  
political evils. Production  
is good for the body and  
the soul. Production &  
production alone will  
give us a tough fibred  
self respecting people  
moving on with strength  
and courage to the job  
of hewing out a better  
world. The common



man knows this in his own words but he knows it. He wants private enterprise. But private enterprise is not a goal in itself. Private enterprise was made for man, not man for private enterprise; it is a means to production not the end of life. The common man will turn from private enterprise only if there is not real production and jobs enough to go around.

So production is great an enterprise that it demands not only all



the energies of the people  
and government as well?

Is Government co-operation  
an indispensable factor  
in securing full production  
I think it is.

Agriculture, labor  
science, industry, and  
finance and government  
must co-operate.

~~The great thing~~ has happened  
in recent months. Americans  
have learned at least  
that we can not isolate  
ourselves from the world.  
It is no longer a question  
of whether isolationism is  
a good thing or a bad thing.  
~~Isolationism~~ is an impossible



~~It does not work.~~

thing. Americans know  
that we cannot isolate  
ourselves from typhoid  
fever by locking ourselves  
indoors while Typhoid  
merry rooms the Streets.

This dead issue of  
isolationism remains  
embused by some people.  
The energies of our people  
should not be used to take  
care of this dead issue.  
our people's energies should  
be used to instead to  
the living issue of our  
part in the new world.  
A great task lies  
before us.



When the war is over  
 hunger will be the central  
 fact of the world situation.  
 At this very moment most  
 of the inhabitants of the  
 world are suffering from  
 two kinds of hunger; hollow  
 hunger, that is to say, insufficient  
 calories; and hidden hunger,  
 that is to say, relative  
 starvation in vitamins,  
 minerals and high grade  
 proteins, call it for  
 convenience, metabolic  
 starvation. The people  
 of Europe under the Nazi  
 heel have already faced it  
~~before~~.



Poor food, always and everywhere means a poor life. A good food always and everywhere, is the necessary foundation of a good life. This is a truism that can not be gainsaid.

In the light of this science, it is the most miserable hypocrisy to attempt the showing up of the shattered world without at the same time, and above all, rebuilding shattered men with the bricks and mortar of essential nourishment.



12  
The formulation of  
a program to feed the  
human race is mandatory  
at this time. Such a  
program, when the drums  
of war have ceased to beat  
the funeral march of men,  
will appeal to the conquered  
people. It will appeal much  
more & have more reality  
than any Boomeride tract  
of lofty political abstractions.  
When the free peoples win  
this war, they will be faced  
with the problem of  
peoples driven half  
mad by suffering and  
hunger. That is why we  
are planning on Rehabilitation.



13.

an drawing up a program.  
A healing hand must be  
laid on these people  
and it must be a strong  
hand. For the future  
of civilization we must  
pioneer in many fields.  
We must learn to co  
operate with other nations.  
We must learn that we  
reside in the world and  
how that the world does  
not reside in us.

I have said that  
Isolationism was dead.  
I also say that Fascism  
is a lie. We are much



further from Victory  
 does ~~Fascism~~ than from  
 victory over the German  
 armies. Fascism fights  
 on both sides of the  
 line. Fascism will  
 fight on after military  
 victory is complete <sup>and</sup>  
 Fascism is a world <sup>and</sup>  
 pestilence. Let us not  
 commit the tragic folly  
 of underestimating our  
 enemy. Fascism has a  
 fierce vitality; no country  
 has escaped its power.  
 Fascism - The world wide  
 assault on the power on  
 the worth and dignity of



man -- is the living issue  
 of our time. Fascism ~~flies~~  
 flounders in a time of  
 faltering and divided  
 purpose and disillusion.  
 Fascism dies in a time  
 of dynamic common purpose  
 and faith.

Does not that common  
 purpose seem inevitable?  
 It is based on our ancient  
 faith in the worth &  
 dignity of man.

The future of the  
 world holds a promise  
 greater than the Past  
 has ever shown us -  
 The future is not a



fixed thing. The future  
 is not something that is  
 going to happen to us, it  
 is not all laid out and  
 we do not have to speak  
 our lines like actors in  
 a show. We have only  
 to better ourselves in order  
 to realize our dreams.

For we have the lands,  
 the forests, the mines and  
 the people. We have  
 in our hands the tools  
 of science, gigantic in  
 their power, miraculous  
 swift in their accomplishment.  
 We can control floods  
 make the desert bloom



house a nation in  
 comfort, conquer poverty  
 and stamp out most disease  
 We know we can do these  
 things if we will to do  
 them."

Those who measure the  
 forces of our time &  
 say this is the way we  
 are going, must look for  
 that great immeasurable  
 thing, the human spirit.

Men have never been  
 satisfied with the world  
 in which they live because  
 since time began they  
 have always been making



it over, and they have  
 always made it better.  
 This is the clear line of  
 history, the golden thread  
 that can follow in a  
 pattern often confused  
 and dark and bloody.

The common man is  
 on the march. What he  
 see in the future, the  
 vision, will largely  
 determine what the future  
 shall be. I believe the  
 future is plastic and  
 that we can forge it  
 to a pattern of our  
 will if we are not



19  
enough about it, as  
a blacksmith beats a  
horseshoe out of an iron  
bar.

We all know that  
a closer social integration  
has to follow in a mass  
production, mass consumption  
society. Civilization  
future itself depends  
upon a world view  
of a mass ~~consumption~~  
~~production~~, mass ~~production~~  
society.

~~Emerson said~~  
We need to take a  
world view and we need a  
little humility. "Humility"



20

like darkness reveals  
the heavenly lights!

We shall realize that  
we are a part of the  
great world and start  
to plan to live in that  
world - We want life  
to be more humane -  
We want to live up  
to the great historic  
Issue of annivers - Freedom  
Freedom for our own  
land & for all the  
world

"man picks & hovers  
about his little fate, until  
at long last  
he feels the Universe

21

around him & then there  
is peace.



2136 R Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
February 3, 1943

Dear Henry:

This is the first time that I have thought of you as Henry. Basically you are The Vice President. At one time you were to me merely the insurance policy of the country in the event that the President died.

You have grown to be much more. This is due to your own efforts and very great spirit. You are now the spiritual leader of a relatively small group of people who see the job ahead in intelligent purity.

This is something that you must carry as your cross. It is not important how it ends. It is most important that you have the utmost of time for meeting all pure people who find their way to you.

Anyway I feel that I have taken a few too many of your hours. If I am not around as much as formerly, you ~~will~~ understand. I shall go here and there and be always available, but I feel tonight that perhaps I have at times written and said too much for the best that is in both of us.

It is not necessary to say that I am not seeking a vote of confidence. I have never thanked you and you have never thanked me.

I shall always send on to you, in note form, what I think is significant. You will have access to any hours of mine that you need or want. This note is merely to let you know that I understand the pressure of the days and the needs of the hour.

Sincerely,

Hotel Plaza,  
New York City,  
February 28, 1943

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

Knowing that your husband will never read this very serious memorandum, I am sending the same to you.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P.S. From the epigrams of Mencius: Never take a Toad in your hand.

February 28, 1943

Sunday being a day of rest, and Saturday a half holiday, I am attempting to give you one of my mastodonic jokes. My idea of a sense of humor is to have everything completely out of a sense of proportion. I have been accused of being the world's greatest publicity seeker, and you have been accused of being very retiring--almost a shrinking violet. Hence the attached two clippings.

Exhibit A:

Shows two children accompanying their nurse in an elementary lesson in Government. There being some eight million people doing the same thing this week, I hasten to assure you that the fact that these two children were pictured is purely a chance in the ratio of two to 6, 688,884--or one chance in 3,344,442. Since I pay this nurse, it is obvious that I must have bribed the photographer. Under any law of circumstantial evidence it would be impossible not to convict me, when the chances of my being pure in heart is only one in four million.

This also convicts me of having arranged for Pascal to feed the New York Times and shows my true Machiavellian character. I am as publicity drunk as Barney, and equally as clever. This disease has apparently come upon me after thirty years and is evidently connected with approaching senility.

The only extenuating circumstances that might free me before a fourth dimensional jury of my peers, would be that the name of the girl child and that of the nurse are inaccurate. Only the name Michael Marsh is accurate. But at that it is obvious on second thought, that I do stand convicted because my inaccuracy is well known, even to the point of addresses and telephone numbers. This is evidently some form of mental revolt which only a psychiatrist could explain, as during twenty years of active newspapering I had to be accurate, my mind evidently has degenerated into a sort of a binge of inaccuracy.

Exhibit B:

Shows one A.B. (for elemental) Chandler achieving publicity in the normal, natural, formal and classical manner. Happy wishes to attach himself to the Vice President as a Russian scholar (all Kentucky papers please copy.).

Said Chandler uses one Gottlieb and one Flaherty as his media of communication between said Wallace and said Chandler.

The blue-print of this joke is:

- (a) It appears in the Washington Times Herald.
- (b) It appears on the Sports page.
- (c) It has the requisite amount of sex lure in it glorifying Miss Russia-1943.

So I have had my fun this morning looking out into the sunshine of a perfect day from the window over the Plaza.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



March 1, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Here is a lengthy document sent me by Jacob Landau of the Over-Seas News Agency, entitled "Grand Strategy for the Republican Party Until 1944". He tells me that this is what Lawrence Dennis is advising the Republicans. I don't know how much of this wordy statement you would be interested in but here are some of the topics he touches on.

page 4 - "The Social gains of the New Deal are popular: War sacrifices are not; therefore many Republicans think it smart to say that the Democrats are for the New Deal while the Republicans are for more war sacrifices."

page 6 - "The absurdity of trying to make issues of a growing bureaucracy, extravagant spending, increasing statism and regimentation or loss of liberty, rather than their cause."

page 7 - "The fate of private enterprise and the middle classes depends entirely on how long the war lasts and tough it becomes, not on government or popular preferences."

page 9 - "Of the two post-war internationalisms: that of Luce, Life, Time and Fortune, namely, a restored international finance capitalism and that of FDR, an international New Deal, it should be obvious that only the latter can be tried even experimentally."

page 10 - "Two cardinal points ignored by the Republican internationalists: (1) the era of free trade and international finance capitalism is over, and (2) the Republican Party was made by economic nationalism and protectionism during the 80's and 90's and it has been wrecked by the collapse of international finance capitalism in the 30's."

page 17 - "The fallacy of Gallup Polls and public opinion analysis: the majority of consensus about the future is usually wrong. The victims of the stock market should know this."

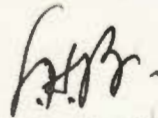
page 18 - "The banker mentality is the Jinx of the Republican Party."

page 19 - for its note on Willkie.

page 21 - "Economic nationalism made the Republican Party and the Nation's industries, economic internationalism would destroy the Republican Party and the American Way."

page 22 - note the line taken here that the uplifting of the world can be accomplished without foreign loans. ("Europe and Asia don't need American capital to industrialize and prosper any more than Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany needed it.")

Sincerely yours,



Louis H. Bean

Attachment

Page 1  
#3 #5  
Pg 2 - #5



## WE ARE ALL AMERICANS

Before me, gathered here in Central Park, I see many thousands who are proud and humble. They are proud to be citizens of this nation which stands for truth and justice and man's responsibility to man. They are humble in the knowledge that only through the spirit of selflessness and sacrifice can these sacred values be preserved.

Over the last several years, as we have witnessed the cruelty and destruction in other parts of the world, most of us have begun to appreciate what it really means to be an American, what it really means to enjoy the blessings of freedom and democracy. It took a terrible war and a dastardly attack to wake us up. Now our nation has dedicated itself anew to the age-old fight to keep the fires of freedom burning. It is a time for greatness--and we must measure up.

American boys, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their United Nations comrades in arms, have proved their mettle in Tunisia. Africa has been won. The fortress of Europe lies ahead.

But in this war the heroes are not all on one front. There are many fronts. Americans today are riding the bullet-riddled air over Germany, daring the submarine-infested waters of the Atlantic, stalking hidden danger in the jungles of faroff Pacific islands. Here at home, Americans are doing their duty too. In factories, on farms, in homes

and hospitals and offices--in countless ways that never can be told--millions are taking their full part. In this people's war, the fighters and the workers on every front have what it takes to win.

Here in the United States, I hope we do not forget that we possess no monopoly on the name, "American." I have just come back from visiting Americans in seven different countries--in Costa Rica, Panama, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. These Spanish-speaking Americans are just as patriotic citizens of the New World as any of us who speak English.

For centuries, the New World like a magnet has been drawing to itself those who in the Old World were defrauded of one or more of the Four Freedoms. Again and again the New World has given refuge to the thousands fleeing from the hangman and the despot.

From Canada to Chile, we are glad we are Americans. Nowhere in all my trip did I find greater pride in democracy than in Chile. Chile is a Catholic country, but it also contains a higher percentage of communists than almost any other country except Russia. The Radical Party, which is quite distinct from the Communist Party, is in power. There are also a large number of Socialists, Liberals and Conservatives. Personally I believe in the two-party system, but who can deny that in Chile they have a genuine democracy which gives every shade of opinion a chance to express itself? The interesting thing to me was to find all these varied groups from extreme left to extreme right so friendly to the United States,

so eager to serve the cause of worldwide democracy, so anxious to produce results in field, mine and factory.

The picture which stands out most clearly in my mind from my experiences in Chile is of an evening meeting of miners in the open air where two or three labor leaders had paid their "respects" in very vigorous language to Hitler and the other enemies of democracy. The Alcalde, or mayor, had given his formal speech. The meeting was breaking up when a little girl of 14, obviously the daughter of one of the miners, came up on the platform holding her two-year-old brother by one hand and with the other gave me a bouquet of flowers as she said very proudly, "In the name of Chile!"

I received hundreds of floral gifts in other parts of Latin America, where flowers grow in riotous profusion, but in this particular part of Northern Chile the mining camp was surrounded by many miles of waterless desert, where there is not a single plant or animal except that supported by water piped in from a long distance. The miners have tiny plots of ground, perhaps eight by ten feet, which they can water if they so desire, to grow a few vegetables or flowers. This proud little Chilean girl, taking care of her baby brother, had planned for weeks in advance how on her ~~very~~ own to demonstrate the attitude of Chile, and especially the working people of Chile, toward the United States.

Those American miners in Chile have worked without sparing themselves in producing copper, which is absolutely essential to the effort of the United States in this war. I am hoping that when the peace comes, and they need our help, we Americans in the United States will not forget them.

In every country I visited are millions of Americans whole-heartedly at work in the service of the common cause. I think of the Bolivian tin miners working in some of the highest mines in the world, 14,000 feet above the sea. Their wages are pitifully low according to standards in this country. I think of the Bolivian Indians toiling on their farms. By comparison with them, the miners are well off. I say the Bolivian tin miners and the Bolivian farmers, even though they may be of Indian blood and may speak only Quechua or Aymara, are Americans, that they are doing their part to win the war, and that we should not forget them when peace comes.

I vision the Mosquito bombers--the speediest in the world--with which England torments Germany night after night so effectively, and then I think of the balsa logs, lighter than cork, which are used in their construction. I can see the Guayas River in Ecuador floating these logs down to the sawmills at Guayaquil. I can see the logs being jerked out of the water by half-naked men, cheerfully working day after day under hot, humid, disagreeable conditions. The speed and skill of their operations mean a lot to every English-speaking American who has a boy at the front.

I see in my mind's eye the men gathering rubber in the hot, steamy jungles of Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Panama. Don't let anyone tell you that we don't need this rubber which these Americans are getting for us. Synthetic rubber will do some things by itself, but if you are going to have really good tires, you need some natural

rubber to go along with the synthetic. Consider the risks and hardships which these rubber gatherers must undergo. Some of them are working in places where the contraction of malaria is almost a certainty and the probability of death within two years is almost fifty-fifty.

We English-speaking Americans are only half the Americans of the New World. The other half, whether they speak Spanish, Portuguese, French, Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, or any other Indian tongue, are good Americans too. Many of them have a longer and prouder lineage than you or I. Some are descended from the last Inca, some are descended from Cervantes.

But all true Americans know that the hope and glory of America is in the future and not in the past. We can all look hopefully to the day when the American of the future will apply the Four Freedoms to bring about complete productivity of labor in terms of better living conditions. In the lands to the south this means drainage of swamps, production of cheap quinine, and the building of roads, airports, and hospitals. If such projects are carried out, the Latin American child of the year 2,000 need have no fear of malaria or hookworm or the under-nutrition which produces tuberculosis. Americans were meant to be free from disease and hunger. This is one of the main jobs of the postwar period. We can do that job if we look upward and outward toward the future, and put our backs into the hard, practical work which lies ahead.

And all true Americans know that, in that future, New World and

Old World can not live apart from each other. The airplane and the radio have indubitably made them one.

Since the epoch-making voyage of Columbus, currents of culture and of immigration have flowed from the Old World to the New. In both North and South America, whether we now speak English or French or Spanish or Portuguese, we are the blending of many national and racial streams. Our ideas and ideals have come originally from the Old World, which has been the fountainhead of our populations.

Now, here in this hemisphere, these various national streams are producing a new race, with a new culture, and new ideas and ideals. In this war, the young men of the New World are making their contribution to the cause of humanity in the whole world. They are giving their splendid health and energy, and even their lives, in that cause.

When the victory is won, another opportunity will open up before the people of the Western Hemisphere. Then it is that our ideals of democracy and peace and tolerance and good neighborliness can be an example, an inspiration to the people overseas. We have faith that someday these ideals will become the guiding stars of nations everywhere on this globe. Then, and then only, can we be sure that the sacrifices of today have not been made in vain. Today, we say with pride and humility that we are Americans, knowing in our hearts that Americanism in its deepest meaning stands for the freedom and the welfare and the brotherhood of the plain people of the world, wherever they may be.



N. D. C., MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1943.

X

# Text of Wallace's Warning Against Another War

By the Associated Press.

**DELAWARE, Ohio, March 8.**—The text of Vice President Wallace's address today at the conference on Christian bases of world order follows:

There are three great philosophies in the world today. The first, based on the supremacy of might over right, says that war between nations is inevitable until such time as a single master race dominates the entire world and every one is assigned his daily task by an arrogant, self-appointed fuhrer. The second—the Marxian philosophy—says that class warfare is inevitable until such time as the proletariat comes out on top, everywhere in the world, and can start building a society without classes. The third—which we in this country know as the democratic Christian philosophy—denies that man was made for war, whether it be war between nations or war between classes, and asserts boldly that ultimate peace is inevitable, that all men are brothers and that God is their Father.

This democratic philosophy pervades not only the hearts and minds of those who live by the Christian religion, both Protestant and Catholic, but of those who draw their inspiration from Mohammedanism, Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism and other faiths. When we look beneath the outer forms, we find that all these faiths, in one way or another, preach the doctrine of the dignity of each individual human soul, the doctrine that God intended man to be a good neighbor to his fellow man, and the doctrine of the essential unity of the entire world.

Those who think most about individualism preach freedom. Those who think most about unity, whether it be the unity of a nation or of the entire world, preach the sacred obligation of duty. There is a seeming conflict between freedom and duty, and it takes the spirit of democracy to resolve it. Only through religion and education can the freedom-loving individual realize that his greatest private pleasure comes from serving the highest unity, the general welfare of all. This truth, the essence of democracy, must capture the hearts of men over the entire world, if human civilization is not to be torn to pieces in a series of wars and revolutions far more terrible than anything that has yet been endured. Democracy is the hope of civilization.

## Examines Each Philosophy.

To understand the significance of these three philosophies dominant in the world today, let us look at each one in turn. During the last 80 years the outstanding exponent of the sacredness and inevitability of war has been blind Prussia. By nature the common people of Prussia are simple and hard-working and make excellent citizens except where they have become infected by the Prussian doctrine that might makes right. The Prussian philosophy causes its adherents to practice many of the highest virtues, but

better nor worse than Englishmen, Americans, Swedes, Poles or Russians. But the Prussian tradition of the last century, and especially the Nazi education of the last 10 years, have created a psychic entity so monstrous and so dangerous to the entire world that it is absolutely vital to exercise some control over German education when the war comes to an end. Prussian schoolmasters have been of greater importance to the German Army than Prussian captains, and Prussian text books have had greater value than ammunition. It is the disciplined will to power and the worship of war as the method of power that have made the German Army such a terrible instrument of force.

Just as Hitler took the Prussian military tradition and organized it into gangsterism, so he took the Prussian education system and streamlined it to marshal the millions of German boys and girls behind his evil conspiracy of world conquest. Hitler's children have been trained to believe implicitly that the state is more important than the individual, and that the individual must be willing and ready to sacrifice himself for the German nation and for the Fuehrer.

## Stresses Leadership Principle.

Starting with the young mothers and fathers, married or unmarried, and taking the children through the day nurseries and a series of schools for different ages, Hitler has indoctrinated the German children with what he calls his "leadership principle"—that among men as in nature is an eternal struggle between the weak and the strong, and that the "decadent" democracies are destined to crumble before the superior might of the Nazi elite. German boys have been systematically trained in brutality. German girls have been systematically trained to believe that their supreme duty is to be mothers, married or unmarried, of children dedicated to the service of the fatherland and the Fuehrer. Through the use of mystic ceremonies—pagan dances, bonfires, sun festivals on mountain tops and many other types of ritual—both boys and girls have been trained to look upon Hitler as divine and they pray to him as God.

The evil influence of this systematic degradation of millions of German boys and girls can not be counteracted in a short time. Even Hitler's death will not end it, because many of Hitler's children, conditioned as they are, will believe that he is still their leader, in the spirit if not in the flesh. Hitler dead may be almost as dangerous as Hitler alive.

This, then, is the vastly difficult problem with which the United Nations will have to cope, if the victory which now is coming closer is to bring more than just a short breathing spell before another Prussian attack is launched upon the world.

## Sees Nazi Disillusionment.

It is not up to the United Nations to say just what the German

Marxianism has held that democracy is mere words, that it serves the cause of the common man with platitudes rather than with jobs, and that belief in it results in a weak governmental organization. And we who believe in democracy must admit that modern science, invention and technology have provided us with new bottles, into many of which we have not yet poured the wine of the democratic spirit.

## Perceive Signs of Times.

In some respects both the Prussians and the Russians have perceived the signs of the times better than we—and I hope that reactionary politicians will not quote this sentence out of its context, in an effort to prove that I have come out for dictatorship. The fact is that the Prussians have done an effective job of making their bureaucrats efficient in co-ordinating the social forces in the service of the state. The Russians have put great emphasis on serving and gaining the enthusiastic adherence of the common man. It is my belief that democracy is the only true expression of Christianity, but if it is not to let Christianity down, democracy must be tremendously more efficient than it has been in the service of the common man, and in resistance to selfish pressure groups.

After this war is over, the democratic capitalistic nations will need to prove that they are supremely interested in full employment and full utilization of natural resources. They will need to demonstrate that the consuming power of their people can be made to equal their productive power. The right to work at a regular job and for a decent wage is essential to the true dignity of man.

If the Western democracies furnish full employment and an expanding production, they need have no fear of a revival of old-line Communist propaganda from within. If they do not furnish full employment, Communist propaganda of this kind is inevitable and there is nothing which the Russian government or our Government or any other government can do to stop it. In the event of long-continued unemployment, the only question will be as to whether the Prussian or Marxian doctrine will take us over first.

## Must Meet Challenge.

I believe in the democratic doctrine—the religion based on the social message of the prophets—the heart insight of Christ, and the wisdom of the men who drew up the Constitution of the United States and adopted the Bill of Rights. By tradition and by structure we believe that it is possible to reconcile the freedom and rights of the individual with the duties required of us by the general welfare. We believe in religious tolerance and the separation of church and state, but we need to light again the old spirit to meet the challenge of new facts.

We shall decide some time in 1943 or 1944 whether to plant the seeds for World War No. 3. That war will

takes we made after World War No. 1. When a creditor nation raises its tariffs and asks foreign nations to pay up and at the same time refuses to let them pay in goods, the result is irritation of a sort that sooner or later leads first to trade war and then to bloodshed.

## Neighborhood Is Whole World.

The gospel of Christ was to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, comfort the sick and visit those who were in hard luck. He said that treating your neighbor decently was the way to show that you loved God. The neighborhood in Christ's day was a few miles in diameter. Today the airplane has made the whole world a neighborhood. The good neighbor policy, whether at home or abroad, is a Christian policy. Those who preach isolationism and hate of other nations are preaching a modified form of Prussian Nazism and the only outcome of such preaching will be war.

If we want peace, we must treat other nations in the spirit of democratic Christianity. We must make our religious practical. In our relations with China, for example, we must act in such a way as to enhance the material as well as the spiritual well-being of her people. So doing will not only be of spiritual advantage to ourselves, will not only do much to prevent war, but will give us more material prosperity than we can otherwise enjoy. And in saying this, I do not preach the missionary spirit as a forerunner of a new imperialism.

Nearly half the people of the world live in Eastern Asia. Seven-eighths of them do not know how to read and write, but many of them listen to the radio and they know that the world is on the move and they are determined to move with it. We can at their request help them to move in knowledge toward a higher standard of living rather than in ignorance toward confusion and anarchy.

## Opens Wide Field.

Throughout history, every big nation has been given an opportunity to help itself by helping the world. If such an opportunity is seized with a broad and generous spirit, an infinitude of practical possibilities opens up. Thousands of businessmen in the United States have seen this kind of thing happen on a smaller scale in their own businesses, as their broad and enlightened policies have increased their prosperity and given jobs to their neighbors. Christianity is not star gazing or foolish idealism. Applied on a world-wide scale it is intensely practical. Bread cast upon the waters does return. National friendships are remembered. Help to starving people is not soon forgotten. We of the United States who now have the greatest opportunity that ever came to any people do not wish to impose on any other race or to thrust our money or technical experts or ways of thought on those who do not desire them. But we do believe that if we measure up to

which we in this country know as the democratic Christian philosophy—denies that man was made for war, whether it be war between nations or war between classes, and asserts boldly that ultimate peace is inevitable, that all men are brothers and that God is their father.

This democratic philosophy pervades not only the hearts and minds of those who live by the Christian religion, both Protestant and Catholic, but of those who draw their inspiration from Mohammedanism, Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism and other faiths. When we look beneath the outer forms, we find that all these faiths, in one way or another, preach the doctrine of the dignity of each individual human soul, the doctrine that God intended man to be a good neighbor to his fellow man, and the doctrine of the essential unity of the entire world.

Those who think most about individualism preach freedom. Those who think most about unity, whether be the unity of a nation or of the entire world, preach the sacred obligation of duty. There is a seeming conflict between freedom and duty, and it takes the spirit of democracy to resolve it. Only through religion and education can the freedom-loving individual realize that his greatest private pleasure comes from serving the highest unity, the general welfare of all. This truth, the essence of democracy, must capture the hearts of men over the entire world, if human civilization is not to be torn to pieces in a series of wars and revolutions far more terrible than anything that has yet been endured. Democracy is the hope of civilization.

#### Examines Each Philosophy.

To understand the significance of these three philosophies dominant in the world today, let us look at each one in turn. During the last years the outstanding exponent of the sacredness and inevitability of war has been blind Prussia. By nature the common people of Prussia are simple and hard-working and make excellent citizens except where they have become infected by the Russian doctrine that might makes right. The Prussian philosophy uses its adherents to practice any of the highest virtues, but these virtues are all ultimately sacrificed at the disposal of supreme will. Hitler, seizing the Prussian militaristic tradition as a powerful instrument in his hands and putting it to use with his own religious frenzy has become the anti-Christ of this generation—perhaps the most complete anti-Christ who ever lived. It is not enough to bring about the downfall of Hitler. We must understand the origin and growth of the Prussian spirit and do something to counteract that spirit if we wish to bring permanent peace.

The Prussian attitude toward war and supremacy has strong roots. Whether it reaches back to the days of Caesar or whether it first took form under the guidance of the Prussian knights in the Middle Ages, we are certain of this: By the time of Frederick the Great the Prussians consciously adopted the doctrine of total war and the total state as the chief end of man. Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II modernized and made completely selfish and ruthless that which Frederick the Great had founded. Shortly after Kaiser Wilhelm II came to power, a generation before the First World War, one of the more tender-hearted of the German generals said, in addressing his

military tradition and organized it into gangsterism, so he took the Prussian education system and streamlined it to marshal the millions of German boys and girls behind his evil conspiracy of world conquest. Hitler's children have been trained to believe implicitly that the state is more important than the individual, and that the individual must be willing and ready to sacrifice himself for the German nation and for the Fuehrer.

#### Stresses Leadership Principle.

Starting with the young mothers and fathers, married or unmarried, and taking the children through the day nurseries and a series of schools for different ages, Hitler has indoctrinated the German children with what he calls his "leadership principle"—that among men as in nature is an eternal struggle between the weak and the strong, and that the "decadent" democracies are destined to crumble before the superior might of the Nazi elite. German boys have been systematically trained in brutality. German girls have been systematically trained to believe that their supreme duty is to be mothers, married or unmarried, of children dedicated to the service of the fatherland and the Fuehrer. Through the use of mystic ceremonies—pagan dances, bonfires, sun festivals on mountain tops and many other types of ritual—both boys and girls have been trained to look upon Hitler as divine and they pray to him as God.

The evil influence of this systematic degradation of millions of German boys and girls can not be counteracted in a short time. Even Hitler's death will not end it, because many of Hitler's children, conditioned as they are, will believe that he is still their leader, in the spirit if not in the flesh. Hitler dead may be almost as dangerous as Hitler alive.

This, then, is the vastly difficult problem with which the United Nations will have to cope, if the victory which now is coming closer is to bring more than just a short breathing spell before another Prussian attack is launched upon the world.

#### Sees Nazi Disillusionment.

It is not up to the United Nations to say just what the German schools of the future should teach; and we do not want to be guilty of a Hitler-like orgy of book burning. But it is vital to the peace of the world to make sure that neither Prussianism, Hitlerism nor any modification of them is taught. There are many cultured German scholars with an excellent attitude toward the world who should be put to work on the job of rewriting the German textbooks in their own way. I believe these men would glorify peace and international honesty, re-establishment of the German culture of Beethoven, Schubert, Schiller and Goethe, and the gradual preparation of the German spirit for an appreciation of the fact that a bill of rights for the individual is as vital as a bill of duties toward the state.

Doubtless thousands of German boys will come home from the war bitterly disillusioned of Prussianism and Hitlerism. Thousands of both young and old at home will feel the same way. They will honestly want to help build up a new democratic Germany, and we, without yielding at all to the old warlike spirit of Prussia, should encourage them to try. We shall need the help of all Germans who give convincing evidence that they do not embrace the

that the Prussians have done an effective job of making their bureaucrats efficient in co-ordinating the social forces in the service of the state. The Russians have put great emphasis on serving and gaining the enthusiastic adherence of the common man. It is my belief that democracy is the only true expression of Christianity, but if it is not to let Christianity down, democracy must be tremendously more efficient than it has been in the service of the common man, and in resistance to selfish pressure groups.

After this war is over, the democratic capitalistic nations will need to prove that they are supremely interested in full employment and full utilization of natural resources. They will need to demonstrate that the consuming power of their people can be made to equal their productive power. The right to work at a regular job and for a decent wage is essential to the true dignity of man.

If the Western democracies furnish full employment and an expanding production, they need have no fear of a revival of old-line Communist propaganda from within. If they do not furnish full employment, Communist propaganda of this kind is inevitable and there is nothing which the Russian government or our Government or any other government can do to stop it. In the event of long-continued unemployment, the only question will be as to whether the Prussian or Marxian doctrine will take us over first.

#### Must Meet Challenge.

I believe in the democratic doctrine—the religion based on the social message of the prophets—the heart insight of Christ, and the wisdom of the men who drew up the Constitution of the United States and adopted the Bill of Rights. By tradition and by structure we believe that it is possible to reconcile the freedom and rights of the individual with the duties required of us by the general welfare. We believe in religious tolerance and the separation of church and state, but we need to light again the old spirit to meet the challenge of new facts.

We shall decide some time in 1943 or 1944 whether to plant the seeds for World War No. 3. That war will be certain if we allow Prussia to rear either materially or psychologically. That war will be probable in case we double-cross Russia. That war will be probable if we fail to demonstrate that we can furnish full employment after this war comes to an end and fascist interests motivated largely by anti-Russian bias get control of our Government. Unless the Western democracies and Russia come to a satisfactory understanding before the war ends, I very much fear that World War No. 3 will be inevitable. Without a close and trusting understanding between Russia and the United States there is grave probability of Russia and Germany sooner or later making common cause.

Of course, the ground for World War No. 3 can be laid by actions of the other powers, even though we in the United States follow the most constructive course. For example, such a war would be inevitable if Russia should again embrace the Trotskyist idea of fomenting world-wide revolution, or if British interests should again be sympathetic to anti-Russian activity in Germany and other countries.

Another possible cause of World War No. 3 might rise out of our own willingness to repeat the mis-

who preach isolationism and hate of other nations are preaching a modified form of Prussian Nazism and the only outcome of such preaching will be war.

If we want peace, we must treat other nations in the spirit of democratic Christianity. We must make our religious practical. In our relations with China, for example, we must act in such a way as to enhance the material as well as the spiritual well-being of her people. So doing will not only be of spiritual advantage to ourselves, will not only do much to prevent war, but will give us more material prosperity than we can otherwise enjoy. And in saying this, I do not preach the missionary spirit as a forerunner of a new imperialism.

Nearly half the people of the world live in Eastern Asia. Seventy-eighths of them do not know how to read and write, but many of them listen to the radio and they know that the world is on the move and they are determined to move with it. We can at their request help them to move in knowledge toward a higher standard of living rather than in ignorance toward confusion and anarchy.

#### Opens Wide Field.

Throughout history, every big nation has been given an opportunity to help itself by helping the world. If such an opportunity is seized with a broad and generous spirit, an infinitude of practical possibilities opens up. Thousands of businessmen in the United States have seen this kind of thing happen on a smaller scale in their own businesses, as their broad and enlightened policies have increased their prosperity and given jobs to their neighbors. Christianity is not star-gazing or foolish idealism. Applied on a world-wide scale it is intensely practical. Bread cast upon the waters does return. National friendships are remembered. Help to starving people is not soon forgotten. We of the United States who now have the greatest opportunity that ever came to any people do not wish to impose on any other race or to thrust our money or technical experts or ways of thought on those who do not desire them. But we do believe that if we measure up to the responsibility which providence has placed on our shoulders, we shall be called on for help by many peoples who admire us. When we respond to this cry for help we shall be manifesting not only a Christian spirit, but also obeying a fundamental law of life.

We of the Western democracies must demonstrate the practicality of our religion. We must extend a helping hand to China and India; we must be firm and just with Prussia; we must deal honestly and fairly with Russia and be tolerant and even helpful as she works out her economic problems in her own way; we must prove that we ourselves can give an example, in our American democratic way, of full employment and full production for the benefit of the common man.

By collaborating with the rest of the world to put productive resources fully to work, we shall raise our own standard of living and help to raise the standard of living of others. It is not that we shall be taking the bread out of the mouths of our own children to feed the children of others, but that we shall cooperate with every one to call forth the energies of every one, to put God's earth more completely at the service of all mankind.

...of total war and the total state as the chief end of man. Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II modernized and made completely deceitful and ruthless that which Frederick the Great had founded.

Shortly after Kaiser Wilhelm II rose to power, a generation before the First World War, one of the more tender-hearted of the German generals said, in addressing his troops: "Our civilization must build its temple on mountains of corpses, an ocean of tears and the groans of innumerable dying men."

#### Urged to Seek Fight.

We know now, to our sorrow, that those were not just idle words. But God grant they will not be true much longer.

Bernhardi and Treitschke, through the printed page and through the classroom, preached the glory of war and the necessity of Germany picking a quarrel with England or France. Frederick the Great, Moltke and Bismarck were proclaimed as being superior to Goethe, Schiller, Bash and Beethoven. Hegel laid broad and deep the philosophy of the totalitarian state. Other philosophers, and especially Nietzsche, seized on the Darwinian doctrines of natural selection and survival of the fittest to erect a seemingly scientific but false materialism to justify their ruthless acts.

In saying all of this, I do not mean to indicate that Prussia was the only wicked state in the world. England, France, Russia, Spain and the United States were not always perfect. But Prussia and Japan were the only countries which systematically devoted the highest virtues of their citizenry, generation after generation, to the glorification of the State and to the ruthlessness of war.

The ancestors of many of the people of German origin in the United States were members of the minority in Germany who dissented from the extremist tendencies toward militarism. Thousands of these dissenters migrated to this country in the 20 or 30 years after the failure of the revolution of 1848. Their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren today are among our finest American citizens. They are patriotically doing their part in the present war for freedom, and we honor them for the spirit they have shown.

#### Old Germany Submerged.

It is in the years since 1848 that the liberal culture of the old Germany has been so completely submerged by the worship of strength and power. In this period of less than a century, under Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler, Germany has launched five aggressive wars.

The result has been that over the last 30 years the spirit of Prussianism has cost the lives of at least 20,000,000 men, has crippled at least 10,000,000 others and has caused the nations of the world to squander hundreds of billions of dollars on death, destruction and hate. How different things would have been if this money had been spent instead on peace, prosperity and understanding.

Germans by blood are neither

bitterly disillusioned of Prussianism and Hitlerism. Thousands of both young and old at home will feel the same way. They will honestly want to help build up a new democratic Germany, and we, without yielding at all to the old warlike spirit of Prussia, should encourage them to try. We shall need the help of all Germans who give convincing evidence that they do not subscribe to the "master race" myth and are genuinely opposed to the doctrine that might makes right. The re-education we insist upon should not crush out any sincere desire to practice democracy and live at peace among the world family of nations.

It will not be necessary for Americans to teach in the German schools. The all-important thing is to see that the cult of war and international deceit is no longer preached as a virtue in the schools. We cannot countenance the soft, lazy forgetfulness which characterized England and France in their treatment of Germany in the 30s. The cost of such short-sighted appeasement is too great in men and money. We must not go down that mistaken, tragic road again.

#### Marx Does Not Preach War.

All of my discussion thus far has been concerned with Prussianism. Now I want to talk about Marxism. This philosophy in some ways is the child of Prussianism, because Marx, its high priest, was molded in his thinking by Hegel, the great philosopher of the Prussian state. Marxism has used the Cheka, just as Prussianism has used the Gestapo, but it has never preached international war as an instrument of national policy. It does not believe one race is superior to another. Many of the Marxian activities of the last 10 years which people of the West have most condemned have been inspired by fear of Germany. The Russian people, who are the chief believers in Marxism, are fundamentally more religious than the Prussians. The great mass of the Russian people is still hungry for spiritual food. The Russians have a better opportunity to find that spiritual food than have the Prussians under the regime which glorifies the violence of the old Teutonic gods.

This question of religious freedom in Russia has been getting attention from the Church of England and from the Roman Catholic Church in this country. In a recent issue of the magazine *Commonweal*, which surely cannot be said to have Marxian leanings, the managing editor discussed two books by exiled Russians on the status of religion in Russia. Quoting from both books, one written under the auspices of the Church of England and the other by a professor at Fordham University, the editor came to the conclusion that the position of the Christian church in Russia has definitely improved.

The future well-being of the world depends upon the extent to which Marxism, as it is being progressively modified in Russia, and democracy, as we are adapting it to 20th century conditions, can live together in peace. Old-line

most constructive course. For example, such a war would be inevitable if Russia should again embrace the Trotskyist idea of fomenting world-wide revolution, or if British interests should again be sympathetic to anti-Russian activity in Germany and other countries. Another possible cause of World War No. 3 might rise out of our own willingness to repeat the mis-



## WORK, PEACE, AND HEALTH

This afternoon, addressing a gathering in Central Park, I said that personally I believe in the two-party system. But I pointed out that in Chile, where there are several parties, there is a genuine democracy and that every shade of opinion has a chance to express itself. And so tonight, I wish to repeat this view. While I myself am affiliated with one of the two older parties, I respect the right of every group to choose its own way of taking part in democracy. I especially respect the sincerity and sense of social responsibility which animate the faithful adherents of the American Labor Party. It is very appropriate that within the few short years of its existence, this party has seen fit on several occasions to chart its course parallel to that of the Democratic Party under the leadership of President Roosevelt.

Concerning one objective in particular the American Labor Party and the Democratic Party have a common point of view. That is the aim of maintaining full employment in the period after this war.

On my recent visit to seven countries of Central and South America, I found this problem of postwar employment uppermost in the minds of many people. In every country I met with the leaders of union labor, the farmers, the business men, and the high officials of government. The representatives of labor were especially concerned about postwar problems. They said they feared that after the war the United States and England would not take such large quantities of their products and

therefore they would be faced with serious unemployment. After talking over the matter, we all agreed that <sup>probably</sup> the most important contribution that could be made to the prosperity of the working man of South America would be full employment in the United States and England.

On various occasions I was asked to give extemporaneous talks to workers in factories or just outside of factories. In those talks I found myself taking as my theme the slogan, "Trabajo, paz, salud"--in other words, "work, peace and health." From time to time I developed the theme that the great success of Russia made it inevitable that the capitalistic democracies would be forced to work out programs for full employment after the war. With full employment, there is no reason why any of the western democracies should fear communism. With unemployment, it would be impossible for Stalin himself, no matter how hard he tried, to prevent the rapid growth of communism. I recognized that it would be difficult if not impossible for Latin American countries to prevent unemployment, <sup>on their own countries</sup> if there were serious unemployment in the United States or England. <sup>1</sup> Therefore I said that these neighbors to the south should have a tremendous interest in seeing that the United States and England shouldered their full responsibility with regard to postwar employment.

In South America I did not go into details, but I am glad to say here that the National Resources Planning Board, in cooperation with other governmental agencies, has worked out blueprints for billions of dollars of public facilities. It is important to have these all ready to be started when the economic shock of peace comes, if private

employment is not adequate to face the shock alone.

My own opinion is that while governmental preparedness of this sort is an essential safeguard against unemployment, our first thought should be to preserve the dynamic character of our economy. For example, I think it is important, at the right time and in the right way, to revise our taxation system sufficiently to place an incentive on the investment of capital which furnishes private employment in the production of needed goods and services. As one of my business friends puts it, a

business man ought to be able to get his bait back before he has to pay *new* too much in the way of taxation. *Otherwise, how can private enterprise employ anybody?*

It is not my intention to enter into a full discussion of the various ways in which our financial and fiscal system can be modified to assure the maximum of employment, or at least <sup>employment of</sup> the 55,000,000 which Senator George mentions as the working force of the United States for which jobs must be provided after the war. Suffice it to say that I am certain that men of good will and intelligence can manage <sup>our</sup> ~~these~~ financial problems in such a way as to increase employment rather than decrease it. This is especially true if all of us realize that in the long run there is only one type of deficit that is utterly and terribly crippling and indefensible and that is the deficit that comes from unemployment. We must act to prevent unbalanced budgets from leading to uncontrolled inflation, which in turn could lead to an economic collapse. But any attempt to balance the budget by creating industrial and commercial unemployment



could lead to an economic collapse which would be <sup>rather more</sup> ~~equally~~ devastating, *because in this case it would be a true dejection of humanity.*

To have the flow of capital without which full employment would be impossible, there must be an assurance of worldwide peace. There must be an international authority based on law and provided with power to enforce that law. We know as a result of our experience with air power that it is possible for the first time in the world's history to establish efficiently and at low cost an international peace force. Without the rule of law there will be the constant threat of war, and business will feel the same sense of insecurity which it felt because of the war clouds which so often hung low during the years leading up to 1939. To oppose effective international action for peace would be to lay the groundwork for unemployment in the postwar period.

With airplanes moving freely over the entire world, we shall all of us realize more promptly than hitherto the importance of good health everywhere over the world. Disease germs do not respect international boundaries. We in the United States will find it to our interest to cooperate with other nations in promoting health. I am convinced that the working people of the world today are less than half as efficient as they might be, as a result of lack of food, bad water, and disease. I know the situation can be changed enormously in a single generation.

There are a few who feel that if the working men in the United States take an interest in this big problem they will be building up competition for themselves. This is not true. We in the United States prosper as the world prospers. Full employment in the United States

and England is of great help to the working men of Latin America. In like manner, strong, healthy, well-nourished, well-trained working men and women in Latin America will increase their own productive and purchasing power, and therefore the prosperity of every working man and woman in the United States. The principles of Christianity are not only morally right--it is only by employing them that we can attain full prosperity here and help toward prosperity elsewhere.

The interest of Latin American people, I found, was not focussed on postwar problems to the exclusion of thought about winning the war. Everywhere I went I found on the part of all classes the desire to cooperate to the utmost toward victory. This desire seemed to be fully as strong as in the United States.

I have an uneasy feeling that many of us in the United States are now beginning to look on victory as a foregone conclusion--to feel that we can win without sacrifice. The truth of the matter is that we are just entering the phase of the war in which casualties will become heavier and heavier. Here at home, as we approach the maximum war effort, we shall be pouring materials and services into the war machine at the rate of 100 billion dollars a year. This represents an amount substantially above the total national income in 1929--which was the largest income in our history up to the outbreak of the present war. We can

supply this ~~tremendous~~ quantity of stuff only by increasing our production *tremendously, or by cutting our consumption,* or both. As a matter of fact, we have doubled our industrial production

^

since 1939. At the beginning of 1941, all but 15 per cent of our industrial production was for civilian purposes, but now two-thirds of <sup>This</sup>~~our industrial~~ production is for war. Further increase of war production can come only out of sacrifice--that is, out of reduced consumption.

There are many persons in the United States who are receiving a bigger income than they have ever had before in their lives and who feel that their income ought to be still bigger because the cost of living has gone up nearly one-quarter since 1939. Both farm income and labor income have gone up. Many farmers believe that the workers are unconscionable profiteers. This is not true. Many people in the cities look on the farmers as greedy and eager to take advantage of the nation in time of need. This also is not true. Both farmers and workers look on the manufacturers of war munitions as rolling in wealth. Some of them are making very large profits, even after paying taxes, but there are many others who today are serving the nation splendidly who will be lucky a few years hence if they are not in bankruptcy. There are many thousands both in union labor and in white collar jobs, who are getting an income which will buy much less than in 1939. There are thousands of small business men who have been ruined. There are thousands of farmers, especially in the dairy business, who not only are getting no return for their labor but are losing money month after month. The whole point of what I am trying to say is that if we are to pour 100 billion dollars worth of materials and services into the war effort, there must be ~~more~~

greater



sacrifice on the part of those whose income will buy more than it bought in 1939.

Those who point the finger of scorn solely at labor are doing no service to the general welfare. The same applies to those who criticize only farmers and business men. Too many of us are trying during the war to cash in on the needs of the world. Insofar as farmers, workers and business men succeed in taking advantage of the world in this time of need, they are storing up wrath for themselves in the days to come. If the greedy ones in all three classes have their way, the devils of inflation will chase themselves around and around in an ever ascending spiral until the roof blows off. But we don't have to let the inflation monsters loose. We can chain them up. We can prevent unemployment, business bankruptcy and the ruin of farmers later on. We can save ourselves untold misery in the days to come if the rank and file in labor, agriculture and business will control the extremists who are blinded by their own selfishness from the fact that they are plunging straight toward disastrous inflation.

It is possible to put a large part of the financial burden of the 100 billion dollars over on another generation, but the real burden that can not be put on anybody but ourselves is the burden of the sacrifice of materials which must be sent abroad right now if we are to win the victory. Those materials have to come out of our consumption--out of our stomachs, or off our backs, or out of our amusements. We can produce, as we did last year, 20 per cent more agricultural products than usual,

*show much per 28*

but when we are shipping 6 billion dollars worth a year abroad to feed our soldiers and our allies and the hungry and starving, the net effect is that we have less to eat here at home of the kinds of food we are accustomed to. We are not going hungry as a result, but we do have to put up with inconvenience. It is easy to talk about black markets and blame our fellow Americans. Perhaps some of them are guilty. Those who have broken the law must be prosecuted. The outstanding fact--more important 100 times over than all the mutual recriminations--is that we can do our job in the world today only by denying ourselves and producing to the utmost. When we deny ourselves, we can't produce quite as much as we would like. But we can do our best and that, I am happy to say, is what 99 per cent of the people in the United States are doing. *as a whole must* Workers are patriotic, *most* farmers are patriotic, *most* business men are patriotic. If we go down the road together in this spirit, putting everything we've got into the common cause in the same spirit as the magnificent Russians, I feel confident that we shall win everything but the final cleanup on the Western Front in this year of 1943.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WE ARE ALL AMERICANS

Address of the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, at a rally in Central Park, New York City, celebrating "I Am An American Day," broadcast over CBS network, 4:15 to 4:30 P.M. (EWT), Sunday, May 16, 1943.

Before me, gathered here in Central Park, I see many thousands who are proud and humble. They are proud to be citizens of this nation which stands for truth and justice and man's responsibility to man. They are humble in the knowledge that only through the spirit of selflessness and sacrifice can these sacred values be preserved.

Over the last several years, as we have witnessed the cruelty and destruction in other parts of the world, most of us have begun to appreciate what it really means to be an American, what it really means to enjoy the blessings of freedom and democracy. It took a terrible war and a dastardly attack to wake us up. Now our nation has dedicated itself anew to the age-old fight to keep the fires of freedom burning. It is a time for greatness--and we must measure up.

American boys, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their United Nations comrades in arms, have again proved their mettle--this time in Tunisia. Africa has been won. The fortress of Europe lies ahead.

But in this war the heroes are not all on one front. There are many fronts. Americans today are riding the bullet-riddled air over Germany, daring the submarine-infested waters of the Atlantic, stalking hidden danger in the jungles of faroff Pacific islands. Here at home, Americans



are doing their duty too. In factories, on farms, in homes and hospitals and offices--in countless ways that never can be told--millions are taking their full part. In this people's war, the fighters and the workers on every front have what it takes to win.

Here in the United States, I hope we do not forget that we possess no monopoly on the name, "American." I have just come back from visiting Americans in seven different countries--in Costa Rica, Panama, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. These Spanish-speaking Americans are just as patriotic citizens of the New World as any of us who speak English.

For centuries, the New World like a magnet has been drawing to itself those who in the Old World were defrauded of one or more of the Four Freedoms. Again and again the New World has given refuge to the thousands fleeing from the hangman and the despot.

From Canada to Chile, we are glad we are Americans. Nowhere in all my trip did I find greater pride in democracy than in Chile. Chile is a Catholic country, but it also contains a higher percentage of communists than almost any other country except Russia. The Radical Party, which is quite distinct from the Communist Party, is in power. There are also a large number of Socialists, Liberals and Conservatives. Personally I believe in the two-party system, but who can deny that in Chile they have a genuine democracy which gives every shade of opinion a chance to express itself? The interesting thing to me was to find all these varied groups from extreme left to extreme right so friendly to the United States, so eager to serve the cause of worldwide democracy, so anxious to produce results in field, mine and factory.

The picture which stands out most clearly in my mind from my experiences in Chile is of an evening meeting of miners in the open air where two or three labor leaders had paid their "respects" in very vigorous language to Hitler and the other enemies of democracy. The Alcalde, or mayor, had given his formal speech. The meeting was breaking up when a little girl of 14, obviously the daughter of one of the miners, came up on the platform holding her two-year-old brother by one hand and with the other gave me a bouquet of flowers as she said very proudly, "In the name of Chile!"

I received hundreds of floral gifts in other parts of Latin America, where flowers grow in riotous profusion, but in this particular part of Northern Chile the mining camp was surrounded by many miles of waterless desert, where there is not a single plant or animal except those supported by water piped in from a long distance. The miners have tiny plots of ground, perhaps eight by ten feet, which they can water if they so desire, to grow a few vegetables or flowers. This proud little Chilean girl, taking care of her baby brother, had planned for weeks in advance how on her very own to demonstrate the attitude of Chile, and especially the working people of Chile, toward the United States.

Those American miners in Chile have worked without sparing themselves in producing copper, which is absolutely essential to the effort of the United States in this war. I am hoping that when the peace comes, and they need our help, we Americans in the United States will not forget them.

In every country I visited are millions of Americans whole-heartedly at work in the service of the common cause. I think of the Bolivian tin



miners working in some of the highest mines in the world, 14,000 feet above the sea. Their wages are pitifully low according to standards in this country. I think of the Bolivian Indians toiling on their farms. By comparison with them, the miners are well off. I say the Bolivian tin miners and the Bolivian farmers, even though they may be of Indian blood and may speak only Quechua or Aymara, are Americans, that they are doing their part to win the war, and that we should not forget them when peace comes.

I vision the Mosquito bombers--the speediest bombers in the world --with which England torments Germany night after night so effectively, and then I think of the balsa logs, lighter than cork, which are used in their construction. I can see the Quayas River in Ecuador floating these logs down to the sawmills at Guayaquil. I can see the logs being jerked out of the water by half-naked men, cheerfully working day after day under hot, humid, disagreeable conditions. The speed and skill of their operations mean a lot to every English-speaking American who has a boy at the front.

I see in my mind's eye the men gathering rubber and quinine bark in the hot, steamy jungles of Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Panama. Don't let anyone tell you that we don't need this rubber which these Americans are getting for us. Synthetic rubber will do some things by itself, but if we are going to have really good combat tires for the boys at the fighting front, we need some natural rubber to go along with the synthetic. Consider the risks and hardships which these rubber gatherers must undergo. Some of them are working in places where the contraction of malaria is almost a certainty and the probability of death within two years is almost fifty-fifty.



We English-speaking Americans are only half the Americans of the New World. The other half, whether they speak Spanish, Portuguese, or French, whether they speak Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, Azteca, Mayan, Tarascan, or any other Indian tongue--whichever they speak, they are all good Americans too. Many of them have a longer and prouder lineage than you or I. Some are descended from the last Inca, some are descended from Cervantes.

But all true Americans know that the hope and glory of America is in the future and not in the past. We can all look hopefully to the day when the American of the future will apply the Four Freedoms to bring about complete productivity of labor in terms of better living conditions. In the lands to the south this means drainage of swamps, production of cheap quinine, and the building of roads, airports, and hospitals. If such projects are carried out, the Latin American child of the year 2,000 need have no fear of malaria or hookworm or the under-nutrition which produces tuberculosis. Americans were meant to be free from disease and hunger. This is one of the main jobs of the postwar period. We can do that job if we look upward and outward toward the future, and put our backs into the hard, practical work which lies ahead.

And all true Americans know that, in that future, New World and Old World can not live apart from each other. The airplane and the radio have indubitably made them one.

Since the epoch-making voyage of Columbus, currents of culture and of immigration have flowed from the Old World to the New. In both North and South America, whether we now speak English or French or

Spanish or Portuguese, we are the blending of many national and racial streams. Our ideas and ideals have come originally from the Old World, which has been the fountainhead of our populations.

Now, here in this hemisphere, these various national streams are producing a new race, with a new culture, and new ideas and ideals.

In this war, the young men of the New World are making their contribution to the cause of humanity in the whole world. They are giving their splendid health and energy, and even their lives, in that cause.

When the victory is won, another opportunity will open up before the people of the Western Hemisphere. Then it is that our ideals of democracy and peace and tolerance and good neighborliness can be an example, an inspiration to the people overseas. We have faith that some day these ideals will become the guiding stars of nations everywhere on this globe. Then, and then only, can we be sure that the sacrifices of today have not been made in vain. Today, we say with pride and humility that we are Americans, knowing in our hearts that Americanism in its deepest meaning stands for the freedom and the welfare and the brotherhood of the plain people of the world, wherever they may be.



Release on delivery  
June 6, 1943

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

COMMENCEMENT

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States, on the occasion of Commencement at the Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn., Sunday, June 6, 1943, at 12:30 P.M. (EWT), broadcast nationally over Mutual Broadcasting System.

We who are met here together in the midst of life, no matter how much joy and confidence we may have in the future, must, nevertheless, be prepared to face death. Not one of us can be immune.

I am thinking of a boy. He was such a fine boy, that boy who is now dead. He was a close friend of mine for eight years. Two years ago when he graduated from high school, he came to tell me how much opposed he was to the United States getting into the war. He was a pacifist, almost of the Quaker type, and the dignity of the individual, regardless of race, creed or color, meant everything to him. But he was strong physically, an excellent football player, and a good wrestler, and he had a complete disdain for physical fear. We talked. He said that we Americans were suckers to get into World War No. 1, that it was not our obligation to get involved twice in a European mess.

I told him I disagreed with him, and why. After sketching out for him Germany's five wars of aggression during the past 80 years, I told him that before we could start to work on the kind of world he wanted, it would be necessary to use force to destroy the power of the aggressor nations--to destroy their power so completely as to make it impossible for them to break the peace again.

George remained a pacifist in his heart, but he became a convert to the necessity of using physical force to fight this particular evil.



He never doubted that he and his comrades would defeat the Nazis and the Japs. He had no reservations whatsoever about doing first things first. He was utterly resolved to give his all to make sure of the first part of the program. But with regard to winning the peace, he was less optimistic. The last week he was home he said: "It's all baloney to talk about this younger generation winning the peace. We won't come to power for 20 years. The same generation that got us into this mess has got to get us out of it. What really matters is not what new thoughts we kids are thinking but what new thoughts you older guys are thinking. You'll be writing the ticket."

George is one of the millions of fine young men who have been killed as a result of this war. Many of you have your George. He may be a son, a brother, a sweetheart or husband, or a boy from the neighborhood. He may be living, he may be dead. The chances are he hates war just as my George did. He hates the necessity of hating in order to do his part toward winning for himself and the world the privilege of life and love.

George had supreme confidence in his generation, but less in my generation. He looked on many of the public men of our time as incipient appeasers. He considered them small-minded and short-sighted. He argued that they were easily frightened by pressure groups, that they were lost in the trees of the political forest, and that they were unlikely to rise to the challenge of the fundamental verities when brought face to face with the job of rebuilding a shattered world. In a letter written shortly before he was killed, George said: "It's after the war that the real fights will start. Plenty of people who couldn't change fast enough to prevent this war still sit in the seats of the mighty. Never forget that they'll be a lot stronger when this is over than they are now.

That's the time when we who are doing the fighting will need some real



leadership. This war is our job and we are going to win it on the battle fronts, come hell or high water. The really tough job is going to begin after the war when the same forces that got us into this one will be pitted against the men who've got the guts to fight for a world in which everybody can have a chance to do useful work. We kids are depending on you older guys not to let this thing happen again. What we're fighting for now must not die in an armistice."

Through George's meteoric life and symbolic death, I was forced into a more complete appreciation of the meaning of the death of Christ to his disciples. Something bright and shining and full of hope had passed from the world. It just couldn't be. Death couldn't end all. Christ must live. He must live in the world forever. Somewhere there must be a perpetual song of resurrection, ringing forth continuously the message of peace and good will. And now I conclude this vivid personal experience by saying: May it so be that my George, your George, and all those who have sacrificed their lives will so inspire us to effective action that they will not have died in vain. May many Georges live to hold my generation to account in building the peace, and to build upon that peace in such a way that the Georges of thirty years hence will treat, with reverence and love, the sacred values bought for them by death. May your children and my grandchildren be there greeting each new day in joy, confidence and creative endeavor.

George was right when he said that my generation will have the immediate responsibility for building the right kind of peace. But, as the years go on, that responsibility will pass to those who are young people now, to those who are in the armed services, to those who are graduating from college this year. No matter how wise the patterns of the peace set by the older generation, action within this framework will be the increasing responsibility of the younger generation. Day-to-day and month-to-month modifications will be



necessary to make the peace a live and dynamic contribution to human welfare.

The individual graduate of this particular college sitting before me on this June morning has perhaps a hundred thousand graduating companions in the United States this spring. It has cost not merely many thousands of dollars, but an infinitude of loving care to bring you to this stage of life. Only one out of 12 of our American boys and girls is given the privilege of graduating from college. Much will be expected from those to whom much has been given. In an astonishingly short time many of you will begin to have influence in your respective communities. On you will fall the heavy burden of the day-to-day job of maintaining a just peace, 10 or 20 years from now when the memories of this vile war have faded and new and difficult economic problems have arisen.

Maintaining a peace is like keeping a garden in good order. You have to work at it day in and day out, otherwise the rains wash away the soil, and the weeds get so deeply rooted that it is impossible to pull them out without destroying many good plants as well.

If we are not to break faith with the boys who have died, we must invent better machinery for weeding the world garden. First, and above everything else, we must have an intense desire to make this machinery succeed. We can then work out the details of disarming aggressor nations, of preventing the exploitation of small, weak nations, and of seeing to it in the future that no aggressor nation can start on the path which leads to breaking the peace of the world.



We must appeal to the Axis youth, especially German youth, and if possible get their cooperation. The task of all the peace-loving peoples will be to build into the next generation the knowledge and character required to maintain a just and lasting peace.

The present false attitude of the German people toward war finds its roots in the Prussian school system and especially in the type of militaristic education which became more prevalent as a reaction to defeat by Napoleon. The Danish educator Grundtvig, writing in 1838, predicted that German education would finally kill the Germans. He pointed out that following the Napoleonic wars the German schools, which he called schools of death, had been teaching the youth to believe that the Germans were better than anyone else, that the rest of the world existed to serve them and be dominated by them, and that their will should be imposed on the rest of the world by force.

When the education of youth goes wrong, sooner or later all goes wrong. There had existed in Germany a fine, liberal tradition. There had lived men like Luther with his emphasis on freedom, Kant with his message on peace, Goethe with his belief in international understanding and cooperation, and Beethoven, who early in the Napoleonic wars thought a new day of liberty was being born. Out of the culture fostered by these men, and many others like them, came Carl Schurz and the other



German liberals of that era who contributed so vitally to the building of many progressive communities in the Middle West of the United States. Not all the liberal Germans left Germany, but those who remained--they, their children and their grandchildren--were subject to the increasing tyrannies of Bismarck and Hitler.

I believe that in the prevention of World War No. 3--in keeping faith with the boys who have given their lives--much will depend on just how we handle the German youth immediately following this war. I think of the experience of a man who today is a professor in one of our American universities but who in World War No. 1, as a boy of 17, had spent just a few months in the German army when peace came. With thousands of other German boys, he immediately set out to finish his education. He described to me a few days ago how most of the German students, in the winter of 1918-19 and the years that followed, felt liberated from the terror of war and from the routine of army life. They were hungry for spiritual food. Living on the poorest quality of black bread, eating in soup kitchens, and studying at night in cold rooms, they were bound together by hardship but buoyed up by the faith that they would rebuild themselves through books toward spiritual understanding and a new order --a democratic order. They knew that Germans had lost in the external world, but they dreamed of creating a rich internal world to replace the loss. They eagerly hoped for a lasting peace. They demonstrated this at Munich in 1921, when they gave a tumultuous welcome to the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

But, according to my German professor friend, the Allied powers had no interest in the glorious hopes among the German university youth of that day. The Allies provided no incentive for education in democratic



traditions. And so the German youth fell into the hands of retired army generals, monarchist professors, and politicians. Thus the way was prepared for Hitler and Goebbels to return German education to the teaching of racial superiority, war, and death.

We must not repeat the mistakes made by the Allies after World War One. This time we must see that the defeat of Germany is complete. The Germans themselves will probably wreak vengeance on their Nazi overlords. In any event, we must see that the guilty are punished. And we must not again fail the German young people who, in the depth of their material hunger and misery, will have a great philosophic and spiritual hunger. That these strong and despairing emotions may be guided toward a good end is a matter of supreme importance for the world.

The German postwar youth of World War Two need not be forced to embrace either communism, a new type of totalitarianism, or <sup>even</sup> the particular type of democracy which we have in the United States. We shall not need to send school teachers from the United States into the German schools, but we can make sure that the liberal element in Germany has an opportunity to replace the Nazi school books and the Nazi methods of teaching.

I am a great believer in the Danish folk high school and the Scandinavian systems of cooperation. I believe they are well adapted to the German situation, once militarism and totalitarianism are stamped out. A considerable segment of the German people has long admired the emphasis placed on peace, cooperation and fruitful work by the various Scandinavian countries. The German youth must be encouraged to develop a peaceful, worth-while purpose in life. I believe there are Germans



who are steeped in the German liberal tradition and the ideals of Scandinavian cooperation, to whom this job can safely be entrusted.

Not only in Germany, but in our own and other countries the type of education which prevails may well determine whether we succeed in building a world of law and order and productive work. Our educational system has many splendid achievements to its credit, and it can be even more fully adapted to the needs of modern, highly-integrated society.

Working for peace and the general welfare is the essence of all true education and all true religion. It is the Sermon on the Mount in action.

All the schools in the world will have to be reborn after this great conflict, if the boys who have died are not to have died in vain. In the years to come it will be even more important for the schools to teach character than to teach facts. In the teaching of character, the essential thing will be the ability of the teacher to kindle enthusiasm--enthusiasm for knowledge, but especially enthusiasm for the greater good. There is something about the spoken word of the person who is deeply moved inside which carries great conviction. Neither the book nor the radio can ever take the place of the face-to-face contact with the living teacher. May the emphasis on system never stamp out of our schools the personal equation--the communication, by friendship and the power of the spoken word, of a boundless enthusiasm for all the facts of nature and human life which lead to peace and vital living. May the vision of a new and finer and more orderly world animate the teachers of every country. In their hands is the hope of the future.

Many of the teachers will of course continue to be women. In the building of character and the communication of enthusiasm, the majority of women throughout history have demonstrated a unique capacity. In



the field of original investigation and in administrative positions they have not been as prominent as men. While I am sure that many women have excellent executive ability, yet I can not help thinking that their greatest contribution for many generations to come will result from their capacity to stimulate the best in others. The kindling of inspiration is an art rather than a science. The ultimate function of most women's minds is to synthesize rather than to analyze, to build up rather than to tear down. Doubtless the women's colleges will continue the trend of recent years in the direction of enabling their graduates to realize most effectively that which they are by nature--women capable of communicating enthusiasm and building character. And may this all be for the purpose of insuring harmonious living together on every level of existence--in the family, in the nation, and in the family of nations. If the women of the world really make their influence felt, war will surely be outlawed and stay outlawed.

And in the hands of every one who is going out into the work of the world--whatever it may be--is the responsibility for keeping faith with those who have died. This is the true commencement, which has come for you here, this June Sabbath day. Commencement time will come to the world when the armies stop marching, when the men return to the factories and fields, and when the statesmen get down to planning in real earnest. Commencement time is a sudden break with the past. It is a new opportunity. There may be disillusionment or fulfillment.

After the first World War many boys came home from overseas, looking for the better conditions that would justify the lives that had been spent. Instead, they found prices sky-rocketing and a national fever for making money. There was a sad lack of planning on the part of the



statesmen of both parties. Neither domestic nor foreign policies were well thought out. Thousands of these boys were lured into the speculative excitement and were ruined. All of our people have paid a bitter price in the suffering that has followed.

As a nation we decided we were not ready to take on adult responsibilities after World War No. 1. We weren't ready even to graduate from high school, and some of us wanted to go back to the eighth grade. Now, whether we like it or not, we must get out into the world and work. The easy days of sheltered isolation are over. We have grown up. We must live day after day with the family of nations, furnishing our share of leadership, even though we are reluctant to do it. Our feeling of responsibility must match our economic power, or the mere fact of that economic power will rot us inside and make us a prey either to internal revolutionary forces or external aggression.

Yes, commencement time is here. Responsibility has begun. Life has come upon us. The joys of opportunity and service lie ahead. No generation has ever had such an opportunity. The world has never had such an opportunity. We must make the dead live. We must make them live in the world's commencement of abiding peace based on justice and charity.



H. A. Wallace

Detroit

Monday, June 10, 1943

Dear Mr. Brooks:

First the V. P. was presiding in the Senate, and then he had left the office for the day, so I talked with Mr. Young. I told him the number of organizations that had agreed to cooperate with Free World in sponsoring the meeting for Wallace, named the most impressive, and described the membership of the Free World Sponsoring Committee, etc. He said he was glad to know of the fine groundwork that had been done, and to go right ahead. I replied I could go no further without knowing definitely if Wallace were coming and if F. W. would be the organizing committee.-- He said he would be able to tell me Thursday, and told me that someone had canvassed the situation for him here last week.

He is to talk with newspaper men and labor leaders on Wednesday. (Mr. Thomas, President of U. A. W. is going to Washington tomorrow) all of which checks with what he told you. But he let drop a remark which I thought might be a clue as to why he does not want to commit Wallace to a talk with F. W. the initiator--and that was--Wallace is going to make a speech that is not particularly a Free World speech. Mr. Young said he was coming to Detroit later in the week--maybe. I said a group of Free World Leaders here would like to meet with him. He said, "I will surely get in touch with them--when I get there." He promised to let me know what he had decided on, Thursday, and to let me know when he comes to Detroit. But, like you, I have my fingers crossed.

Enclosed is the list of organizations contacted by me in behalf of Free World. I talked this afternoon with Mr. Dave Connery, Secretary to R. J. Thomas. He said of course U. A. W. would cooperate, but since it is a part of the Wayne County Council, C. I. O., and since this is a Detroit meeting, the cooperation of Mr. Patrick Quinn, President should be secured. I had already talked with Mr. Quinn.

Enclosed is a list of the Free World Committee to date. Others I am contacting tomorrow, and still others, whom we know to be interested, will be invited to the meeting, which Mr. Bates and the Executive Committee wish to have on July 8. It was their idea from the beginning to invite the Free World subscribers to a meeting as soon as possible. They were interested to know Dolivet would be in the middle West, and want him for a meeting on July 8. (He can easily go from Chicago to Detroit for such a meeting as far as time is concerned). Will you check with him and I will also wire when confirming the Chicago meeting. (I wrote about the Chicago meeting to Mr. Dolivet at the New York Office on June 12).

Mr. Bates has not yet received the stamped addressed envelopes. Will you ask the N. Y. Office to send them this week surely?

Monday

June 10, 1943

Thank you very much for the helpful suggestions about people to see in Detroit, and the letter from Smertenko to Adler. The latter told me there were three key people for the nationality groups:

- (1.) George Pirinsky, Mich. Com., American Slav Congress, whom I saw and who was enthusiastic about F. W., (the Congress will cooperate and Pirinsky will join the sponsoring Committee.)
- (2.) Chester Kozdziej, attorney, head of the Polish Central Citizens Committee (will see tomorrow).
- (3.) Paul Deac, head of Americans All (some 40 nationality groups). I had already seen Deac.

His cooperation depends on whether the Wallace matter can be cleared up. Young told me neither he or anyone in the office, knew anything about any engagement to speak here May 16. I told this to Deac today. He said a meeting of the Board of 'Americans All' is to be held tonight and a resolution passed censoring the government for failure to supply a speaker. I said it should be made clear Wallace was not to blame and knew nothing about it. He requested for this purpose a wire from Young which I telephoned him to send, but I doubt if he will. I hope he will, however, because it is tremendously important if Wallace is to speak here. I am to see Deac at 11 in the morning, at his request. I shall get the cooperation for Free World of 'Americans All' even if the Wallace matter is not clarified.

In regard to the people mentioned by Mr. Smertenko--Bingay of the Free Press would knock Free World and kill it if he could, and he hates Wallace. The Free Press, The Times, and The Detroit News would only abstain from knocking Wallace and doing everything possible to make the people think the mass meeting is a fourth term and Wallace for V. P. meeting IF the first announcement carries the sponsorship of the organizations I have contacted which include Detroit leaders they will not want to antagonize. I told Harold Young this. Our ace in the hole is this list of organizations which Young can only get from us. Of course, he can arrange a meeting of 10 or 20 thousand through Thomas and the U. A. W., but that certainly would not give the non-partisan character and general city-wide support I should think he would want for a rally for the V. P.

Smertenko also wrote about the NAACP and its President. The Secretary, Gloster Aurent, was at our first meeting and I had already written McClendon (The Pres.) asking the cooperation of the NAACP for the Wallace meeting. I have not yet decided whether we should get the sponsorship of the Civil Liberties League (further checking is necessary) but Paul Deac I had of course seen, and Whittet of the War Labor Board I shall see tomorrow.



Monday June 10, 1943

Many thanks for those suggestions and I shall be glad to know what you hear from the Anti-Defamation League.

I have more to write you, but this letter is already much too long. Please forgive my very bad handwriting and mistakes—your personally typewritten letter needed no apology and I am sorry I cannot do so good a job in longhand as you do on the typewriter.

Most Sincerely

(signed)

DOROTHY MC ALLISTER



ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE AGREED TO CO-OPERATE  
WITH FREE WORLD IN SPONSORING A MASS MEETING  
FOR VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE:

Michigan C. I. O. Council	Detroit Council of Churches
League of Women Voters	Metropolitan Youth Council
Pan American League	Natl. Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Russian War Relief	Mich. Slav Congress
French War Relief	Detroit Assn. for Adult Education
American Federation of Teachers	Wayne County Council, Civilian Defense
	Jewish Community Council

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY WILL JOIN IN SPONSORING  
THE MEETING BUT HAVE DEFERRED FINAL ANSWER UNTIL  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ACTS ON THE MATTER:

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (The Commission has already offered Free World the use of their offices, mimeograph equipment, and secretarial assistance.)	Women's Internationnal Council British War Relief Federation of Women's Clubs Business and Professional Women Polish Central Citizens Committee Americans-All Wayne County Council, C. I. O.
Foreign Policy Association Detroit Branch, American Assn. University Women Metropolitan Y. W. C. A.	

ORGANIZATIONS STILL TO BE CONTACTED:

United Automobile Workers - *will cooperate*  
Wayne County Council, A. F. of L.  
Chinese War Relief  
Fighting French  
Social Workers' Club  
Municipal Civilian Council of Defense

DETROIT FREE WORLD COMMITTEE

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN:

Rev. Merrill Otis Bates, Tu 2-9294  
403 Rivard Blvd.

Mrs. Caroline Burlingame, Rand 8426  
424 Bonnie Briar Bir. 1532  
Birmingham, Mich.

Miss Dorothy Cline  
8024 Superior  
Centerline, Mich.

Mr. George Edwards, Ho 2759  
Councilman  
4300 Glendab

Mrs. George Edwards, Ho 2759  
4300 Glendale

Atty. Harry L. Winston, Cad. 7900  
483 Aspen Road  
Birmingham, Mich.

Mrs. Harry L. Winston, Cad. 7900  
483 Aspen Road  
Birmingham, Mich.

Mrs. Angus McLay (Vice-President  
Wimbledon Road Wallace's sister)  
Birmingham, Mich.

Mrs. Bayre Levin,  
1470 Edison

Mr. Andrew Brown  
Council of Social Agencies  
51 West Warren

Miss Hazel Osborn, Ca. 9220  
YWCA, 2230 Witherell St.

Mrs. Pauline Bass, Cad. 4713  
Fair Emp. Practice Committee  
309 Hammond Bldg.

Miss Isabelle Tanalska,  
Centerline 1616 M  
Pres. Polish Youth Group  
8024 Superior,  
Centerline, Mich.

G. Lesniewicz,  
~~Clearing House on Polish Questions~~  
Polish Telegraph Agency

Mr. Gloster Current, Temple 1-3609  
Sec. N. A. A. C. P.  
446 E. Warren

Mr. Herbert McCreedy, Cad. 7673  
Mich. C. I. O. Council  
Vice President  
803 Hofmann Bldg.

Mr. John J. O'Brien, Chairman,  
Fighting French  
(Citizens for Victory former State Chairman)  
486 Kercheval  
Grosse Pointe, Mich.

Mr. Isaac Frank, Ch. 1657  
803 Washington Bldg.  
Secy. Jewish Com. Council

Dr. Francis Creamer, Ni-4841  
1 Christ Church Lane  
Chairman, Russian War Relief Ra. 3925  
Grosse Pointe, Mich.

Mrs. Rosa Gragg, Trin. 1-1485  
459 E. Ferry Ave. (Negro)

Rev. Robert S. Whitehead, Cad. 4128  
Chairman, French War Relief  
2170 E. Jefferson Ave.

Miss Mary Hoagland, Secretary,  
American Federation of Teachers  
1130 Parker Ave.

Miss Ruth Rutzen,  
Detroit Public Library  
7368 Poe

Mr. Ralph Ulveling  
Detroit Public Library  
20434 Lichfield

DETROIT FREE WORLD COMMITTEE

-2-

Dr. David O. Henry, Temple 1-1450  
Chairman, Com. to Study Organization  
of Peace

18884 Gainsboro

Mrs. John Lewis, Fitzroy 8385  
1005 Parker Ave.

Mrs. Donald McGuire, Vermont 5-1656  
Pres., League of Women Voters  
14910 Glastonbury

Mrs. Frank G. Vincent,  
Detroit Chapter, American Council  
on Soviet Relations  
17138 Greenlawn

Mrs. Dorothy Roosevelt, Trin. 2-4900  
WPB, Labor Production Div.  
617 Boulevard Bldg.  
516 Waddington Rd., Birm. 2710

Dr. Edgar Dewitt Jones  
8920 Woodward

Mr. Edward Levinson } Trinity 1-6600  
Mr. Victor Reuther }  
Mr. Fred ~~Sawert~~ (Sweet)  
U. A. W., C. I. O.  
411 West Milwaukee

Mrs. Charles Shanley, Birm. 207  
Foreign Policy Association,  
813 Pierce St.

Mrs. Oscar Starrett, T.O. 6-2210  
Chairman, Detroit Assn. for  
Adult Education  
2237 Calvert

Mrs. Douglas Brown, Townsend 8-4355  
Women's International Council  
19470 Lucerne Drive

Miss Frances Comfort, Townsend 8-9220  
American Federation of Teachers,  
2712 Lawrence

Mr. and Mrs. Willard Pope, Plaza 9851  
1705 Seminole

Dean Walter Lessenger, Te 1-1450  
Dean of Wayne University  
Wayne University

Rabbi Morris Adler, Tyler 4-6200  
(Office)  
3290 Collingwood

Mr. George Pirinsky, Cad. 0-256  
Mich. Committee American Sav  
Congress  
900 Hofmann Bldg., Woodward Ave.

Mr. Philip Adler  
Detroit News

Mrs. William Alvord, Ma 7-341  
International Center Y. W. C. A.  
2431 East Grand River Blvd.

Mrs. Kimball

*46 W. Keity*

Judge Frank Picard, Rand. 6142  
854 Federal Bldg.



1530 Milton Street S.E.  
Grand Rapids 6, Michigan

June 16, 1943



My dear Mr. Wallace:

I deeply regretted that I was unable to get in touch with you by telephone on Monday, but I realize that your overwhelming duties made it impossible. What I wanted to discuss with you was the proposed meeting in Detroit on July 25th, at which you may be the speaker.

My connection with the affair results from the fact that some time ago the Free World Association asked me to help promote their objectives and program in the Middle West. Of course, you understand that all of my work for the Association is purely volunteer and unpaid.

Some weeks ago, Mr. Dolivet, Mr. Howard Brooks, and officials of the Free World Association, advised me that they had made tentative plans, through Mr. Young, for a gigantic mass meeting on that day, which Free World would organize and sponsor, with the co-operation of as many other civic, educational, labor, and nationality groups as possible.

I have been working on this for the past three weeks, and have made several trips to Detroit. As a result, I have secured, in the name of Free World, the co-operation of some twenty-five organizations, among them, the CIO, UAW, AFL, League of Women Voters, Pan-American League, Detroit Council of Churches, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Foreign Policy Association, and some twenty nationality groups.

I have also arranged for Honorable Frank Picard, United States District Judge, who is a charter member of the Detroit Free World chapter, to preside at the meeting. Of course, it is understood that these arrangements are subject to final confirmation

by you or Mr. Young, and they have been given absolutely no publicity, in accordance with Mr. Young's request.

Within the past week, an uncertainty has developed as to whether Free World is to initiate and organize the meeting, with the co-operation of the other groups, or whether it is to be merely one of the numerous sponsors. What I wish to know, is whether the meeting will be held under the auspices of the Free World Association, with the above-mentioned groups co-operating, and whether you will be in Detroit to speak on July 25th. I would like to secure definite answers to these questions. Otherwise, I will be obliged to inform the leaders and organizations I have contacted, that the date is not certain; and I will be obliged to discontinue my efforts in the matter, since they have been made as the representative of Free World, and with the understanding that Free World would be responsible for organizing the meeting.

I hope very much that you will come to our state this summer to speak--because I know what far-reaching and beneficial effects it would have on the war effort and plans for the peace.

Judge McAllister joins me in kindest remembrances to you and Mrs. Wallace.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed)

Dorothy McAllister

The Vice-President  
Henry A. Wallace  
The Wardman Park Apartments  
Washington, D.C.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

June 18, 1943

Mrs. Dorothy McAllister  
1530 Milton Street  
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dear Mrs. McAllister:

I have just seen a carbon copy of the letter you wrote Mr. Wallace. I believed after our talks over the telephone that you understood the situation clearly.

The facts are that several months ago, when Mr. Wallace was in Columbus, Ohio, twenty-six presidents of state CIO organizations called on him. At that time, they said that they would like very much for him to make a speech in Detroit, and that they would guarantee him an audience of from one hundred thousand to one hundred fifty thousand people. Various church leaders, newspaper people, and radio people have also been insisting that Mr. Wallace make a speech in Detroit. He is not interested in building up himself, but he does like to speak when he has an important message to deliver as he did at the Free World meeting in New York. He feels that he will have a message to deliver in Detroit, and I believe that he will speak there on or about July 25.

Mr. Dolivet has not talked with me or with Mr. Wallace lately. Mr. Brooks comes in to see me from time to time. I have tried to be helpful, and have often given him names of people who can be beneficial to Free World. Not long ago, I told him that there is a possibility that Mr. Wallace will speak in Detroit, and he asked whether it would be all right for you to ask various groups in Detroit what they thought of the idea. Instead of simply doing that,



he got the idea some way or other that this was to be a Free World meeting which is responsible for many telephone calls from him, your telephone calls to me, and your letter to Mr. Wallace.

Mr. Duncan Moore, of Detroit, was here yesterday. I told him that you had mentioned Judge Piccard to me, and he thinks as you do that Judge Piccard would be ideal to serve as chairman of a big meeting. In my telegram to you I asked that you please get in touch with Mr. Duncan Moore.

My idea about the meeting is this: That it will not be a Free World meeting, a church meeting, or a union meeting, but that it be an all-Detroit meeting under the sponsorship of representative people of Detroit. As I told you, I am sure that you and your friends will have a big part in it. I expect to be in Detroit as soon as I can get away which will be the latter part of next week, and I shall get in touch with you as soon as I arrive. Better than that, I shall wire you before I leave.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Young  
Assistant to the  
Vice President

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Hawalee  
V. P.

Mrs. Dorothy McAllister  
1530 Milton Street  
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dear Henry:

Here are three editorials ~~in~~ which you may be interested. The one entitled "An Inevitable Conflict" was written, all but a couple of sentences, by Marshall Field. Some weeks ago I was told by a close friend of J.J. that he has a letter from F.D.R. holding him back on building up rubber stockpiles, the story being that Winston Churchill (another friend of J.J. told me it was Lord Lothian) assured F.D.R. that there was no chance of the British losing Malaya.

This was being cited a few months ago in Texas circles as evidence (1) of Jesse's great devotion to the President, since he had taken a cruel public beating in order to shield his boss, and (2) as proof that if F.D.R. knew what was good for him he wouldn't tangle with Jesse on the stockpile issue.

With best wishes,

Irving Brant

The Chicago Sun

400 West Madison Street,

Chicago, Illinois

July 6, 1943



July 11, 1943

When one leaves the place he was born and lived until manhood, he need not ever expect the important persons in the community to retain affection or operating normalcy. As long as my personality was operating in Austin, Texas, the house and phones were busy with the affectionate voices of the prominent people. They are silent now. Distance in time and space and the refusal to do favors or to promote promotions has caused this.

As you left Des Moines, you found on your Washington job, that the bringing in of Des Moines people such as Darling, Appleby, LeCron, etc., did not make an increasing harmony.

While I do not intimately know the Cowles family, I do know that the father and the two sons consider themselves the royal family of Des Moines. In the subconscious of such egotism you become a pain in the neck and your father and your father's father.

I believe the present engagement of this family, which is centered on making a Republican President, is strong enough to refuse justice to you.

The family has Wilkie first--Stassen second--or Wilkie missing in '44 and Stassen winning in '48, as its egotistic objective.

The clumsy movement of Cowles to help Jones was probably caused by a subconscious desire to eliminate you from importance. Probably such diverse factors as Jones, Gillett, Wilkie, Stassen, and a host of Iowans unknown to me have been speaking adversely of you and yours for many years to the Cowles group because they have found pleasurable acceptance of their disparagement.

I do not think it basically important whether Cowles wrote anything for Jones. The real importance is that the weight of this family always will be against you. Your direct attitude is to ignore the psychological truth; but to be prepared at all times and not to attempt to promote the public welfare through too large a use of men who would destroy you personally.

Note: I will pick up the truth of the Cowles-Jones business as soon as possible.

Detroit

Release in papers appearing on the  
street after 5 p.m. Sunday, July 25

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

AMERICA TOMORROW

Address of the Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice  
President of the United States, before a  
meeting sponsored by the Detroit labor and  
civic organizations at the State Fair Grounds,  
Detroit, Michigan, Sunday, July 25, 1943,  
broadcast over NBC, 4:30 p.m. EWT.

Three months ago in South America I found that the  
lowliest peon looked on President Roosevelt as the symbol of  
his dearest aspirations in the peace to come. So it is also  
in China and occupied Europe. I have known the President  
intimately for ten years and in the final showdown he has  
always put human rights first. There are powerful groups  
who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration  
on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished  
on the domestic front over the last ten years. Some people  
call these powerful groups "isolationists," others call  
them "reactionaries" and still others, seeing them following  
in European footsteps, call them "American fascists." They  
are out to destroy first the President's domestic program,  
second the President himself, and finally they hope to control  
America and the world.

Sooner or later the machinations of these small but  
powerful groups which put money and power first and people  
last will inevitably be exposed to the public eye. My  
purpose today, however, is to talk about the America of  
tomorrow.

There are some who want to stick to what they would have us believe are the realities of the present. Their quick comeback to any question on our peace objectives is, "We must not discuss anything except the war."

There are others who want to stick to what they hold are the realities of the past. They have a stock reply when asked about the peace: "Let us wait and see what England and Russia do before we make our plans."

Both opinions are fighting delaying actions against our destiny in the peace--a destiny that calls us to world leadership.

When we as victors lay down our arms in this struggle against the enslavement of the mind and soul of the human family, we take up arms immediately in the great war against starvation, unemployment and the rigging of the markets of the world.

We seek a peace that is more than just a breathing space between the death of an old tyranny and the birth of a new one.



We will not be satisfied with a peace which will merely lead us from the concentration camps and mass-murder of Fascism--into an international jungle of gangster governments operated behind the scenes by power-crazed, money-mad imperialists.

Starvation has no Bill of Rights nor slavery a Magna Carta. Wherever the hopes of the human family are throttled, there we find the makings of revolt.

The world was waiting for us to take the initiative in leading the way to a people's peace after World War I, but we decided to live apart and work our own way.

Hunger and unemployment spawned the criminal free-booters of Fascism. Their only remedy for insecurity was war. Their only answer to poverty and the denial of opportunity became the First Commandment of the Nazis: "LOOT THY NEIGHBOR."

Much of our propaganda after the first World War proclaimed the ingratitude of our Allies. We had given of our best blood and our separate fortunes only to be labelled the land of Uncle Shylock.

We changed it to Uncle Sam and said, "Never again."

How many of us after this second world-wide scourge of suffering and death will say, "Never Again"?

Shall it be "Never again" to joining in seeking world peace? Shall it be "Never again" to living alone on an

island of false security? Shall it be our second retreat from our responsibility in world cooperation?

Ours must be a generation that will distill the stamina and provide the skills to create a war-proof world. We must not bequeath a <sup>third</sup> ~~second~~ blood-bath to our children.

World leadership must be more concerned with welfare politics and less with power politics--more attentive to equalizing <sup>ing</sup> the use of raw materials of nations than condoning the policies of grab and barter that freeze international markets--more interested in opening channels of commerce than closing them by prohibitive tariffs--more mindful of the need for a stable currency among all countries than in high interest rates on loans. World leadership must be more occupied with preventing the political house burners from setting off the fires of revolt than stopping them after they start.

But world cooperation cannot enforce such standards of international justice and security by paper diplomacy and remote control.

Our choice is not between a Hitler slave-world and an out-of-date holiday of "normalcy." The defeatists who talk about going back to the good old days of Americanism mean the time when there was plenty for the few and scarcity for the many.



Nor is our choice between an Americanized Fascism--and the restoration of pre-war scarcity and unemployment. Too many millions of our people have come out of the dark cellars and squalor of unemployment ever to go back.

Our choice is between democracy for everybody or for the few--between the spreading of social safeguards and economic opportunity to all the people--or the concentration of our abundant resources in the hands of selfishness and greed.

The American people have brought a brave and clear conscience to this crisis of all mankind. Every family, every community,--feeling the denials and restraints of war, has been forced to search for a bed-rock of faith.

And in that tomorrow when peace comes, education for tolerance will be just as important as the production of television. The creation of a decent diet for every family will take as much planning as the building of new cars and refrigerators and washing machines.

Along with Britain, Russia and China our nation will exert a tremendous economic and moral persuasion in the peace.

But many of our most patriotic and forward looking citizens are asking, "Why not start now practising these Four Freedoms in our own back yard?"

They are right! A fuller democracy for all is the lasting preventive of war. A lesser or part-time democracy breeds the dissension and class conflicts that seek their solution in guns and slaughter.



We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad and condone race riots at home. Those who fan the fires of racial clashes for the purpose of making political capital here at home are taking the first step toward Nazism.

We cannot plead for equality of opportunity for peoples everywhere and overlook the denial of the right to vote for millions of our own people. Every citizen of the United States without regard to color or creed, whether he resides where he was born, or whether he has moved to a great defense center or to a fighting front, is entitled to cast his vote.

We cannot offer the blueprints and the skills to rebuild the bombed-out cities of other lands and stymie the rebuilding of our own cities. Slums have no place in America.

We cannot assist in binding the wounds of a war-stricken world and fail to safeguard the health of our own people.

We cannot hope to raise the literacy of other nations and fail to roll back the ignorance that clouds many communities in many sectors of our own nation. Democracy can work successfully for that future which is its predestined heritage only when all people have the opportunity for the fullest education.

The world is a neighborhood. We have learned that starvation in China affects our own security--that the jobless in India are related to the unemployed here. The Post War Problems Committee of the National Association of

Manufacturers (business men all) has wisely declared that increased production in other countries will not reduce living standards in the United States. Those twisters of fact who shriek that your Vice President is a wild-eyed dreamer trying to set up T.V.A.'s on the Danube and deliver a bottle of milk to every Hottentot every morning should read that report. No business prospers without prosperous customers. That is plain common sense.

The average American may not be an expert on all phases of our economic and political life. He may not understand completely the complexities of money and markets. He may never feel completely at home in the intricacies of world trade as they are affected by tariffs and cartels. He may not know too much about parity farm prices and subsidies.

But the average American does know what happens when inflation comes--when prices rise faster than wages, and he knows that the worst lie of all is that the way to make money is to produce scarcity. The common man in America, and every American soldier over seas, wants free enterprise and full employment. He wants to see the great new war plants converted into plants producing peacetime goods. He knows that he and others have acquired new skills and they should be put to use. The average man of America knows that we can make and consume all



goods which make for a higher standard of living. He wants and he must have a job, enough to eat and wear, decent shelter, his own home and automobile, and a chance to educate his children.

He knows that high tariff protection for our markets leads only to retaliation and boycotts by other countries.

He knows that no coalition of nations can weather the innumerable impacts of money and trade monopolies. He witnessed the collapse of sanctions under the League of Nations and the growth of dictatorships that appealed to their peoples by promising to free them from economic slavery. He is convinced that nations must be organized by something more than trade pacts and non-aggression treaties. The peace-makers must have more daring and vision than the war-makers.

A year ago I cited the four duties of the people's revolution as I saw them. They were:

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.

Millions of our people from offices and factories, from farms, mines, oil fields and timber lands, have accepted those duties with typical American courage and fortitude. They are making heroic sacrifices to speed the victory. But if war has its duties, peace has its responsibilities. Three outstanding peace-time responsibilities as I see them today are these:

1. The responsibility for enlightenment of the people.
2. The responsibility for mobilizing peace-time production for full employment.
3. The responsibility for planning world cooperation.

The American press, radio, school, and church free from domination by either Government or corporate interest can hold up to our people the vision of the freedom and abundance of the America that is to be. These great agencies of enlightenment can educate us with regard to the fundamental decencies and understandings which are essential if our power is to be a blessing to the world and not a curse.

Labor is beginning to do its part in enlightening the public. It is beginning to make crystal clear that <sup>97</sup>~~95~~ percent of labor has cooperated 100 percent with our

Government in the war effort. More and more in the future labor will demonstrate that it can cooperate with both employers and with agriculture in those measures which lead to increased employment, increased production and a higher standard of living. The people of America know that the second step toward Nazism is the destruction of labor unions. There are midget Hitlers here who continually attack labor. There are other demagogues blind to the errors of every other group who shout, "We love labor, but..." Both the midget Hitlers and the demagogues are enemies of America. Both would destroy labor unions if they could. Labor should be fully aware of its friends and of its enemies.

The second responsibility, that of mobilizing the peace for full production and full employment, will challenge the best brains and imagination of our industries large and small, our trade associations, our labor unions, and our financial institutions.

When the guns stop, America will find itself with the following assets:

1. Manpower by the million; skilled workers from war industries, military manpower and young people coming of working age.
2. The largest industrial plant capacity in the world.



3. The greatest resources both natural and artificial to make peace-time products--and thousands of new inventions waiting to be converted to peace-time use.
4. The largest scientific farm plant in the world.
5. The biggest back-log of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts.
6. The greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that any nation has ever known.

With such wealth who says this nation is now bankrupt?

If industrial management can bring the same wisdom in producing for peace that it has shown on many production fronts in the supply program for war, the horizons we face are bright. We have witnessed many evidences of industrial statesmanship, of cooperation with labor to increase production and cut costs. In hundreds of industries the war has demonstrated that management and labor can be friends in the service of the nation.

Our industries, trade associations and lending institutions will open the gates of labor's participation wider. They have the choice of approaching the new world of greatly expanded production with new energies and foresight--or they can hold back and fearfully await the stimulus of their government to expand production and consumption.



Whichever choice they consciously or unconsciously make, I believe they want to do their part in keeping this nation on solid ground when peace comes.

If we are to mobilize peace production in the service of all the people we must completely turn away from scarcity economics. Too many corporations have made money by holding inventions out of use, by holding up prices and by cutting down production. Witness 1932 with farm machinery and automobile prices cut less than 15 percent, but with production cut 75 percent. No wonder hog prices in 1933 fell as a result of unemployment and scarcity in the cities to a level only 40 percent of normal. But pig production in 1933, even with the program of killing pigs at light weights, was normal. In contrast pig iron production went down by more than 60 percent. I say that a million times as much injustice has been done to the American people by the slaughter of immature pig iron, the abortion of baby farm machinery, and the killing of promising inventions as was ever done by killing little pigs at light weight. But in any event, the little pigs did not die in vain. Their death helped the country through the emergency. And the fact that it was necessary to kill them gave the American public a complete and utter abhorrence of scarcity economics -- the economics which in 1932 held up city prices, cut city manufactures in half, lengthened break lines, and cut farm prices by more than one half. We want

balanced abundant production of both pigs and pig iron with prices of both equally flexible and equally stable.

I believe in our democratic, capitalistic system, but it must be a capitalism of abundance and full employment. If we return to a capitalism of scarcity such as that which produced both 1929 and 1932, we must anticipate that the returning soldiers and displaced war workers will speak in no uncertain terms.

The third responsibility--that of planning world cooperation--will stem from the open and full partnership between the people and their government.

We will face combustible realities when this struggle has passed.

Even now there are millions in Europe and Asia who have only one thought, one question: "When do we eat?"

Peace does not come where starvation stays.

Peace is a mockery where millions of homeless and diseased are given only the freedom to die.

America will have to fill many bread-baskets, help to restore homes and provide medical care here and in other lands before our own peace will be secure.

We know that a combination of countries seeking to limit our air commerce could shut off our international skyways.

We know that a ganging-up by a group of international



cartels at odds with us could wipe out our markets and sow the seeds of war.

We know that we cannot close the doors on other nations and not expect them to close their doors on us.

We know that imperialistic freebooters using the United States as a base can make another war inevitable.

In that knowledge we can create cooperation or conflict; unity of purpose or under-the-table dealing.

We must continue our splendid teamwork with the British. We must become better acquainted with our new friends, the Russians. We can live peacefully in the same world with the Russians if we demonstrate to ourselves and the world after the war that we have gone in for all-out peace production and total consumer use of our products to bring about the maximum of human welfare.

The Atlantic Charter ~~will be the basis of our~~ provides the broad base of general principles to safeguard our decisions. It is a Charter of Faith that must be worked out to endure and the American people intend that it shall work and that it shall endure.

Shouldering our responsibilities for enlightenment, abundant production and world cooperation, we can begin now our apprenticeship to world peace. There will be heart-breaking delays--there will be prejudices creeping in and the faint-hearted will spread their whispers of



doubt. Some blueprints and many programs will be tested and found unworkable--some men with selfish motives will use the propaganda of protest and the sabotage of delay to promote disunity in peace as they have in war.

But the day of victory for humanity will come just as this night of terror and desolation will pass. Nothing will prevail against the common-man's peace in a common-man's world as he fights both for free enterprise and full employment.

The world is one family with one future--a future which will bind our brotherhood with heart and mind and not with chains--which will save and share the culture past and now aborning--which will work out the peace on a level of high and open cooperation--which will make democracy work for mankind by giving everyone a chance to build his own stake in it.

The challenge and the opportunity to win the battle of the peace has joined mankind. Victory demands our best thought, our best energies and our everlasting faith.

***SEE THE PC***

---

**Section V**

Sunday, September 12, 1943

---

**So We Challenged  
The Vice President**



PRESERVATION COPY

Sure, he informed us through a ... we'd get out to the courts of the ritzy Wardman Park Hotel at 7:30 the next morning.

So we had a chance to find out for ourselves how good Henry Agard Wallace is on the court.

Well, right here and now we can report that the supple, 54-year-old Iowan is far better than the average player among men many years his junior.

His long legs cover a lot of ground, he takes a healthy sock at the ball, and he's steady as a grandfather's clock.

These conclusions aren't based entirely on the fact that he and his partner trimmed us 6-0 when we newsmen teamed together. (We're just average, and out of practice at that.)

When we switched partners, the Vice President held his own in exchanges with his regular partner, Elmer Griffin, who has played in 12 national championships.

### Loses in the Play-Off

Griffin and Zielke won the first set, 6-2. Then Wallace and Carey turned the tables, 9-7. The Vice President, who by virtue of his office is the tie-buster of the Senate, suggested a play-off, two games out of three—and his side lost two in a row.

Wallace doesn't play just to get a workout before tackling a day on Capitol Hill. He's out to win.

He fights for every point. And while he's anti-isolationist in his

political philosophy, he's an isolationist on the tennis court to the extent that he likes his doubles partners to guard their only bailiwicks and not go traipsing all over the court.

"Keep on one side or the other," he admonished his partner at the net, who hogged a couple of shots on his side—only to leave the flank wide open to sucker shots by the opposition.

(Carey says you get kind of overanxious when you're trying to uphold your end of a tennis ticket with the No. 2 man in the Government and when you realize he has partnered with such guys as Wilmer Allison, former national singles champ.)

### A Wary Strategist

A left-handed player, the Vice President takes squatter's rights on the left side of the court on the defense in doubles. His backhand isn't too hot.

He's a wary strategist.

"Keep 'em away from Elmer!" He warned his partner again and again. And he chuckled like a schoolboy when, on several occasions, he feinted Elmer out of position and poked sneaky ones down the alley.

Wallace and Griffin have been playing together for more than a year. The Vice President took up the game again in a big way five years ago after laying off for years, and Griffin says:

"I used to fool him plenty, but he's getting pretty cagey now. He used to have a tough time on the spins and bounces. Now he's got 'em doped out and he beats me in many a game."

"And is he serious about the game! I like to fool around sometimes, but when I do, he gives me hell."

### Admits Own Faults

Wallace gives his partner fight talks.

"Now we're in there pitching," he'd say, "Let's break through your friend's serve, and then you take your serve and we'll be set."

A couple of time he called, "I'll take it!" When a whizzer came over with a lot of spin on it. He'd flub it and then says almost shyly, "was off on figuring that spin. You could have handled it better."

Once he waxed philosophic when one of his drives went haywire:

"I was thinking of the idea instead of the ball."



**VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE**

Mr. Marsh:

This is not a very good copy,  
but it is the only one we have. Copies  
have not been mimeographed as yet.

M. Huss

T.L.

## TRANSPORTATION

Out of our natural and industrial wealth we are producing the sinews of war, the purchase price of victory. We are meeting the challenge of war. We have yet to measure and meet the challenge of peace. Whether we shall preserve the essentials of our American life and build an abundance in which all men may share depends primarily and fundamentally upon the wisdom with which we organize and administer our resources. There is one simple key to the kind of domestic peace we must have. It is the full use of our physical and human resources to produce for a better standard of living. There must be no hidden strings, no unwarranted restraints on the freedom to use our productive facilities. But abundant production has only one destination, and that is abundant consumption. We must be as vigilant in maintaining the free flow of goods between producer and consumer as we are in maintaining the free flow of capital and invention into productive enterprise. It is for this reason that I discuss today the vital role of <sup>public</sup> transportation.

The history of transportation has been a continuing battle against monopoly controls. From the Granger laws of the 1870's to the present time, the people of the South and the West have fought in state and federal legislatures and in the courts to harness the railroads to serve the public interests. The battle has been without permanent victory: financial interests, through court appeals, legislative rules of rate-making, corporate manipulations and conspiracies, have continued to exact their tolls. The early victories of the Sherman Antitrust Act have not been vigorously followed up, and new restraints have appeared with the outlawing of the old.



The financial exploitation of our railroads, which has placed an unbearable burden on the people, is without parallel in our American life. It is the source and center of the railroads' difficulties and of many of the Nation's ills. The plundering of the Erie, the New Haven, and other eastern railroads has been equalled only by the ~~wrecking~~ <sup>lasting</sup> of certain western railroads, the greatest of which was the Milwaukee. How these plunderers could have escaped the consequences of their evil acts is incomprehensible. They or their successors rule the railroad empire today as they did in the heyday of their financial manipulations. They are even strengthening their grip. So I say to you that <sup>people's</sup> the battle has not been won, that the battle is on, and that it will never cease until these evils are uprooted altogether.

Public transport is again being brought under monopoly control. Competition has already been effectively eliminated in the making of transportation rates. The evil consequences are everywhere apparent:

Excessive transportation rates burden agriculture and industry and trade.

Non-competitive rates deprive agriculture and industry of the benefits of more efficient and cheaper forms of transportation.

Discriminatory rates are keeping the South and the West in a colonial status.

Newer forms of transportation are being <sup>brought under monopoly control.</sup> suppressed.

Monopolistic conditions already present in transportation are fostering monopolies in industry.

These are serious charges. Let us examine them in the light of the known facts.

<sup>not only</sup> The people of Texas <sup>but of the entire South & West</sup> have experienced the effects of excessive transportation charges — the high cost of the necessities of life and the



inability to market the products of <sup>their</sup> your labor. You recall years of plenty when it was impossible to move crops to market because the prices would not bear the cost of transportation. Your grapefruit has rotted on the ground, as have peaches in Colorado and Utah, potatoes in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and other farm products elsewhere. All other elements which affect the farmers' costs <sup>go up & down</sup> fluctuate with changing conditions, but the high rate barrier remains ~~constant~~ <sup>the same</sup>.

The empire of the West and the South which has produced so much of the wealth of the nation has been drained dry by the tolls of ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> monopoly, the most important of which is transportation. Consider what happened to the consumer's dollar spent for representative agricultural products in a typical year. Of every dollar paid by consumers for Texas onions, 38 cents went for transportation and 12 cents went to the farmers.

*In like manner, out* Similarly, of every dollar spent for Texas cabbage, 38 cents went for transportation charges and 14 cents were paid to the farmers. The growers of Georgia and Carolina peaches received only 31 cents in each dollar paid by purchasers; the railroads and other transportation companies received 22 cents. When Dallas consumers bought Idaho potatoes they paid 32 cents of each dollar to the growers and 27 cents for transportation; and of each dollar spent in Dallas chain stores for Pacific iceberg lettuce, 14 cents went to the growers at the packing house and 26 cents were required to pay for transportation. What is true of onions, cabbage, and peaches is also true of virtually everything the farmer grows. These disproportionate and high rates have limited consumption and have penalized the farmer for producing abundantly.



Who makes these excessive rates? There is a widespread misconception that the Government or, more particularly, the Interstate Commerce Commission, prescribes each and every rate for public transportation. This is not the fact. In reality, the actual transportation charges, with few exceptions, are made by private rate bureaus and conferences of the carriers. In no year during the past ten years did the Interstate Commerce Commission review as many as 1 per cent of the tariffs filed with it; that is, more than 99 per cent of the tariffs filed became effective without action by the Commission.

The private rate-making machinery of the railroads is highly organized along geographic lines. ~~As we develop the facts regarding the elimination of competition in transportation, I wish you would bear in mind the three principal rate territories: Eastern Territory, which is east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio; Southern Territory, south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi; and Western Territory, west of the Mississippi.~~ Within these areas approximately fifteen railroad associations and conferences determine the freight rates. This private rate-making machinery, which surpasses in size and complexity that of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has arrogated to itself that control over rates which Congress sought to vest in a public agency. With few exceptions, these private rate bureaus determine what transportation rates shall be filed with the Commission, and successfully block at their inception virtually all rate reductions that threaten carrier profits. Although competition in rate making is the national legislative policy, it is in fact as dead as the Dodo.

Page Five

Add the following to the end of the first paragraph: "Instead of responding to the recent expose of their cartel methods by the Department of Justice by conforming to the law of competition which all business must observe, the railroads have rushed to Congress seeking special legislation to permit them to continue their illegal private rate-making practices which have been so costly to the entire nation."



These rate bureaus are not even democratically organized with respect to their own membership. Many of the decisions with respect to what rates shall be charged in the Southwest have to be referred for final decision to Chicago. One of the important bureaus, the Trans-Continental Freight Bureau, is controlled by the nine railroads reaching the Pacific, and fixes the transcontinental rail rates for the entire country. Though these conferences and bureaus make pious declarations to the effect that individual railroads have the right to quote rates independently, the fact is that this right has long since become an empty fiction. (Insert)

The second charge is that the elimination of competition between competing forms of transportation has deprived the nation of the benefits of newer and cheaper forms of transport. In an attempt to develop cheaper transportation, the farmers and the businessmen have joined forces in promoting a national system of highways and waterways, and under the vigorous leadership of President Roosevelt, we have completed a vast network of highways and waterways. More recently public funds have been directed to the development of airways and airports. Public patronage has been responsive to the inherent advantages of these newer forms of transport, particularly to the low-cost appeal of highways and waterways. But the early promise of cheap transportation by highway and by waterway has been largely nullified. Under the slogan of "Equality of Regulation," Congress was persuaded to adopt legislation which placed waterways and highways under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The consequences of this legislation were foreseen. On February 16, 1940, the then Secretary of War, the Chairman of the Maritime Commission, and I



addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Commerce Committee of the United States Senate in opposition to certain provisions of the Transportation Act of 1940. In that letter, we stated:

"Farmers and other shippers should not be required to pay rates based on transportation costs of properties improvidently built, wastefully operated, or partially obsolete. The advocacy of thorough regulation of the minimum rates of motor and water carriers by a centralized agency appears to represent an attempt to use government power to bring competing transportation agencies into a cartel, and in this manner, to share traffic and adjust rates in such a way as to earn a return upon all transportation capital of these agencies."

*These fears have been realized.*

With regulation, private rate bureaus were developed by motor and water carriers; indeed, these private rate bureaus have been encouraged both by the requirement that carriers publish<sup>h</sup> tariffs and by the minimum rate orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Once competing forms of transportation were organized into private rate conferences, agreements and conspiracies were easily promoted. Through conspiracies between motor and rail carrier conferences, motor-carrier rates have been raised to the level of the rail routes. The activities of water-carrier rate conferences have resulted in relating water-carrier to rail rates. In thus eliminating all competition in rates, the public is deprived of the savings from cheap highway and water transport.

If the public has any illusions on this score, they can be readily dissipated by a reading of the recent decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the courts whereby the farmers and shippers of

the Middle West are virtually compelled to use expensive rail instead of cheap barge transportation for the eastward movement of grain.

Not satisfied with eliminating competition in surface transportation, the railroads have even extended their control to the airways to prevent any competition from the carriage of air cargo. Through an exclusive contract between Railway Express Agency (which is owned by the railroads of the country) and the domestic airlines, air express rates have been maintained far above the competitive level, and the movement of cargo by air has been effectively retarded. Despite the assertion of aviation authorities that cargo planes can be operated at 8 to 10 cents per ton mile, air express rates are artificially held at 80 cents per ton mile. This rate is five to seven times the rail express rates.

The coming of the air age can bring to the people of this country new industries, new outlets for goods, and greater freedom of movement. *But* If monopoly interests are successful in keeping air <sup>rates</sup> ~~cost~~ high ~~the reach of producers~~, we shall be barred from this new frontier, and our nation's development will suffer.

The third charge is that discriminatory rates have <sup>helped keep</sup> kept the South and the West in a colonial status.

The people of the West and South have long fought against discriminatory freight rates. They have asked and are asking pointed questions about the transportation practices and the governmental policies which permit such inequalities to persist. They have watched with deep concern the loss of local industries. They have been profoundly



discouraged by the futility of their attempts to attract industrial capital. They have watched the continuing drift of the younger generation to regions promising greater opportunities. They have witnessed a reduction of their purchasing power and the loss of their homes and their farms. Despite the abundance with which Providence had blessed the land, they could not produce sufficient income to cover their costs. They have witnessed a deterioration in the services supplied by the state and local governments, the closing of schools, the neglect of public health and housing, and the delay of sanitation projects. They have become increasingly dependent upon federal funds for carrying on essential government services. During the war, many of these communities are witnessing what local industry can mean in terms of larger incomes and higher living standards for the whole community, but they are aware that with the coming of peace the old trend of industry to seek productive centers with favorable freight rates will deprive them of this temporary prosperity.

As those most immediately victimized by these conditions, the people of the South and West have a right to demand that the public transportation industries and their Government take steps necessary to secure for them that equality of opportunity which is the foundation of economic and political democracy and the first step toward freedom from want in the midst of plenty.

The Southern Governors' appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1937 highlighted some of these discriminations.



Studies of various governmental agencies have fully supported the charge of discrimination. Packing houses in Chicago have been able to ship fresh beef to Birmingham, Alabama at a lower rate than packers located at Fort Worth, Texas; this difference is equal to 50 per cent of the available profit margin. Manufacturers of milk bottles at Santa Anna, Texas, had to absorb freight equal to one-third of their net profit margin in order to sell in the St. Louis market in competition with producers at Elmira, New York. The freight rate on tractors from Pueblo, Colorado, to Baton Rouge has been substantially higher than the rate from Cleveland to Baton Rouge. From typewriters to laundry soap to paint in nearly every class of manufactured goods the South and the West must pay unequal freight rates in comparison with the North and the East. These disadvantages have been major factors in stifling the industrial development of the South and the West. *and thus* ~~These unbalanced conditions~~ have undermined our whole national economy.

No time need be spent on the specious arguments by which those who benefit from these discriminations have sought to justify their continuance. It is true that only a small proportion of the traffic moving from the South and West to the Northeast consists of manufactured products. This will always be the condition so long as these discriminations continue. For years we were told that higher rates were necessary in the South and West because of higher transportation costs. Now



the investigations of the Interstate Commerce Commission's staff reveal that costs are lower in the South than in the Northeast, and that even in the West they are only slightly above the level of costs in <sup>Eastern</sup> ~~General~~ Territory. Cost differentials may no longer be advanced in defense of rate discriminations.

How has it been possible to maintain these rate discriminations over the years? The answer is found in the private rate-making machinery of the railroads. Railroads with established industries on their lines have naturally opposed any rate adjustments which would in any way detract from the preferred position of the industries which create a large volume of traffic. Individually, these railroads would have been powerless to prevent a readjustment of rates, but organized into bureaus they present a united front against any change in the existing situation.

Consider the so-called Western Agreement, which was recently exposed by the Antitrust Division <sup>of the Dept. of Justice</sup> in testimony before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Thirty-five railroads operating west of the Mississippi River adhered to the Western Agreement. The basic purpose of this agreement was to "avoid practices which will dissipate railroad earnings in the Western District." Under this agreement there was created a czar, the powerful Western Commissioner, responsible to no public authority. Under him rail rates were made with the sole objective of preserving the net earnings of the railroads as a whole within the Western District. To this end, services were restricted in the name of



Page 11

At the end of line 4, add the following; "I hope the Justice Department expose of this agreement in May of this year has really knocked the agreement out but I still have my fingers crossed."

eliminating wastes; technological developments were delayed; and all competition was stifled. The effects of their acts upon agriculture and industry are not even considered. The spirit of this agreement was truly, "The Public Be Damned." (Insert)

~~Cancelled~~  
~~in 1904~~  
~~to the~~  
~~ambitions~~  
~~project~~

But this is not the whole story. If in any particular instance the railroads or their bureaus failed to cooperate, the matter was referred by the Western Commissioner to a Committee of Directors for action. This Committee of Directors held its meetings at 40 Wall Street, New York City, the headquarters of its most powerful members. Thus, the transportation policies for the West were made in Wall Street. Is it surprising under all these circumstances that rate discriminations against the South and the West have been perpetuated and that the industrial development of these regions has been retarded?

The American people should know that the Western Agreement and the private rate-bureau machinery of the entire country function for the purpose of making the public pay a return upon an obsolete railroad capitalization. The origins of the financial control go back into the early financing of the railroads, one of the blackest pages of American financial history. Although the period of High Finance in railroads occurred prior to the establishment of government control over railroad securities, its consequences linger on, not only in the huge capitalization of the railroads of more than \$21,000,000,000, but also in the unbalanced capital structure which consists of bonded indebtedness to the extent of 50 or 60 per cent. If the railroads are

Substitute for the last seven lines of page 12 and the first six lines of page 13: "If the railroads are able to establish such regional monopolies controlling air, water and highway rates they will be in position to hand out favors or penalties to every community in the United States. They can determine the location of industry and population. Under such a system they could freeze ancient injustices and stifle new opportunities. If they should unhappily persuade Congress to set up such a series of regional transportation monopolies, I am convinced the public would arise in its wrath and insist on public ownership of all transportation. In my opinion transportation methods have not yet reached that state of static perfection which lends itself either to monopoly control or government ownership. Therefore, I hope Congress will be on guard to fight the transportation monopoly whenever this Wall Street inspired creature lifts its ugly head in Washington.



to be able to serve the public, they must set their financial house *in order* so that their rates may move in harmony with other prices and not forever constitute a barrier to *full production in* ~~the recovery~~ of business and agriculture.

The fourth charge is that the railroads plot to seize control of the newer forms of transportation.

*Terminia  
W. P. Agler.*

Those who guide the destinies of the railroads and seek to preserve their financial position are not content with the cartel controls which they now exercise over all domestic transportation. They propose to solidify and make permanent their empire through the enactment of legislation designed to permit the creation of a permanent monopoly of public transportation under the control of the railroads. The plot has been sugar-coated to deceive the people. In the name of efficiency and economy, and under the slogan "Preserve the Enterprise System," it is proposed that Congress permit the creation of "integrated transportation systems," each of which would control and operate all rail, motor, water and air transportation facilities throughout large geographic areas. ~~It has been testified that—". . . Such regional monopolies of all forms of transportation would possess the power of life and death over every community and every industry. Their rate policies would determine the location of industry, the sources from which raw materials would be drawn, the markets to which finished products would move, the possibilities of shifting population and industry, and the employment opportunities for a large proportion of the working population. It is~~

probable that any such extension of private power by carriers for hire would make public ownership of transportation facilities a burning issue." In this new struggle to enslave agriculture and industry, Congress again becomes the bulwark of the people, who must be as vigilant as their enemies in making their will known with respect to such dangerous proposals.

The people of Texas are particularly aware of the charge that monopoly control of transportation breeds monopoly in other industries.

Among Texas' great treasures is the untold wealth of oil which lies beneath your land. The independent oil men of Texas know what the fight against monopoly means. They know that nearly all the great oil fields of this country were discovered and brought to life by small independent producers and wildcatters willing to risk their labor, *their meager resources,* and their hopes. They also know that the giants in the industry have employed price wars to drive them from the market, and that they have used conservation measures as a competitive screen to conceal their attempts at domination of the industry. By their control of railroads and pipelines, the oil trusts have sought since the 1870's to fasten their grip on the oil resources of the nation.

It is an irony of history that the first pipelines were built by independent producers attempting to escape the domination of the railroads by the oil monopoly. But the people, *not only of Texas but of the nation,* know what happened to the pipelines. Instead of having equal access to the pipeline



facilities, they discovered that it was the major oil companies who *and operated* owned ~~this~~ vital artery. To the independent producer pipelines have become common carriers in name only, not in fact.

Control of pipelines by the major oil companies strangles the industry. This device is used by monopolistic interests to maintain *on the crude oil resources of the nation.* their grip so that only by concerted and determined action can any relief be obtained. As long as they own the lines and are able to discriminate against *the* independents, and can arrange supply, refining, and distribution to suit themselves, the great oil companies can hold down the independent producer and make the public pay the cost. *Only through determined action by the people to break this stranglehold*  
In the light of these facts the people of the West and South *can any relief be obtained.* are asking insistently -- what are we going to do about it? Are the policies and the practices of the past going to be perpetuated? Is there no relief from high transportation costs and discriminatory rates which have reduced the West and the South to a colonial status? Is competition in transportation at an end? Are the newer forms of transportation to be made subservient to the old? Are the American people to be victimized by the scheme for integrated transportation systems? Are they to pay tribute to maintain an obsolete railroad capital structure? Is Washington once more to become a way-station for Wall Street?

The day of accounting has come. Destructive practices in transportation and suppressive governmental policies under which monopoly thrives must now yield to the needs of the common man. These practices and policies must be reversed. The double talk in legislation which



Add the following to the end of the speech: (new paragraph) "If and when Congress does its duty, the people of the West and South will have more industry. Their children will find opportunity at home. The output of the entire nation will increase as the surplus labor of the South and West becomes more skilled in the full utilization of southern and western natural resources for the benefit of the entire nation."

has permitted these conditions to exist must give way to clear and understandable provisions which protect the public. Private rate bureaus and rate-making conferences through which railroad bankers and railroad managers have been able to exact from the people unconscionable rates for rendering an indispensable service must be stripped of their power and their activities confined to legitimate practices in the public interest. A clean-cut declaration of legislative policy must insure to the newer forms of transportation an opportunity to develop without suppression. Competition must be restored. This does not mean chaotic competition as some would have you believe. These are regulated industries, and the Interstate Commerce Commission ~~is~~ <sup>should</sup> protect the public interest in transportation in accordance with the direction of Congress. We can cry out against the existing evils in transportation, but this is futile unless we do something about it. The industry has failed to offer anything constructive and, therefore, the people must look to their duly elected representatives in Congress. Our greatest need is to recast our transportation laws to insure the utmost development of each form of transportation. Thereby present and prospective monopolistic controls will be broken; regional rate discriminations will disappear; and transportation will then truly serve the public interest. In this struggle for economic freedom, Congress will not fail the people.

We have come far in twenty months of war.

Workers on the farm and factory fronts have matched the stamina and valor of our warriors on the fighting fronts.

Our three giant sinews of combat--men, materials and machines--have reached out to hurl back the enemy in the swamps of the Solomons, the Tunisian desert ~~and~~ the Aleutian wastelands *and the rocky hills of Sicily.* Our assembly lines are now linked in a nation-wide chain of armament production. They are turning out in record-breaking numbers--and in record-breaking time--the planes, tanks, guns and ships that are meeting and beating the Axis marauders. Men and women are willingly working long hours because they are determined that victory will not be delayed by ~~even~~ *even* a single hour.

The flood-tide of our wrath has mounted slowly--but it is rushing on in mighty torrents of offensive action to engulf our enemies. The fortunes of the Fascists are at ebb. The Nazi war machine is cracking up--but we must not stop until we have smashed and scattered it over the ruins and devastated lands it has drenched with blood.

In the sweat and sorrow of conflict,--in the grim business of settling the score against the Nazi plunderers and the Jap murderers--there are questions that filter through each headline we read--and each radio flash we hear.

What about the Peace?

What of America tomorrow?

There are some who want to stick to what they believe are the realities of the present. Their quick comeback to any question



on our peace objectives is "We must not discuss anything except the war."

There are others who want to stick to what they hold are the realities of the past. They have a stock reply when asked about the peace: "Let us wait and see what England and Russia do before we make our plans."

Both opinions are fighting delaying actions against our destiny in the peace-- a destiny that calls us to a historic mission in world leadership--~~rather than waiting for the situation~~

When we as victors lay down our arms in this struggle against the enslavement of the mind and soul of the human family,--we take up arms immediately in the great war against starvation, unemployment and the rigging of the markets of the world.

The peace we seek is not time-out between the death of an old tyranny and the birth of a new one.

The peace we want is more than an escape from the concentration camps and mass-murder of Fascism--into an international jungle of power politics and gangster governments.

Starvation has no Bill of Rights nor slavery a Magna Carta. Wherever the hopes of the human family are throttled, there we find the makings of revolt.

The world was waiting for us to take the initiative in leading the way to a people's peace after World War I - but we decided to live apart

and work our own way.

Hunger and unemployment spawned the criminal freebooters of Fascism. Their only remedy for insecurity was war. Their only answer to poverty and the denial of opportunity became the First Commandment of the Nazis; "LOOT THY NEIGHBOR."

Much of our propaganda after the first World War proclaimed the ingratitude of our Allies. We had given of our best blood and our separate fortunes only to be labelled the land of Uncle Shylock.

We changed it to Uncle Sam and said "Never Again."

How many of us will stand after this world-wide scourge of suffering and death and say; "Never Again?"

And will it be "Never Again" to leading the world in peace—or "Never Again" to living alone on an island of false security?

How many of us will advocate our second retreat from our responsibility in world leadership?

Ours is a generation that will distill the stamina and provide the skills to create a war-proof world— or we shall bequeath another blood-bath for civilization to the generation coming up.

World leadership as we see it would be more concerned with welfare politics than power politics—more attentive to equalizing the use of raw materials of nations than condoning the policies of grab and barter that freeze international markets — more interested in opening channels of commerce than closing them by prohibitive tariffs— more mindful of the need for a stable currency among all countries than in high interest rates on loans —more occupied with preventing the political house burners from setting off the fires of revolt than

stopping them after they start.

But world leadership cannot propose the standards for international justice and security — and hope to enforce them by paper diplomacy and remote control.

Our choice is not between a Hitler slave-world and a Harding holiday of "normalcy". The defeatists who talk about going back to the good old days of Americanism mean the time when there was plenty for the few and scarcity for the many.

Our alternatives are not between the barbaric force and confusion of Fascism — and the restoration of the status quo. Too many millions of our people have come out of the dark cellars and squalor of the status quo ever to go back.

Our choice is between more democracy or less — between the spreading of social safeguards and economic opportunity to all the people — or the concentration of our abundant resources in the hands of a dominant few.

A fuller democracy for all is the lasting preventive of war — a lesser or part-time democracy breeds the dissension and class conflicts that seek their solution in guns and slaughter.

We need no sampling of public opinion today to know that the American people have brought a brave and clear conscience to this crisis of all mankind. We have been brought to the bedrock of our faith — every family in every community has felt the denials and restraints of war.

And in that tomorrow when peace comes the education for tolerance will be just as important as the production of television — the creation of a balanced diet for every family will take as much



planning as the building of new cars and refrigerators and washing machines — ~~a standard of health for every human being will be just as essential as equality of care as a standard of health for our industrial and farm enterprises.~~

Along with England, Russia and China our nation will exert a tremendous economic and moral persuasion in the peace.

Many of our most patriotic and <sup>forward looking</sup> ~~forward looking~~ citizens are asking; "Why not start practising these Four Freedoms in our own back yard?"

And they are right.

We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad and condone lynchings at home. Those who fan or prolong racial clashes whether to handicap the nation in this fight against a foreign foe or to embarrass the nations leadership for the purpose of making demagogic political capital here at home are taking the first step toward Nazism.

We cannot plead for equality of opportunity for peoples

everywhere and overlook the denial of the right to vote for millions of our own people. Every citizen of the United States without regard to color or creed, whether he resides where he was born, or whether he has moved to a great defense center or to a fighting front, is entitled to cast his vote.

We cannot offer the blueprints and the skills to rebuild the bombed-out cities of other lands and stymie the rebuilding of our own cities. Slums have no place in America.

We cannot assist in binding the wounds of a war-stricken world and fail to safeguard the health of our own people.

We cannot hope to raise the literacy of other nations and fail to roll back the ignorance that clouds sectors of our own nation. Democracy is dynamic only where all people have the opportunity for the fullest education.

The world is a neighborhood. We have learned that starvation in China affects our own security — that the jobless in India are related to the unemployed here. The Post War Problems Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers has wisely declared that increased production in other countries will not reduce living standards in the United States. Those who shriek that we are wild-eyed dreamers who are trying to set up T.V.A.'s on the Danube and deliver a bottle of milk to every Hottentot every morning should read that report. *Those who wish to live in storm cellars are*  
*hostile to the America of America*

The average American may not know all the workings of our economic and political life. He may not understand the arithmetic

of money and markets. He may never learn the international factors in supply and demand—the full meaning of tariffs and cartels—or what is behind farm parity prices.

But he knows what happens when inflation comes—when prices rise faster than wages, and he knows that the worst life of all is that the way to make money is to produce scarcity. The common man in America, and every American soldier over seas, wants free enterprise and full employment.. He wants to see the great new war plants

converted into plants producing peace-time goods.

*He knows that*  
*he and others have acquired new skills and they should be put to use*  
~~He wishes the new skills he and others have acquired put to use.~~ The average

man of America knows that we can make and consume all goods which make for a higher standard of living. He wants and he must have a job, enough to eat and wear, decent shelter, his own home and automobile, and a chance to educate his children.



He knows that high tariff protection for our markets leads only to retaliation and boycotts by other countries.

He knows that a coalition of nations cannot weather all the impacts of money and trade monopolies. He witnessed the collapse of sanctions under the League of Nations and the growth of dictatorships that appealed to their peoples by promising to free them from economic slavery. He is convinced that nations must be organized by something more than trade pacts and non-aggression treaties. The peace-makers must have more daring and vision than the war-makers.

The war--the business of ghastly death-- will cost this nation <sup>350</sup> over ~~500~~ billion dollars. And for peace--the business of abundant living--will we be willing and prepared to pay even a tenth of that to have it endure?

A year ago I cited the four duties of the people's revolution as I saw them.

They were:

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.

Millions of our people from offices and factories, from farms and the marts of trade, from the mines, the oil fields and timber

lands, have accepted those duties with typical American courage and fortitude. They are making heroic sacrifices to speed the victory. They know we cannot separate victory in the war from victory in the peace. They know if we spend our blood and might against the political and economic tyranny that is Fascism that we face a great task and a great opportunity in the post-war world to insure the continuity of civilization.

In this hour I would define, as I see them, three responsibilities of our institutions and our people to achieve victory in the peace.

1. The responsibility for enlightenment of the people.
2. The responsibility for mobilizing peace-time production.
3. The responsibility for planning world cooperation.

No one needs to be reminded of the old proverb "Where there is no vision, the people perish." The long obituary of nations ground under the Nazi heel --the fatal compromises with organized evil--offer harrowing testimony of ignorance and inaction. How many millions of refugees of the conquered countries with agony in their very marrow are saying: "If we had only known....."

The American Press, free and immune from any Gestapo, is the primary arsenal of enlightenment for our people. The press can produce the vision of America's part in the world of tomorrow. As a trustee of the nation's public opinion, it can set up signposts on the road to peace. The press can show what it means to have a

stake in democracy—it can show our first wealth as the people's health; it can condition our minds to the economic, social and political problems we must solve if we hope to survive.

The radio and the motion picture industry can use their magnificent talents for dramatic presentations to tell the story of America in tomorrow's world. But their stories of achievement will be written around the common man and not the superman.

Our libraries and our schools provide the medicines for the mind and the expression of the nation's spiritual values. Schooling for American citizenship should be a birth-to-burial program—and theirs is the task of spreading culture and annihilating ignorance.

The responsibility for enlightenment belongs also to those institutions that are wholly concerned with the advancement and protection of the dignity and security of the individual—the churches, the labor unions, the farm groups, the service clubs and welfare organizations.

The churches <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ treasuries of our spiritual values produce the strongest armament in the battle for peace. Our armed forces as well as our fighters on the home front have found new courage in prayer and spiritual guidance. They will want and need more of it at war's end.



Ahead are the days where our resources will be husbanded for a security economy for all our people--starting with a balanced diet, decent housing and healthy work.

The labor unions will require all the statesmanship they can muster to advance the cause of the workers and win their rightful participation at the planning tables of industry. They must let the people of America know that the second step toward Nazism is the abolishment of labor unions. There are wicket Hitlers here who continually attack labor, who would destroy labor unions if they could. Labor should be fully cognizant of its friends and its enemies.

The farmers of America have no desire for a prosperous war and a bankrupt peace. With the demand for plastics and fibers and chemicals in the post-war world, farmers will be supplying not only the fuel for the bodies of the human family, but the raw materials that will be processed into thousands of products that will elevate our standard of living.

The service clubs and the welfare organizations have already created post-war committees because they know the promise of the peace must have fulfillment in specific terms. To them the nation looks for a strong voice, a clear mind and the forward outlook on the measures that engineer the social security of our people.

The responsibility for mobilizing peace production will challenge the best brains and imagination of our industries, large and small, our trade associations and our financial institutions. When the

guns stop, America will find itself facing a half-dozen imperatives for a swift conversion to peace-time production.

They are :

1. Manpower by the millions; skilled workers from war industries, military manpower and young people coming of working age.
2. The largest industrial plant capacity in the world.
3. The greatest resources both natural and artificial to make peace-time products--and thousands of new inventions waiting to be converted to peace-time use.
4. The largest scientific arm plant in the world.
5. The biggest back-log of requirements for housing, transportation, communications and living comforts.
6. The greatest reserve of accumulated savings by individuals that this nation has ever known.

If industrial management can bring the same wisdom in producing for peace ~~as~~ <sup>that</sup> it has shown on many production fronts in the supply program for war, the horizons we face are bright. We have witnessed many evidences of industrial statesmanship that recognized labor's understanding not only of the technical requirements for increasing production and cutting costs but in their knowledge of consumption trends and markets.

Our industries and trade associations and lending institutions will open the gates of labor's participation wider--they will know

that the return to a laissez faire economy is past—they will approach the new world of production with new energies and foresight—or they will hold back and await the stimulus of their government to expand production and consumption—they will give the job of stabilizing the nation's purchasing power to someone else. I do not believe they lack the daring and the know-how to keep this nation on solid ground when peace comes.

The responsibility for planning world cooperation will stem from the open and full partnership between the people and their government.

We know that we have to face some combustible realities when this struggle has passed.



14

Even now there are millions in Europe and Asia who have only one thought, one question: "When do we eat?"

Peace does not come where starvation stays.

Peace is a mockery where millions of homeless and diseased are given only the freedom to die.

America will have to fill many bread-baskets, help to restore homes and provide medical care here and in other lands before our own peace will be secure.

We know that a combine of countries seeking to limit our air commerce could shut off the skies.

We know that a ganging-up by a group of international cartels at odds with us could wipe out our markets and sow the seeds of war.

We know that we cannot close the doors on other nations and not expect them to close their doors on us.

In that knowledge we can create cooperation or conflict; unity of purpose or under-the-table dealing.

The Atlantic Charter with its Four Freedoms provides the broad base of general principles to safeguard our decisions. It is a Charter of Faith that must be worked out to endure and the American people intend that it shall work and that it shall endure.

~~The partnership between the American people and their government~~  
can withstand the pressures from within and from without in building a durable peace.

In those three responsibilities we begin now our apprenticeship to world peace. There will be heart-breaking delays—there will be prejudices creeping in and the faint-hearted will spread their whispers of doubt. Some blueprints and many programs will be tested and found

15  
unworkable --- some men with selfish motives will use the propaganda of protest to promote disunity.

But the day of victory for humanity will come just as this night of terror and desolation will pass. Nothing will prevail against the common-man's peace in a common-man's world.

That world is one family with one future --- to bind our brotherhood in heart and mind and not in chains --- to save and share the culture past and now aborning --- to work out the peace on a level of high and open cooperation --- to make democracy work for mankind by giving everyone a chance to build their own stake in it.

The challenge and the opportunity to win the battle of the peace has joined mankind. Victory demands our best thought, our best energies and our everlasting faith.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

One of the major causes of failure between 1919 and 1939 was that short term national interests took precedence over international co-operation. In the new peace, nationalism is not likely to be a weaker force. Can we learn from the recent past how to promote real international co-operation while allowing for the intense desire of countries, liberated from Nazi tyranny, to assert their nationhood?

Consideration of pre-war methods may throw some light on the problem.

The Council of the League of Nations consisted of the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers with permanent seats and of some of the lesser powers elected by the Assembly to the non-permanent seats. The Council met quarterly and could be summoned for special meetings. The President of the Council was elected in rotation from among its members at each regular meeting. Each member of the Council sat as, and acted as, the representative of his country. Each was mainly concerned in sustaining his national policy; each was anxious to hurry back to his national capital at the earliest possible moment.

Only one person at the Council table was in practice expected to put forward the international point of view. That one person was the Secretary General of the League of Nations. Sir Eric Drummond and M. Avenol were both men who, apart from their office, would probably have been unknown.

There were no doubt times when an exceptional President of the Council or the Council members themselves genuinely tried to find the best international solution for problems on the agenda. The tradition was, however, for each member to express the view of his own Government.



At the League Assembly the discussions, held in public, tended to be less nationalistic, and the Assembly procedure was relatively democratic although hopelessly marred by the unanimity rule which gave to any nation the undemocratic right of veto.

The struggles of State members of the League to attain seats on the Council, and the interminable intrigues to secure for certain nations semi-permanent seats brought some discredit to the League and caused considerable bitterness.

During its earlier years the I.L.O. had as its Director M. Albert Thomas, a forceful ex-Minister of France who set a tradition which secured for succeeding Directors of the I.L.O. an international position of greater significance than that achieved by the superior office - the Secretary-Generalship of the League.

In our plans for the future we should determine to secure men of the highest standing and accomplishments for the key positions in the international field. It should become the crowning point of the career of the ablest of democratic statemen to be, for a term of years, the whole-time President of the World Organization, and such a President should be assisted by Vice Presidents and Directors General of the International Organizations who had chosen international service in preference to high political prizes within their own countries.

Given the acceptance of this point of view about international offices, it should be possible to work out the problems of organization and representation along lines which would secure public attention to the international viewpoint. It should also be possible to avoid the resentments that the smaller nations will feel if, in fields other than security, there is dominance by the Great Powers.

Assuming a world organization for security, political

### 5.

adjustment, and for economic and social welfare and that the organization consists of a series of linked institutions the following method of organization might be adopted.

For some years after the war the Council for Security should consist of the Great Powers who undertake to maintain armed forces for the maintenance of peace. The Security Council could be convoked at short notice and would authorize the employment of force to deal with any potential aggressor.

After political conditions had become stable the Council for Security might contain the representatives of other nations and an International Air Force might then be organized.

In the immediate post-war period the victorious Powers will have to assume responsibility for certain political decisions until relative political stability has been attained. Then, with questions of security firmly in the hands of the Great Powers, the problems of political adjustments might be dealt with by regional councils.

For economic and social affairs which transcend regional boundaries there will need to be a number of organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization recommended by the Hot Springs Conference, each having its Director-General and secretariat and its own Council of all the United Nations.

Linking these international and regional bodies there should be a General Assembly of all the United Nations and an Administrative Board.

The General Assembly would meet annually, would vote the International Budget, control the Administrative Board and review the work of the Economic and Social Organizations, make recommendations to Governments, and authorize new activities

for the Administrative Board.

The Assembly should be in effect a World Parliament bringing the collective views of the Governments to bear on all international questions. Its meetings might last for five or six weeks and these should be the most publicized event of the year.

Given satisfactory provisions about security all nations might have equal votes in the Assembly; or better, if a really sound and just method of assessment of national financial contributions had been arrived at, voting might be in proportion to such contributions.

There should be no unanimity rule but certain types of decisions might require a two-thirds majority.

The Administrative Board might consist of a President, Vice-Presidents for Security, Political, Economic, and Social Affairs, and the Directors-General of the various economic and social organizations. These principal international officials might be about 11 or 12 in number and six or seven of these would almost certainly be drawn from the Great Powers.

This Board would, in consultation with a Council for Security, take action to ensure world peace; would provide the necessary international link with and between the regional political councils and would co-ordinate the activities of the international organizations dealing with economic and social problems.

The Board would maintain close touch with each regional council and might indeed be represented at all such council meetings. It would help in the solution of difficulties and should these threaten to assume such proportions as to become dangerous, the Board would consult the Great Powers through the Council for Security.

The Board would also maintain touch with any regional councils set up for the non-self-governing territories.



5.

The work of the Administrative Board could also be kept in close relation to Governments and to world opinion by the appointment of Standing Committees to advise on certain types of questions, and by the summoning of special committees to deal with specific questions. An example of a necessary Standing Committee would be an Economic Policy Committee whose main function might be to advise the Board as to how the several economic and financial organizations should act in order to promote an expansive world economy and prevent undue fluctuations in the trade cycle.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

THE COUNCIL FOR SECURITY  
(initially)  
(The Great Powers)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
(All United Nations)

Armed Forces

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD  
(principal international officials)

Security and Political  
Affairs

Economic and Social  
Affairs

Regional Political  
Councils

Regional Councils  
for  
Non-self-governing Territories

Organizations for

Food and  
Agriculture

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

FOOD FOR VICTORY AND JOBS FOR PEACE

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace,  
Vice President of the United States,  
before a meeting sponsored by Food for  
Freedom, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio, at the  
Cleveland Public Auditorium, Wednesday,  
October 27, 1943, broadcast over Blue  
Network, 9:30 to 10:00 p.m. CWT.

Today I want to talk mainly about two things. First, about food for victory during the war and, second, about victory on the home front during the peace.

When we talk about feeding other nations, four things should be made clear.

First, we in the United States cannot do the job by ourselves -- in fact, we are not now and will not be after the war ends a major source of food exports to overseas countries.

Second, we do not propose to feed a single person anywhere in the world who is not willing to produce to the extent of his ability. We have no more use for a "sponge" nation than Captain John Smith of Virginia had for a soft-handed, lazy cavalier. But it is also part of the American tradition that we will not willingly stand idly by in the midst of preventable starvation.

Third, by cooperating with Canada, Latin America, Australia, and Africa to produce food to the limit the United States can make one of her finest contributions to the war effort and the world-wide triumph of democracy during the first two years of peace.

Fourth, we are proud of the food contribution we have made to England, Russia and occupied Italy. We know this food has been vitally needed and effectively used and we propose to send more food in 1944. But to do so will take real planning and the cooperation of everyone in the United States. We shall not do this work effectively unless we are thoroughly sold on the good our food is now doing and must do in the future.



First, take a look at Britain, the country we have helped most. She has increased her own food production by 60%, but even so still has to import one-third of her food. The 4 billion pounds of food we are sending to England yearly is doing far more to shorten the war than would that same food kept here in the United States. Germany cut England off from the vast quantities of poultry, dairy and pork products she used to get from Denmark, Holland and Poland. And so it was up to Canada and the United States, the two nearest neighbors in position to export, to send everything possible. Our food has contributed to the vitality of British workmen. And they have needed vitality because they have worked long hours at top speed for a long time. I think of one group of British workmen in a vital war activity which has worked 70 to 80 hours a week for many months with never a Sunday off. They had to do it because the work was there to be done and there was no one else to do it. I would cheerfully skip a meal a week to help keep those men at work.

Then I think of the Soviet Union where the only people who really eat decently are those engaged in actual fighting. Russians have always lived on simple food, mainly black bread, potatoes, and cabbage. Today, their civilians get far less than pre-war diets, with scarcely half the calories per day our civilians consume. We would understand what the Russians face in food shortages if the Germans had occupied our whole Mississippi Valley breadbasket and were still fighting to hold St. Louis. In spite of our efforts in Italy, the fact remains that the Russians are doing three-fourths the land fighting against the Germans. This fighting has saved and will save many American lives. The more food we can put in Russian stomachs the more American blood will be saved. Thus far, Russian recapture of territories has added more to her population to be fed than to her current supplies of food. The hard year for Russia will be 1944. We must make certain she has enough food to continue her present magnificent fight and to get her rich Ukrainian farm lands producing again.

Next after the indomitable British and magnificent Russians I think of the starving millions in Europe which we shall liberate in 1944. We shall not have much food for them but surely we can manage somehow so as to make certain that many millions of them can be tided over until they can get to producing for themselves. The little food which we can furnish will mean the difference between life and death for tens of millions. Think of them as you eat here in the United States. Think of them as you plow and plant and harvest. They have felt the print of the conqueror's heel on their starved bodies for long years. We must plan it so that the hundreds of millions now under Axis slavery will have at least as much to eat during the first year of freedom as they had during the last year of slavery. Normally, continental Europe produces 90% of its own food. We must see that that vital production is restored promptly, and fairly distributed. We and the other United Nations must shoulder the super-human job of carrying them over the hard time until they can harvest their own crops without robbery.



The Allied food problems in 1944 will be far greater than in 1943 but, great as they may be, our food outlook is infinitely brighter than that of the Axis. So far the Axis has lived by robbing food from the weak. Now those days are coming to an end and the Japanese and German manpower will be so depleted that it will be increasingly difficult to feed the Axis peoples.

Food will be the dominant world problem in 1944. The United States cannot solve this problem by herself. All the United Nations will do their share. If we could spare enough ships to move it, the United Nations have this year over 60 million tons of food in exporting countries ready to ship to our allies abroad and to liberated areas. Only six million tons or one-tenth of all this would come from the United States, though probably more than one-third of protective foods, like dairy products, meat and eggs. We can help furnish leadership to encourage expanded production everywhere in this hemisphere and in Africa. Our farmers have already increased food output 25%. Their production can be increased still more as soon as everyone knows how exceedingly important it is to cooperate on doing a real job. Last year the government said it wanted more carrots and less watermelons but the way things worked out the watermelon farmers made money and the carrot farmers lost money. Surely the situation will be improved in 1944 so that the farmers who help the war effort most will profit most. Surely we shall produce more of the crops which use land and labor efficiently and less of the foods which are wasteful in their use of land and labor.

The farmers of the United States should not only expand their acreage of regular grains by 15 to 20 million next year but they should produce more soy beans, dried beans, peanuts, Irish potatoes, carrots, tomatoes and sweet potatoes. But the farmers will not increase their production of these crops as much as they should if they do not have the machinery to do the harvesting, the bins and warehouses for storing and finally a market which will pay them a decent price. If consumers, government, and distributors cooperate to make it practical for farmers to grow more of such crops they will all help greatly in winning the war and saving millions of lives.

One of the easiest and most certain ways of increasing farm production in the United States is through giving the small farmers a chance. These farmers are only partly employed. To do a real job of farming they need capital and leadership. The Farm Security Administration has proved that when these small farmers have both capital and leadership they step up production amazingly. In 1942 the Farm Security Administration clients increased milk production ten times as much as would have been expected. In 1943 they are doing even better. The small farmers have a great reservoir of labor which is crying to be used. The Farm Security Administration knows how to provide small farmers the facilities to put their unused labor to work, and it has done a masterful job.

But no matter how fine a job we do on all fronts in the United States, the output will not begin to meet the overwhelming demand of 1945. Therefore it is supremely important to plan now



to expand production in Africa, in South America, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and to prepare all necessary steps to maintain and increase production in the liberated areas. The government of the United States cannot do this job alone, but by participating in the United States Relief and Rehabilitation Administration we can help work out a practical plan which will unleash productive resources and build up stock piles which will assuredly be needed in either war or peace. Such stock piles will shorten the war and make the peace secure. To fail to do a job on this front is to invite disaster.

We must remember that from 1918 to 1924 there was more misery and probably more lives lost in Europe than during the war itself. Lack of food was one of the root causes of the terrible evils of that day. In those days of hunger and revolution were planted the seeds of desperate totalitarianism which produced Mussolini and Hitler. Unless there is the most careful planning the hunger of 1945 will plant in Europe seeds which again will ripen into a violence which will shed the blood of our children and grandchildren. Starvation in Europe tomorrow means trouble in the United States the day after tomorrow.

When peace comes, as we hope it will next year, the problem of reconversion will be on us at once, first in industry and a year or two later in agriculture. Within a few weeks tens of billions of dollars of war contracts will be cancelled and the factories will scramble to get back to work producing autos, radios, refrigerators and washing machines. There can be jobs for everyone provided there is the closest cooperation between labor, business and government. But we must plan to produce 40% more peace time goods than we ever did before. We will have at least 3 million new workers, even after wives return to their homes and students to their schools. Each worker today turns out 25% more than in 1936. Unless we use this increased productivity to produce much more than we did before the war, 10 or 12 million workers will be without jobs. We must put both our new workers and our new found efficiency to work producing such a widespread standard of comfort and happiness for the people right here in the United States as we have never known before. Whatever comes, we must keep busy producing to the limit and never again fall into the slough of stagnant unemployment.

The farmer is vitally interested in all this because when men are without jobs in the cities he is in danger of mortgage foreclosure, tax sale, or bankruptcy. He remembers what happened in 1921 and 1932. When industry lacks courage, when government fails to provide leadership, when 10 million workers are walking the streets hungry, then hog and butter and cotton prices may be cut not merely to one-half or to one-third, but even to one-fourth what they had been. But the farmers find their interest rates and taxes are just as high as before. They find that while the production of automobiles and farm machinery has been cut to less than one-third of normal, the price has been reduced scarcely at all. The farmer can never feel safe until industry, cooperating with Government and labor, has proven its ability both to produce to the limit and to prevent depressions and unemployment.



Once the war comes to an end the problem of reconverting our agriculture will face us more rapidly than most people realize. Within a couple of years after the fighting stops the farm lands of Europe, provided there is ordinary weather, will be producing crops remarkably well. The greatest problem will be to furnish the necessary machinery and fertilizer, and in some areas, seed and livestock. Many of us remember how a couple of years after the end of hostilities in the last World War certain of our people were eager to advise farmers here in the United States to expand their production of certain crops, just a few months in advance of the time when prices broke wide open. The older farmers remember well how the Government urged them to expand production in World War Number I and then forgot all about them two or three years later when they were suffering from an over-production which they could not market except at ruinous losses.

To meet the needs in the next two or three years it is right that the United States and the governments of all the United Nations should do everything possible to bring about maximum production of those agricultural products which are most needed. It is a question of life or death for millions. But as we urge farmers in the New World, Australia and Africa to produce to the limit, we must also prepare for the time when millions of bushels of food might be rotting in the fields because of lack of markets. The governments of the United States, England and all the other industrial nations must plan with labor and industry so there will be no unemployment. But even if there is full employment there will still be a tremendous job of reconverting farming in all the countries which have been exporting large quantities of agricultural products during the war. Within two years after the war ends it will be wise for the farmers of the United States to put back to grass again the millions of acres of farm land which were taken out of soil conserving crops and which ought never to have been plowed except under the spur of an acute emergency. Soil properly enriched by grass and legumes and so farmed that it cannot be destroyed by wind or water erosion is the nation's most precious material asset. We in the United States in the future intend to build a civilization not on the principle of gutting and passing on, but a civilization based on the rock of sustained yield, which can endure not for a hundred years but for thousands of years.

We are no longer a debtor nation. A few years after this war is over there will be no need for us to sell our fertility abroad for little or nothing. For the next few years we are going to ship all the food possible abroad simply because we know that is the shortest way to end the war and win the peace. But at the earliest possible moment we will stop that. We shall train the people overseas to feed themselves because we know that if they learn to provide themselves with a high standard of living by their own efforts, we in the United States are just that much safer. When we get the people overseas trained to feeding themselves again, we must again strengthen our agricultural adjustment, commodity credit and price support machinery so as to protect agriculture from a collapse like that of 1921 or 1930. We must again refill our Ever Normal Granary so as to be ready for all emergencies.



The planning which really excites most people here in the United States is that which looks toward laying a foundation for plenty of food and plenty of jobs for every state in the Union. We can eat better after this war is over if we really plan for it. Most of us didn't get enough to eat when we were young. We know that because so many of our children are two or three inches taller than we are. Many of us lack ambition and energy because we are not eating the food which gives us the right kind of vitamins. As a rule, the food which contains the most vitamins costs the farmers more to produce than the food which is poor in vitamins. Many of our people before the war had so little money that they tried to get by for the most part on potatoes and bread and just a little meat. After the war they must have good enough jobs so that they can afford to buy plenty of dairy products, fruits and vegetables and more meat. We are finding ways of preserving and preparing food which make it more tasty than it has ever been before. Whether the chemists ever find it or not, I am sure that there is a Vitamin "T", the taste vitamin, and a Vitamin "H", the happiness vitamin.

There are new inventions which can be put into the homes of the United States after this war which will increase our stock of "T" and "H" vitamins enormously. Within a few years after the war ends I hope practically every family in the United States can have the advantage of a quick-freeze machine in the home. By producing and selling these gadgets in volume at a low price to the Common Man we shall help prevent unemployment, furnish a market for the farmer, and make it easier to pay the interest on the national debt.

In all planning I hope we keep in mind not merely the factory worker, farmer and businessman, but also the white collar workers and employes at fixed salaries who have suffered more from the war than any other group. The cost of living has gone up but their income for family living has gone down.

We can't forget the world picture in our domestic planning. Take rubber, for example. If synthetic rubber is really cheaper and better than natural rubber, then the British, Dutch and native populations in the East Indies will have a big job finding a new source of livelihood for millions of people. If synthetic rubber is not cheaper, we will face a grave problem. Shall we pay more for tires to use synthetic, or shall we have cheaper tires and help world trade by using the natural product? In the latter case, we in the United States will have to do some planning about new uses for the rubber factories and the 18,000 men that worked in them.

The end of the war will unleash competitive forces which have long been held in check. Dammed up supplies will begin to flow. People who were greatly needed during the war will no longer be needed at their old jobs. But we can and must find new jobs for them. The question is -- Are we willing to take the Peace as seriously as we took War? It will take much more ingenuity to



defeat Lieutenant General Unemployment than it will to overthrow Hitler. The trouble is that our people are too willing to appease Lieutenant General Unemployment. Some businessmen like to have him around in times of peace so as to scare labor, not realizing that he is an even greater enemy of capital than he is of labor.

My conclusion is that the biggest immediate job for the United Nations is to go all out on the production of those foods which use land and labor most efficiently.

Second, many American citizens not able to be in uniform may want to make a direct personal sacrifice to help win the war. They can do so by living more simply, eating less meat, dairy and poultry products and freeing more of these scarce foods to maintain morale among the populations nearer the fighting fronts. Most of us could still keep perfectly healthy by shifting our diets temporarily toward using more vegetable proteins in place of so much animal food. It might even be worth while for the churches to enlist people by the signing of pledges to do their part in their daily eating to release food for the hastening of an early victory and a lasting peace. The time will soon be here when food will be a more persuasive argument than airplanes.

Every American not directly in the war effort wants to feel he or she is making a personal sacrifice of some kind. It may be hard to change old food habits voluntarily but if you do it in a way which helps win the war and build the peace without harming your health, why not go beyond the compulsion of government rationing and have the satisfaction of making your own contribution in your own way. Growing children, nursing mothers, and those who are underweight or subject to tuberculosis, as well as those who are engaged in exceedingly heavy physical labor, should not try much voluntary change in their diet even if they think such change is helping win the war. But most of the rest of us can make changes which will not harm our health but which will save hundreds of thousands of lives.

Third, there must begin definite planning for reconversion, not alone of industry, but also of agriculture. Most of the planning for reconversion should be done by labor, industry and agriculture, but it cannot be successful unless there is positive leadership by government. Business by itself was totally incapable of making the necessary complete conversion from a peace to a war footing. It will be equally incapable of making that type of reconversion which furnishes complete employment. No one business or combination of businesses is in position to take the necessary action to ensure complete employment. And so it is also with farmers. No group of farmers can carry out the necessary shifts in acreage that will be necessary to prevent waste and losses in the post-war period. Of course, we want the maximum of free enterprise, but to get it we must have, until full employment is stabilized and agriculture is reconverted, very definite leadership by government. It would not help free enterprise for government to stand idle while business post-war anarchy threw 15 million men out of jobs and cut farm prices to one-third what they were.



We can have much more free enterprise if government helps business and labor on the road to full employment and guides agriculture through the shoals of a changing world demand.

Let us firmly resolve that we shall each do his part to put into action an adequate victory food program followed later on by an adequate job program. Food and jobs are two of the foundation stones of the century of the Common Man.

**VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE**

Nov. 4, 1943

Dear Mr. Marsh:

The Vice President asked that  
this be sent on to you.

M. Eaton

Personal.



Hotel Lafayette.

AUSTRALIAN LEGATION,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Nov 3rd.



Dear Mr Wallace

I am enclosing some verse of  
Chesterton's which give an interesting  
view of the history of the common people  
of England.

I wrote them out on board ship from  
memory. I suppose they were written  
about 1910. "we never heard guns again"!!

If you don't know them I think you'll  
be interested

yours sincerely

John Dwyall.



## THE SILENT PEOPLE

Smile at us, pay us, pass us, but do not quite forget  
For we are the people of England, that never have spoken yet  
There is no folk in the whole earth as helpless or so wise  
There is hunger in our bellies, there is laughter in our eyes.  
You laugh at us and love us, both mugs and eyes are wet  
Only you do not know us for we have not spoken yet.

The fine French kings came over in a flutter of flags and dames  
We liked their smiles and battles but we never could say their names  
The blood ran red to Bosworth and the high French lords went down  
There was naught but a naked people under a naked crown  
And the eyes of the King's Servants turned terribly every way  
And the gold of the King's Servants rose higher every day.

They have burnt the homes of the shaven men, who had been quaint and kind  
Till there is no bed in a monk's house, nor food a man can find  
The inns of God where no man paid, that were the wall of the weak  
The King's Servants took them all, and still we did not speak.

The face of the King's Servants grew greater than the King  
He tricked them and they trapped him and stood round him in a ring  
The new grave lords closed round him that had eaten the abbey's fruits  
And the men of the new religion with their bibles in their boots  
We saw their shoulders moving to menace or discuss  
And some were pure and some were vile but none took note of us.  
We saw the King as they killed him, and his face was proud and pale  
And a few men talked of freedom while England talked of ale.

A war which we understood not came over the world and woke  
Americans, Frenchmen, Irish but we knew not the things they spoke  
They talked about rights and nature and peace and the people's reign  
And the squires, our masters, bade us fight and never scorned us again.  
Weak though we be forever, none would despise us then  
Men called us serfs and drudges, men knew that we were men  
In foam and flame at Trafalgar, on Albuera's plains  
We did and died like lions, to keep ourselves in chains.  
We lay in living ruins firing and fearing not  
The white fierce face of the Frenchmen who knew for what they fought  
And the man who seemed to be more than man we strained against and broke  
And we broke our own rights with him, and yet we never spoke.

Our spell of glory ended we never heard guns again  
But the squire seemed stuck in the saddle, he was foolish as if in pain  
He clutched at a staggering lawyer, he leaned on a cringing Jew  
He seemed smitten it may be after all he was smitten at Waterloo  
Or perhaps the shades of the shaven man, whose spoils are in his house  
Came back in shining shapes at last to spoil his last carouse  
We only know the last sad squires ride slowly towards the sea  
And a new people takes the land and still it is not we.

They have given us into the hands of the new unhappy lords  
Lords without anger or honour, who dare not carry their swords.  
They fight by shuffling papers, they have bright dead alien eyes  
They look on our toil and laughter as a tired man looks at flies  
And the load of their loveless pity is worse than the ancient wrongs  
Their doors are shut in the evening and they know no songs.

We hear men speaking to us of new laws strong and sweet  
Yet is there no man speaketh as we speak in the street  
It may be we shall rise the last as Frenchmen rose the first  
Our wrath come after Russia's wrath and our wrath be the worst  
It may be we are meant to mark with our riot and our rest  
God's scorn for all men governing, it may be beer is best  
But we are the people of England that never have spoken yet  
Smile at us, pay us, pass us, but do not quite forget.



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~~ <sup>outstanding</sup> 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.



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



-3-

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.



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. ~~Outstanding~~ 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.

- 0 -

Release in papers appearing  
on the street not earlier than  
7:30 p.m., Saturday, December '11.

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

### VITALITY FOR ALL

Address by the Hon. Henry A. Wallace,  
Vice President of the United States,  
before a meeting sponsored by the  
Carolina Political Union at the  
University of North Carolina, Chapel  
Hill, North Carolina, Saturday,  
December 11, 1943, broadcast locally,  
7:30 - 8:00 p.m. EWT.

Here near Raleigh, North Carolina, it gives me profound pleasure to salute that grand old man of the South who embodies in his very being so much that is fine and human and progressive - Josephus Daniels. Here at the University of North Carolina, it is gratifying to find the brand of liberalism which has made the South famous since the days of Thomas Jefferson. No one can measure in dollars the contribution made to the South and to the nation by the practical idealism of such men as Frank Graham and those who serve with him.

Our soldiers and sailors are winning this war. Our energies are devoted to giving them every possible assistance now, and all possible aid in the future. They, their families at home, and the generation coming up are entitled to live in a healthful land. I propose tonight to talk about vitality - physical and spiritual - which is the birthright of all the people - North and South, rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, white and black.

Disease itself must be eliminated wherever it is preventable. This includes both communicable disease and disease due to vitamin deficiencies. We will not get rid of tuberculosis, syphilis, and malaria by merely vitamizing the population. We must wipe out the external causes of disease; we must make the environment safe for democracy, before vitamins can be used in all of their power. It does no good to feed vitamins to a syphilitic baby.

If we had an adequate system of hospitals in the United States syphilis and gonorrhea could be completely stamped out within ten years. Dr. Herman N. Bundesen, Commissioner of Public Health of the City of Chicago, has already demonstrated in Chicago that with the modern combination of chemicals with fever artificially produced and precisely controlled the one-day treatment will make infectious patients non-infective. This treatment may be still further improved by the use of penicillin and other devices. But as it stands today, it would be possible, if there were proper backing by the medical profession working in conjunction with the city, state and federal health authorities, to eliminate syphilis and gonorrhea as a public health problem in the United States within ten years at an annual

cost of not more than \$150,000,000 for the first five years and much less than that later on. This is a fraction of the current cost of maintaining the disease.

The white plague - tuberculosis - which still kills about 40,000 of our people annually, while incapacitating hundreds of thousands, can be reduced toward the vanishing point within a generation if all early cases are found, as they can be by X-ray, and if a minimum of three T.B. beds per annual T.B. death are made available, and if active treatment to heal all T.B. cavities from which T.B. is spread, is instituted promptly. Adequate food and rest will stop many cases of T.B. which are caught early enough. If the federal government would spend as much money in aiding the states and communities in their fight on human T.B. as it has already spent on T.B. among cows, the disease could be eliminated in a generation.

Today thousands of American soldiers fight in tropical jungles and other fever-infested areas. Among the many dangers and hardships which our boys endure, none is more insidious than the scourge of malaria. This disease is the most widespread in the world, and causes more loss of human vitality than any other. The fact that 800,000,000 people the world over suffer from this disease every year is the greatest challenge to organized medicine.

There are two medicines used to combat malaria. One of these is a natural remedy - quinine. The other is a synthetic drug called atabrine. Ninety percent of the world's quinine was produced on the island of Java under the control of a Dutch monopoly group. The Dutch monopoly maintained a rigid grip on the production and price of quinine. They even built a wall around the cinchona trees from which the quinine comes, in order to keep the secret of their cultivation from the world. With this control the Dutch cartel rationed quinine to all the countries of the world at outrageous prices. Surplus supplies were even burned in order to prevent any excess from affecting the market. The Dutch cartel distributed quinine not so that it would do the most good, but to insure their monopoly profits.

The synthetic substitute for quinine -- atabrine -- was also controlled by a cartel, in this case the great German chemical trust, I. G. Farben. I. G. Farben dictated the terms upon which atabrine could be manufactured, and gave permission to produce to only one American manufacturer. When war came, we were dependent upon this single source of supply. As a result of vigorous action by the government, there are now eleven companies manufacturing atabrine, but six months after the war they may find themselves automatically put out of business, for their licenses from I. G. Farben's American cartel partner are good only until that time. The fight against malaria will not stop with the end of the war. We owe it to our people, therefore, to see that these manufacturers are permitted to produce after the war. In justice both to the chemical companies and the government it should be said that the price of atabrine is now only a small fraction of what it was ten years ago and that the low price now makes it possible to treat a malarial case at a cost only one-fourth that of quinine.



It is part of our task in winning the peace to see that neither quinine nor atabrine nor any future remedy for malaria is again restricted by cartel control. The power to condemn millions of people to suffering because they cannot buy health at monopoly prices must be eliminated. We must not allow special privilege here or abroad to stand in the way of the struggle against disease.

Many of the people of the United States possess superabounding physical vitality. They seem never to get tired and work enthusiastically from early morning until late at night. And then there are other people who are not exactly sick but who drag around, dead on their feet. Undoubtedly, there are many thousands of these half-alive people who are that way because they were born wrong. But in my opinion the great majority of them can be given a sense of abounding well-being if they are given the right kind of physical and spiritual food. When I talk about food I am going to talk mainly about vitamins. First I shall talk about the older people, second about the young people and third about the children. From experience, observation and talking with vitamin experts, I am convinced that men and women past forty years of age are more likely to be lacking in the essential vitamins than are younger people. Many of them eat less and on that account their vitamin intake is reduced. Perhaps the aging human mechanism needs more vitamins than in youth. Whatever the cause, I personally am convinced that the vigorous productive life of the average American can be extended perhaps ten years by greatly increasing his vitamin intake. The benefits will be greatly increased if from childhood on he has been getting plenty of milk and vitamins. Some individuals may require even three or four times the quantity of vitamins they are now getting if they are to have the physical basis for abounding vitality after the age of fifty.

It is no favor to anyone to give him an extra ten years of dragging around. But if he can have the health which he had in his thirties plus the experience which he accumulated in his forties and fifties, then we shall have a contribution to our national strength of the utmost importance.

Young people and children, if they eat plenty of milk, eggs, meat, tomatoes, fruits, green leafy vegetables and either whole-wheat bread or vitamin enriched bread, need not worry as a rule about vitamin deficiency. In the case of nursing mothers, however, Dr. Bundesen has some strong evidence to indicate that the addition of considerable quantities of Vitamin E to the diet in the form of wheat-germ oil increases and prolongs the milk flow. Chicago has done more to make human milk available to babies than any other city in the world and Dr. Bundesen knows what he is talking about. There is good reason to believe that the pregnant mother will give her child the maximum vitality if she has adequate quantities of milk and vitamins in her diet.

With children, of course, even more than with young people, cow's milk is the most important single answer to the food problem. Next after milk come eggs, green leafy vegetables, tomatoes and the citrus fruits. With plenty of these foods there is no need to worry about vitamins for children. Perhaps the most important single vitamin for

children is the bone-building vitamin, the sunshine vitamin, the vitamin which is found in fish livers or which can be made cheaply by the irradiation of food with artificial light. Fortunately the South abounds in sunshine.

During the past ten years tremendous progress has been made by the chemical companies in the synthetic production of vitamins which are identical with the natural vitamins. Thus far, the cheapest source of Vitamin A is fish liver. But Vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, which might be called the "optimistic vitamin" because of its stimulating effect on the nerves and the appetite, is made synthetically at continuously less cost. Several years ago it cost \$4.50 a gram to produce. Today the selling price is 20 cents a gram and the cost of production is less than half that. I won't go into the details of the cost of production of each of the different vitamins but will sum it all up by saying that the wholesale cost of producing enough of the six leading vitamins to take care of the vitamin deficiency of the average person of the United States is less than a cent a day. There is good prospect that the cost within three or four years will be cut down to less than one-half cent a day.

Most of these people under forty years of age who have enough money to buy the kind of food they want and who buy it with dietary common sense don't need to worry about extra vitamins. But there is enough variation in individuals so that now and then we find among well-to-do young people, and especially among those who drink, signs of obvious vitamin deficiency. Such symptoms are much more frequent among poor people who can't buy the food they would like to eat. Probably half, and possibly two-thirds, of the people in the United States do not buy enough of the right kind of food to furnish the necessary vitamins. One of the cheapest ways of adding to the total energy of the people of the United States is to make sure that absolutely everybody in the country gets in addition to his regular food small quantities of the six leading vitamins, Vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, Riboflavin, Niacin, Vitamin C, Vitamin A and Vitamin D. To make sure that absolutely everyone gets enough, perhaps foods which are natural sources of these vitamins should be fortified with an excess of them. The first step, still inadequate, has been the enrichment of flour.

Vitamins are especially important to the vitality of the South because, partly as a result of dietary custom, partly as a result of the one-crop system and no gardens, and partly as a result of poor pastures and lack of livestock, the people of the South suffer more from a lack of Vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, Riboflavin and Niacin than people elsewhere in the country. Some people say it costs less to live in the South than in the North. Perhaps this is true so far as fuel and shelter are concerned, but food is just as expensive, or even more so, and when we take into account that the average southern worker has only about one-half as much to buy with as the northerner, we can readily see why vitamin deficiency is a more serious problem in the South than in the North. If you want to find out the whole truth about vitamin deficiency in the South, go over to the Hillman Hospital at Birmingham, Alabama, and talk to Dr. Tom D. Spies, or have him give you an illustrated lecture with colored slides showing you how to recognize the different types of vitamin deficiency. In the past six

years the death rate from pellagra severe enough to require hospitalization has been reduced from fifty percent to zero - at the Hillman Hospital.

I hope to see the day when no one will talk any more about poor white trash. I deny that any human being is trash. Of course, there are people both white and black, in both the North and the South, who don't know how to read and write and who have never had enough of the right kind of things to eat. If you and I had been raised the same way we would lack ambition, too, unless we happened by rare good luck to be one of those unusual individuals who can utilize his vitamins better than the vast majority of his fellow-citizens. I am confident that the poorest people of the South, given education and decent food, will contribute just as much to the future of America as the people of any other region. The one practical way to see that they get the necessary energy-giving food is to make sure that the corn meal and wheat flour they buy contain adequate quantities of the leading vitamins. At the present time the wheat millers are adding some vitamins but they are not adding enough. Nor are the corn millers adding the necessary vitamins to corn meal.

When I say that vitamins are a food and ought to be sold incorporated in all bread and flour, I am not saying that the drug store vitamin business ought to come to an end. I recognize that last year the drug stores sold about \$200,000,000 worth of vitamins and that this business represented perhaps one-fourth of their sales. The drug stores in their vitamin business catered for the most part to the ten or fifteen million people who get the best diets in the country. Some are people who have learned about the power of vitamins to increase their vitality. Others have been found by the doctors to be suffering from one of the forms of dietary deficiency.

Some people require two, three or four times the normal vitamin dosage in order to live in health. An excess of vitamins doesn't hurt anyone so there seems to be no reason why those who like to do their own experimenting with vitamins should not continue to do so. The drug stores have their own unique field of service and there is no reason why they should not continue to sell \$200,000,000 worth of vitamins a year. But it would also seem that vitamins will be more and more recognized as food rather than as drugs and that they might be made available to the public not only through drug stores but in other ways. The objective of all of us, of course, is to make our maximum contribution to the vitality of the American people, and we shall use whatever mechanisms are best fitted for this purpose.

In the manufacture of vitamins it is important that the United States maintain her lead and not fall into the hands of German cartels. It is important that the federal government should keep continually posted as to the relationship between our leading vitamin manufacturers and I. G. Farben. It is important that the government make sure that practices are followed which lead to the maximum use of vitamins by the people of the United States at a fair price. Nothing must stand in the way of vitamins doing their part in furnishing abounding health to all our people.



The greatest fear of most families in the United States is getting caught with a huge hospital bill, which can be paid off only by long years of hard labor. An unexpected accident or disease may send the most healthy, moderately well-to-do family into grave financial difficulty within a few months. To meet this fear many types of group health schemes have been worked out by fraternal insurance associations, by employers like Kaiser and in Cuba by the poor people themselves. Modern medicine properly applied in an up-to-date hospital is such a powerful tool that a campaign should be launched at once to build hundreds of hospitals where we now have tens. The hospitalization cost can be borne evenly by large numbers of people either associated together or through their employers. The cost need not be prohibitive if some organization like the Federal Housing Administration makes money available at low rates of interest. Moreover, the improved vitality of the people will pay all costs of a greatly increased medical service several times over. We must not allow selfish groups to pass state or federal laws interfering with progress of this sort.

Last Sunday I read in the New York Times the following --

"The heart attack that transformed Mr. Z at 48 from a vigorous, active man to an invalid and the pneumonia that sent Mrs. Z, also 48, to the hospital, brought economic ruin in their wake. Months of hospitalization exhausted the Z's savings and those of the two married daughters, who can help no longer."

There are many more cases like this described in last Sunday's Times. Every community has so many cases of this sort that each one of us can say with a deep feeling of thanksgiving, "There but for the grace of God go I." But it is not enough to give thanks for our own temporary good fortune. We must make planning for our own welfare in peace as exciting as planning for the enemies' destruction in time of war. We must put our backs at once into a hospitalization and medical care plan for the whole country which will not be a burden but a lifter of the terrible load of sickness which weighs down humanity. It is ordinary, hard-headed business sense to do this job. Every big employer of labor at a war plant knows I speak the truth.

On this occasion I do not propose to go any further into physical vitality. Spiritual vitality is just as important as physical vitality and is closely linked with it. Some people have found spiritual vitality to be an amazing source of health-giving power. Tonight I wish to emphasize that the United States might perhaps reach the maximum of physical vitality and yet be on the point of utter destruction. Something of that sort happened in Germany ten years ago. Great efforts were made to build up the physical vitality of the youth, and those who saw the German youth at that time on their long hikes were greatly impressed. Curiously enough, the German youth also had a kind of spiritual health. They believed they were part of a movement, that they were appreciated, that they were going places. This gave them buoyancy. The German youth have the spiritual vitality of Satan. They believe in their dark religion with a tremendous faith. Believing in it, they are not greatly bothered with psychiatric disorders at the front. When

you really believe in something you don't mind dying for it. Hitler's contribution to Germany was to give her spiritual vitality -- but of the wrong kind -- a vitality on the basis of the old German gods.

Our spiritual vitality in the United States will be higher when every one of us feels that he is needed and wanted and when each one of us develops a keen desire to serve the general welfare to the best of his ability in sincerity and in truth. No nation can long maintain spiritual vitality which does not have full employment of man, resources and skills.

Fundamental to spiritual vitality is belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man, -- not wishy washy belief, not mere lip service, -- but a respect for others based on the conviction that they are all images of God which have not yet had opportunity fully to express their Creator. We cannot hate people of other religions, races, languages or nations without expressing contempt for God. But we can hate with an unmerciful hate the doctrine that any race, nation or individual is superior to all other races, nations or individuals. Some of us have better health and upbringing than others. That does not make us superior except from the standpoint of opportunity to serve the general welfare. The unforgivable sin is to deny the sacredness of the individual human soul. Every individual is born with unique potentialities. These are as great a source of national strength as the richness of the soil and the extent of our coal, iron and oil deposits.

If America is to serve herself and the world to the full extent demanded by this historic hour, it is essential that maximum physical and spiritual vitality pull together. Each one of us has a physical vitality which can be greatly increased by adequate food, sensible exercise, and in some cases hospitalization or medical advice. Each of us can enhance his physical vitality by building up his spiritual energy. The surest way to build spiritual energy is to work for the general welfare. If each of us feels he is part of a movement serving the general welfare, we shall have a strong nation.

Already we are a nation of great physical and moral vitality. We can have an even greater energy. Let's go! Our children shall be better than we!

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

Hawallace  
V. P.

Species 1443

Mr. Charles Marsh

---

---