

macon saw if not handled before leaving

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 15, 1945

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

Hon. Chas. E. Marsh
2136 R. Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Noble friend - your letter of December 21st, I deeply thank you for. I am going to take off the time one of these days just for the record, to tell you how profoundly grateful I am to you for all the many things that you have done for me. Not only has your confidence and your infailing interest in me, been heartening and stimulating to me, but my name is at least five times as large in the country, and wherever it may be known, as it would have been had I not had you and your friendship. I have been conservative, and perhaps immodest by limiting the ratio to five. I am sure any good jury would make it a hundred.

I am trying to take your advice Charles, by devoting myself to my legislative work primarily. I am cutting out speeches which do not have a very direct bearing upon what I am doing legislatively. I have promised a speech for Senator Wagner at the National Democratic Club in New York on the 27th, upon which Senator Wagner very strongly insisted, and a speech on February 22nd to the Georgia Press Institute at the University of Georgia. This will be before the student body. I am to speak in Atlanta the evening of the 22nd, to an oil group on "Foreign Policy", and the next day at noon, probably to a Business and Professional Women's group.

I am following your advice in the respect of association of my name with some legislation. You have seen no doubt, our health report. Senator Murray is announcing the appointment of a standing sub committee to his committee, of which I am to be Chairman, through which all health legislation is to be handled. Jimmie Byrnes is eager to request the Public Health Services, at my suggestion to formulate a program for providing inductees from rejectees. I gave out a press comment urging the rehabilitation of rejectees as a source of man power for war plants and the armed services.

#2 - Hon. Chas. E. Marsh

I just had a telegram from Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, reading as follows:

"My study of medical care convinces me that your position regarding rehabilitation of rejectees is thoroughly sound and would be an immediate source for inductees."

Mrs. Sulzberger has invited me to speak on "Public Health and the Doctors", which the New York Times is sponsoring in Times Hall on Wednesday evening February seventh.

I thought you would be interested in the attached which came to me from the President. I have not yet replied, but I am getting up some information to document my reply.

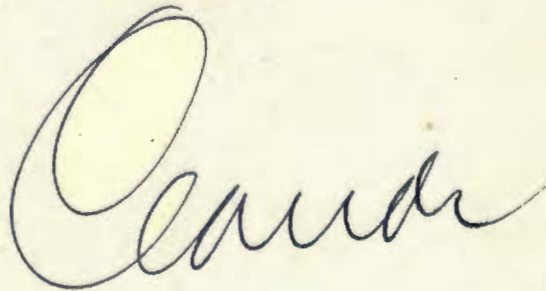
Senator Murray has indicated that he thinks maybe the Wagner Murray Dingler bill should be referred to our standing sub committee and he is going to see if he can get that done.

I went over and had a long talk with Secretary Stettinius after our recent fight, and the net of it was very good. He promised to work with us and, of course, I told him we would help him in every way that we could. We discussed also how he could keep up the fullest contact with the full committee instead of the sub committee.

I will be seeing you soon, and as you say "It is a tough world when we stand straight, but it is an awful lot of fun."

Always sincerely,

CP:kb

A large, stylized handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Claude". The signature is written in dark ink and occupies the lower right portion of the page.

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN

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WARREN R. AUSTIN, VT.

STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.

ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

February 5, 1945

Honorable Charles E. Marsh
2136 R Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I have kept the attached letter on my desk so that I might attach a copy of the President's letter. Unfortunately, I have mislaid that letter and I will not longer delay your letter. The President's letter want something like this:

"Dear Claude:

I send you the enclosed letter from an important constitutional authority who has been with us from the beginning. He does not like what you said!

Always sincerely,

F.D.R."

The enclosed letter went something like this:

"Dear Mr. President:

Senator Claude Pepper speaking in the Senate recently (here he gave the pages in the Congressional Record where my remarks appeared) said:

'The Senate has a co-equal responsibility with the Executive in the determination of our foreign policy and under our Constitution the Senate has the right to advise the Executive as to what our foreign policy should be.' These are dangerous doctrines for which there is no predicate in the Constitution and I strongly urge

refuting any such claim on the part of the Senate before it should find lodgment in public opinion.

Sincerely yours"

There was no name signed to this letter and no intimation of who the author was. I have not replied to the letter so far but shall.

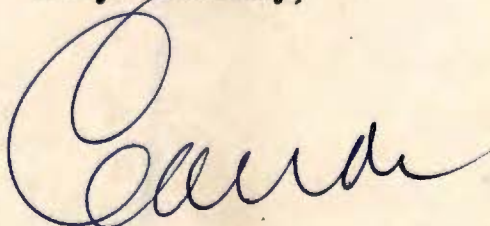
The first statement I made is predicated upon our Constitutional authority respecting the ratification of treaties and the belief that our foreign policy was, in the last analysis, predicated upon international commitments of the sort that the Senate had the right to know about. The second statement was based upon ten or twelve instances in our history where the Senate has, without being invited to do so by the President, passed a resolution advising the President about something which he should do in the opinion of the Senate respecting our foreign policy or our relations with other nations or another nation.

I didn't get to tell you that I had a very successful meeting before the National Democratic Club in New York recently. I spoke for a half hour at the Club over one of the large New York stations.

Just let me tell you again after our fight over the Wallace confirmation, what a real joy it is to be on the team with you.

Many thanks for letting the boys drive Mrs. Pepper and me up this morning from Warrenton.

Always sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. A. Tamm". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "E" and a long, sweeping underline.

CP:hr

March 8, 1945

NOTE FOR SENATOR PEPPER FROM WING COMMANDER DAHL:

Hope you won't mind if your office is phoned by Colonel Phillips who works with me here. The idea is for him to keep in touch with you to find out (a) when you are going to England, and (b) who you would like to see there in the Cabinet or in any other Departments--also any facilities which you would like to have granted you. We would like to see that this message goes home for your benefit in spite of the fact that some formal notice will probably be sent by the Embassy itself.

Pepper
AUGUST 1, 1945

FOR RELEASE AFTER DELIVERY BEFORE THE
SENATE

MR. PRESIDENT,

LIKE EVERY OTHER SENATOR PRESENT IN
THIS CHAMBER, I HAVE LISTENED WITH
GREAT SATISFACTION TO THE REMARKS OF
OUR ABLE MAJORITY LEADER. WITH CHAR-
ACTERISTIC FORESIGHT AND COURAGE, HE
HAS OUTLINED THE SHAPE OF LEGISLATION
TO COME IN THIS CONGRESS IF WE ARE NOT
TO FAIL OUR PRESIDENT AND OUR PEOPLE.
OF COURSE, THIS SENATE, LIKE THIS
COUNTRY WILL SUPPORT THE LEGISLATIVE
PROGRAM OF THE PRESIDENT, FOR HE
HOLDS NOT ONLY THE AFFECTION BUT THE
CONFIDENCE OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND HIS
COUNTRY. WE SHALL, TOO, RESPOND TO
THE PRESIDENTS EXPECTATION THAT WE
SHALL DULY DISCHARGE OUR OWN RESPONSIB-

BILITY AS SENATORS, NOT ONLY IN SUPPORT
ING HIM IN HIS RECOMMENDATIONS, BUT
IN OURSELVES INITIATING THAT LEGISLA-
TION WHICH IS ^{AN} ADEQUATE RESPONSE TO
THE CHALLENGE OF THE EXACTING FUTURE..

LIKE OUR ABLE LEADER OF THE MAJORI-
TY, OTHER SENATORS, AWARE OF THE
DIFFICULT TIMES RUSHING TOWARD US,
HAVE BEEN GIVING EXPRESSION TO PRIN-
CIPLES OR FORMULATING LEGISLATION
BY WHICH WE MIGHT ASSURE TO THIS
NATION, NOT ONLY PEACE ABROAD, BUT
FULL EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH,
PROSPERITY, AND SECURITY AT HOME.

THE ABLE SENATOR FROM WEST

VIRGINIA, SENATOR KILGORE, AND MYSELF HAVE TRIED TO PUT TOGETHER INTO A FEW PAGES NOT ONLY OUR THOUGHTS ABOUT SUCH A PROGRAM, BUT THE THOUGHTS OF MANY OTHER SENATORS IN THIS BODY WHOSE NAMES ARE TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION WITHOUT THE RISK OF INJUSTICE TO SOME. THOSE WHO KNOW THE RECORD AND THE HEART OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN KNOW THAT IF HE WERE STILL HARRY TRUMAN, OUR COLLEAGUE, HE WOULD APPROVE EVERY SENTENCE AND SENTIMENT OF THIS DECLARATION--THIS LIBERAL BILL OF RIGHTS. THE EXPRESSIONS AND THE SUGGESTIONS INCORPORATED IN THESE PAGES, ARE

SUBMITTED TO OUR WORTHY COLLEAGUES
AND TO THE COUNTRY, FOR CONSIDERATION
DURING THE CONGRESSIONAL RECESS. THEY
ARE THE THOUGHTS OF MANY MEN AND
MANY MINDS REACHING OUT TOWARD SOME
ADEQUATE PROPER ANSWER TO THE EXPECT-
ATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY
THOSE IN THE ARMED SERVICES AND THOSE
WHO ARE CIVILIANS--THAT WE SHALL NOT
FAIL THEM, THAT WE SHALL NOT GIVE
THEM LESS THAN THEY HAVE BOUGHT WITH
THEIR SWEAT, THEIR TEARS THEIR BLOOD.

I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT THE
STATEMENT WHICH I NOW SEND TO THE DESK

ON BEHALF OF THE ABLE SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA, SENATOR KILGORE, AND MYSELF MAY APPEAR AT THIS POINT IN THE RECORD.

FOR TWELVE YEARS THIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, AND BY THE PEOPLE. WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE JOBLESS, IT PROVIDED JOBS. IT SAVED THE PEOPLES HOMES AND FARMS AND BUSINESSES, THEIR SAVINGS IN THEIR BANKS. IT REACHED DOWN TO CLASP THE HAND OF THE FORGOTTEN MAN AND LIFTED HIM UP NOT ONLY TO DIGNITY, BUT SECURITY. IT PROVIDED FOR HIM IN IDLENESS AND OLD AGE. IT

DID NOT FORGET THE MOTHER OR HER
TENDER INFANT. IT HELPED BIG BUSI-
NESS AND LITTLE BUSINESS. IT STIMU-
LATED TRADE, PUT MONEY IN THE HANDS
OF THE PEOPLE AND MADE IT POSSIBLE
FOR THEM WITH THEIR ENERGY, STRENGTH,
AND COURAGE, TO BUILD A NEW NATION
MIGHTIER THAN ANY WHICH HAD ENDURED
BEFORE.

NOW THAT NATION, SAVED FROM ITS
ENEMIES ABROAD, IS THREATENED BY
OTHER DANGERS NO LESS THAN THOSE
AGAINST WHICH FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSE-
VELT REASSURED THE PEOPLE ON THE

FOURTH OF MARCH, 1933, WHEN HE SAID,
WE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR SAVE FEAR
ITSELF.

AGAIN UNEMPLOYMENT RUSHES TOWARDS
US WITH GROWING SPEED. THE PEOPLE
HAVE SEEN, THE WORLD HAS SEEN, WHAT
AMERICA FULLY EMPLOYED CAN DO, FOR
THE LIKE OF IT IS NOT IN ALL HISTORY.
THE PEOPLE WANT--NAY THEY DEMAND--
THAT WE HAVE FULL EMPLOYMENT IN
PEACE AS IN WAR. THIS IS THE DEMAND
OF THE RETURNING VETERAN AS WELL AS
THE WAR WORKER AT HOME. GIVE THEM
LESS AND WE HAVE FAILED THEM. GIVE

THEM LESS AND THEY HAVE NOT GOT WHAT THEY HAVE EARNED AND WON. IT IS THIS CONGRESS TO WHICH SERVICE MEN AND CIVILIANS TURN FOR THE ASSURANCE THAT THEY SHALL HAVE A CHANCE TO LIVE HONORABLY THROUGH THEIR LABOR.

AND THIS HAS TAUGHT US THAT THERE CAN BE PROSPERITY FOR THE PEOPLE. BUT IF THE PEOPLE LOSE THEIR PROSPERITY, THEY SHALL PUT THE FAULT UPON THIS CONGRESS. WE DARE NOT BY OUR FAILURE, THRUST THIS NATION INTO ANOTHER DEPRESSION. IF WE SLEEP AT THE SWITCH, THE DISASTER WILL BE OURS. THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT IN THIS RICH

LAND, IN THIS NEEDY AND HUNGRY WORLD, AGRICULTURE TOO CAN PROSPER LIKE BUSINESS AND LABOR. THE FARMER HAS THE RIGHT TO A FAIR RETURN FOR HIS ENTERPRISE--THE FARM WORKER A FAIR RETURN FOR HIS LABOR. GIVE THEM LESS AND WE HAVE NOT ONLY STARVED MILLIONS OF MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, BUT WE HAVE STRANGLED THOSE WHO FURNISH THE VERY STAFF OF LIFE. AGRICULTURE ASKS NOT BOUNTY BUT JUSTICE.

THE VETERAN, THE AGED, THE DISABLED,-- WE KNOW THEIR CLAIM. IT CAN NOT BE JUSTLY DENIED. AND WHEN I SPEAK OF THE RIGHTS OF VETERANS,

I SPEAK NOT ONLY OF THEIR RIGHT TO DIE, BUT OF THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE IN THE FULNESS THAT THEY HAVE WON. GIVE THEM LESS AND WE HAVE BETRAYED THEM.

WE ARE NOW NEARING THE END OF THAT DARK CORRIDOR THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SO LONG PASSING. THE EYES OF THE NATION ARE UPON THIS CONGRESS TO KNOW WHAT ITS FUTURE SHALL BE. MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, SENATORS. WE ARE THE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE. IF WE FAITHFULLY AND WELL SERVE THEM, THEY SHALL HONOR US. IF WE FAIL THEM THEY SHALL SPEW US OUT OF THEIR MOUTHS. FOR TWELVE LONG YEARS TH+

IN THIS NATION, MEN AND WOMEN--BOYS AND GIRLS--HAVE SEEN THE PATTERN OF THEIR LIVES SHAPED BY THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY HAD. THEY KNOW THAT A GOVERNMENT DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE CAN LIFT THEM UP TO HEIGHTS WHICH THEY HAVE NEVER REACHED BEFORE. THEY KNOW WHEN THEIR GOVERNMENT RESPONDS TO THE SIREN SONG OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGE. THEY KNOW THOSE WHO WOULD DO NOTHING WHILE THEY DIE. THEY KNOW WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN REMEMBERED AND WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN.

THESE KNOWING PEOPLE ARE ON THE

MARCH--THEY ARE ON THE MARCH IN
BRITAIN. ALL OVER THE WORLD MAN IS
MOVING FORWARD AND UPWARD. AMERICA
HAS BEEN LEADING THAT MARCH. WE
SHALL NOT NOW LAG BEHIND.

AS THIS CONGRESS HAS JUST SET
THE WORLD AN EXAMPLE IN FORGING THE
MACHINERY OF PEACE FOR A BLEEDING
WORLD, LET US WHEN WE RECONVENE,
WITH EQUAL GLORY, FASHION THE INSTRU-
MENTS OF PROSPERITY. THAT IS WHAT
THE NATIONS EXPECTS. THAT IS WHAT
AMERICA DEMANDS.

August 7, 1945

OVER ALL NOTE:

Let's get Pepper on the telephone. Flash is his business manager and we can see that the two of them have a two hours talk. And Flash see that Pepper has the proper press conference before he leaves and sort of act as a secretary in getting the business end done such as seeing that Pepper calls Andy and gets committed to make 4-6 speeches from October 15 to Christmas, and gives Flash the authorization to arrange dates. Towns might be Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and possibly Milwaukee, St Louis, Louisville, and Philadelphia. It is certain that Flash should see the liberal publisher at Philadelphia--Stern--whom I know that Flash would "take" if he had an introductory four line letter from Wallace or possibly even Pepper.

The proposed Pepper articles could be sold to Stern I am sure, for the Philadelphia Record. So Flash should get,,before Pepper leaves, a short letter authorizing him to act as his literary agent. It should read: L.J. Gordon, Washington, D.C. Hay-Adams House. I hereby authorize you to act as my literary agent in connection with my European trip. I shall produce at least three articles, probably five, on different phases of the European scene as it affects the United States in political, educational, medical, security, and economic matters, designed primarily for newspaper use. I shall be prepared to also produce magazine articles if I approve the type of article.

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Page 1

August 13, 1945

STATEMENT:

Senator Kilgore and I visited President Truman this morning. We found him not only interested but tremendously at work on matters pertaining to full employment. He had no time for war end jubilation--only for the job ahead.

The Senator and I have prepared and presented to the President our views and those of many other Senators who collaborated with us on this question of post war conversion for full steam ahead. You may now have it for publication if you so desire. It is fortunate that both Republican and Democratic Senators are in agreement on substantially all of this general plan. Senator Barkley has very ably presented the need of legislation. We have congratulated the President and Senator Barkley on a decision to reconvene Congress immediately after Labor Day.

In working during recent weeks together, Senator Kilgore and I conceived a division of our personal labors between now and the convening of the Senate. I am to go to Europe to bring back last minute information in support of the general plan as submitted to the President today. It is imperative that independent business and any Congress which will support independent business post war, have the latest information regarding cartel post war plans which we believe would, if effective, stifle American enterprise. I am hopeful that in Britain and Europe I shall see and meet out mutual friends in the struggle against world cartelism, and that in Germany I shall get first hand and late information of how the Allied Control Commission will function at the home of the cartel--Germany.

I shall look forward to talking to the representatives of the American government who are now ferreting out all of the iniquitous details of the German cartel arrangements with other nations before

and during the war. I will report back to my fellow Senators just how far and effectively steps have been taken to stamp out Nazism and cartelism in German industrial life. For unless cartelism--the control of world markets by private monopolies for greed only, through scarcity and high prices--is stamped out, neither independent business nor responsible government can survive in the world.

Any free enterprise and full trade in a world wide sense must look to American leadership. With the work that Senator Kilgore and his associates will be doing in Committee during the recess, and what information I shall bring back as to what Europe is doing, we should be able to move fast and intelligently in all legislation to implement peace, full employment, full health, and maximum education.

I am officially going as Chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee which has been making a study of how independent business can get access to world markets.

IMPORTANT NOTE TO MANAGING EDITORS:

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS BEING SENT YOU ON THE STRICT UNDERSTANDING, REQUIRED BY THE AUTHOR, THAT IF RUN IT WILL BE CARRIED PRECISELY AS SENT YOU. PROFESSOR MILLIKAN WRITES THAT THE STORY HAS BEEN PREPARED WITH VERY GREAT CARE TO PREVENT POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDING.

ATOMIC ENERGY WILL NOT SUPPLANT

OIL AND COAL AS INDUSTRIAL POWER

SOURCE, LEADING PHYSICIST WRITES

PRECEDE:

WITH THE WAR WON AND A CLEARER PERSPECTIVE ESTABLISHED, WE CAN NOW SEE THE MIRACLE OF ATOMIC ENERGY IN A TRUER LIGHT. THE AUTHOR OF THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT ARTICLE IS ONE OF THE LEADING PHYSICISTS IN AMERICA, DIRECTOR OF THE NORMAN BRIDGE LABORATORY OF PHYSICS AT THE CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF CIT. NOBEL PRIZE WINNER, HE HAS BEEN WIDELY HONORED BY HIS FELLOW PHYSICISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HIS BOOKS INCLUDE: "MECHANICS, MOLECULAR PHYSICS AND HEAT," "EVOLUTION OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION," "TIME, MATTER AND VALUES," "ELECTRONS, PROTONS, PHOTONS, NEUTRONS AND COSMIC RAYS."

END PRECEDE

BY DR. ROBERT A. MILLIKAN

NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE

WE PHYSICISTS ARE WONT TO DATE THE RISE OF MODERN PHYSICS FROM THE DISCOVERY OF X-RAYS BY ROENTGEN IN DECEMBER 1895, FOR IN THE TRAIN OF THAT DISCOVERY, AND STIMULATED BY IT, THERE FOLLOWED QUICKLY THE DISCOVERY BY BECQUEREL IN PARIS IN 1896 OF RADIOACTIVITY, AND THE DISCOVERY BY J.J. THOMSON IN ENGLAND IN 1897 OF THE ELECTRON AS A FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUENT OF ALL THE ATOMS IN THE UNIVERSE.

OF THESE LAST DISCOVERIES THE ELECTRON, WITH ITS MYRIAD OF APPLICATIONS, HAS BEEN THE MORE USEFUL TO MANKIND, RADIOACTIVITY THE MORE REVOLUTIONARY TO HUMAN THOUGHT. FOR RADIOACTIVITY MEANT THAT SOME EVEN OF THE "ETERNAL ATOMS," NAMELY THOSE OF URANIUM AND THORIUM, ARE UNSTABLE AND ARE SPONTANEOUSLY THROWING OFF WITH GREAT ENERGY PIECES OF THEMSELVES, THUS TRANSFORMING THEMSELVES INTO OTHER ATOMS FOLLOWING THE UNIVERSAL TENDENCY OF MATTER TO GET INTO A STATE OF MAXIMUM STABILITY--A STATE THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN PRACTICALLY REACHED BY THE ATOMS OF ALL SAVE A FEW VERY HEAVY AND VERY RARE ELEMENTS.

MORE

THE RATE, FOR EXAMPLE, AT WHICH HELIUM ATOMS UNDER THIS TENDENCY ARE FLYING OUT OF A GIVEN WEIGHT OF RADIUM CAN BE EASILY COUNTED IN ANY LABORATORY. THE HALF-LIFETIME OF RADIUM (TIME REQUIRED TO LOSE HALF ITS ACTIVITY), FOR EXAMPLE, HAS THUS BEEN FIXED AT 1,600 YEARS, THE HALF-LIFETIME OF ORDINARY URANIUM AT 4,500,000,000 YEARS. THIS MEANS THAT SOME UNKNOWN BILLIONS OF YEARS AGO THAT PIECE OF URANIUM, THE HEAVIEST OF EARTH'S KNOWN ELEMENTS, WAS SOMEWHERE, SOMEHOW, PERHAPS THROUGH TITANIC PRESSURES, BUILT UP INTO THAT UNSTABLE STATE, EITHER DIRECTLY OUT OF HELIUM ATOMS OR OUT OF THE GREAT PRIMORDIAL ELEMENT, HYDROGEN, WHICH IS IN FACT THE BUILDING UNIT OF ALL OF 92 ELEMENTS FOUND ON EARTH.

WE CAN OF COURSE UTILIZE THE KINETIC ENERGIES OF THESE HIGH-SPEED HELIUM ATOMS CONTINUOUSLY BEING SHOT OUT FROM URANIUM AND THORIUM AND THEIR RADIOACTIVE PROGENY. THIS WAS REALIZED BY THE YEAR 1900, AND SO-CALLED RADIUM CLOCKS WERE ACTUALLY BUILT AND THIS ATOMIC ENERGY THUS PUT TO WORK BUT AT A RATE SO MINUTE THAT IT DID NOT DISTURB THE POWER INDUSTRY ANY MORE THAN THE PRESENT UTILIZATION OF ATOMIC ENERGY NOW SEEMS LIKELY TO DO.

BUT IN 1905, EINSTEIN LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL SOURCES OF ENERGY IN THE UNIVERSE THAN WE HAD THUS FAR HAD. HE DID IT THROUGH THE SETTING UP AS A CONSEQUENCE OF HIS SPECIAL RELATIVITY THEORY OF THE EQUATION $E = MC^2$ (ED: FIG. IS TO THE SECOND POWER--ABOVE THE LINE) IN WHICH M IS MASS IN GRAMS, C IS THE SPEED OF LIGHT IN CENTIMETERS (300,000,000 C. SEC.), AND E IS ENERGY IN ABSOLUTE ENERGY UNITS, NAMELY, ERGS.

THE CONCEPTION HERE IS THE EXCEEDINGLY IMPORTANT ONE THAT MATTER IS ITSELF CONVERTIBLE INTO RADIANT ENERGY, OR, TO TAKE A CONCRETE CASE, THAT THE SUN HAS BEEN ABLE TO CONTINUE FOR THE PAST 3,000,000,000 YEARS POURING OUT HEAT AND LIGHT AT ITS PRESENT PRODIGIOUS RATE ONLY BECAUSE IT IS CONTINUOUSLY FEEDING ITS OWN MASS INTO ITS FURNACES AND CONSEQUENTLY SHRINKING ITS WAISTBAND ALL THE TIME, AND SENDING THE LOST WEIGHT OUT IN THE FORM OF RADIANT HEAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE FOREGOING EQUATION.

HERE IS IN FACT THE GREAT, INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE OF ATOMIC ENERGY, THOUGH IT IS NOTHING BUT THE ACTUAL SOURCE FROM WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN THAT WE GET OUR POWER, NAMELY, FROM PRESENT OR PAST RADIANT ENERGY FROM THE SUN BOTTLED IN OIL OR COAL OR WOOD OR WATERFALLS.

MORE

N-A-N-A--3. ADD TWO MILLIKAN X X X OR WATERFALLS.

AND THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF AVAILABLE ENERGY THUS STORED IN COAL AND OIL IS UNQUESTIONABLY VERY MANY TIMES LARGER THAN THAT WHICH IS STORED IN THE UNSTABLE ATOMS OF URANIUM AND THORIUM AND IS PRACTICALLY RELEASABLE THROUGH THEIR DISINTEGRATION INTO LIGHTER MORE STABLE ATOMS. FOR REASONS GIVEN IN THE NEXT PARAGRAPH THIS IS CALLED "PACKING-FRACTION ENERGY." IT IS RELEASED EITHER THROUGH THE BUILDING UP OF HELIUM, CARBON, OXYGEN, AND OTHER STABLE ATOMS OUT OF THE LIGHTEST ATOM HYDROGEN, OR THROUGH THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE VERY HEAVY, UNSTABLE ATOMS INTO VERY MUCH LIGHTER, STABLE ONES.

FOR ACCORDING TO THE ESTIMATES OF THE ASTROPHYSICISTS, THE UNIVERSE IS STILL 90 PER CENT HYDROGEN. OUR SUN IS CONSTITUTED LARGELY THUS. AT THE ENORMOUS PRESSURES AND TEMPERATURES EXISTING WITHIN IT, FOUR ATOMS OF HYDROGEN CAN SOMETIMES GET TOGETHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AND FORM ONE ATOM OF HELIUM, BUT THE MASS OF A FREE HYDROGEN ATOM IS 1.0082 ATOMIC-MASS UNITS (A.M.U.) AND THE MASS OF THE FOUR OF THEM BEFORE THEIR UNION WAS 4.003 A.M.U. SO THAT .03 A.M.U. HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE PROCESS OF COMBINING THE FOUR H ATOMS INTO ONE HE ATOM. THIS .03 A.M.U. IS CALLED THE PACKING FRACTION RELEASED IN THIS PARTICULAR REACTION AS RADIANT ENERGY PER HE ATOM FORMED, OR .0075 A.M.U. FOR EACH H ATOM INVOLVED IN THE REACTION. THE PACKING FRACTION ENERGY RELEASED IN THE BUILDING UP OF MOST OF THE COMMON ABUNDANT ATOMS OUT OF H IS NOT FAR, PER H ATOMS, FROM THE ABOVE VALUE INVOLVED IN THE BUILDING OF HE.

WHEN THESE PACKING-FRACTION ENERGIES WERE FIRST WORKED OUT 35 YEARS AGO, SOME ENTHUSIASTIC SCIENTISTS FOLLOWED THEIR JULES VERNE URGE AND GOT INTO PRINT WITH THE STATEMENT THAT THERE WAS ENOUGH ATOMIC ENERGY IN A CUP FULL OF SEA WATER TO DRIVE THE BIGGEST SHIP ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. THEY MIGHT HAVE TOLD A MUCH BIGGER STORY THAN THAT; NAMELY, THAT IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE HYDROGEN IN ALL THE SEAS COMBINE AT ONCE INTO HELIUM OR INDEED INTO ANY OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS, THEN WE COULD PROBABLY EXPLODE THE WHOLE EARTH AND TRANSFORM IT INTO A NEBULA WITH THE "PACKING-FRACTION ENERGY" SET FREE.

THE DIFFICULTY IS THAT SO FAR AS WE CAN NOW SEE THIS PARTICULAR PACKING-FRACTION JOB IS ONE WHICH THE GREAT ARCHITECT ASSIGNED TO THE STUPENDOUS PRESSURES AND TEMPERATURES EXISTING IN THE INTERIORS OF THE STARS, NOT TO PUNY MAN OR EVEN TO COLD-BLOODED MOTHER EARTH, FOR IT TAKES A WARMER LADY THAN SHE TO DO THAT JOB.

MORE

N-A-N-A--4. ADD THREE MILLIKAN

THIS SITUATION HAS BEEN SO WELL KNOWN THAT FOR THE PAST 35 YEARS I HAVE NOT HEARD OF A SCIENTIST OR EVEN A NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST WHO GREW JITTERY OVER THE PROSPECT OF MAN'S SETTING OFF THAT EXPLOSION.

THE ONLY OTHER KIND OF PROCESS WHICH MIGHT RELEASE "PACKING-FRACTION ENERGY" RAPIDLY WOULD BE TO CAUSE THE HEAVY UNSTABLE ATOMS OF URANIUM AND THORIUM TO DISINTEGRATE INTO SOME OF THE COMMON STABLE ELEMENTS FASTER THAN THEY ARE DOING THROUGH NORMAL RADIOACTIVE PROCESSES. THESE ELEMENTS ARE ALREADY VERY RARE AND THEREFORE VERY EXPENSIVE, AND, OF COURSE, IF WE SHOULD BEGIN TO USE THEM UP FOR ORDINARY POWER PURPOSES THEY WOULD VERY QUICKLY BECOME RAPER AND MORE EXPENSIVE, WHEREAS WHEN THE BOTTLED SUNLIGHT ENERGY WHICH WE HAVE IN OIL AND COAL IS ALL GONE, 2,000 YEARS HENCE, WE SHALL USE WATER-AND-WIND-AND-TIDE-POWER MORE FULLY THAN NOW, AND GROW FUEL CROPS IN THE TROPICS, AND ALSO DEVELOP HEAT ENGINES FOR USING THE SUN'S RAYS DIRECTLY AND THUS GET OUR POWER--MORE EXPENSIVELY THAN NOW, IT IS TRUE, BUT NOT PROHIBITIVELY SO.

IN OTHER WORDS, SUCH IS THE ATOMIC ENERGY RELEASED IN THE SUN, WHICH IS SHOT DOWN TO US WITH THE SPEED OF LIGHT, AND WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET EVEN BEGUN TO TRY TO COLLECT AS OUR PRESENT SOURCE OF POWER--THE REASON BEING THAT COAL AND OIL ARE STILL SO CHEAP AND SO ENORMOUSLY ABUNDANT IN COMPARISON WITH ANY TOTAL AMOUNT OF ENERGY THAT CAN BE GOTTEN, WITH THE BEST OF CONDITIONS, OUT OF URANIUM AND THORIUM--THAT I DO NOT SEE SUCH ATOMIC ENERGY AS IS POSSIBLY AVAILABLE THROUGH URANIUM OR THORIUM OR ANY OF THE EARTH'S UNSTABLE ELEMENTS COMPETING IN THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POWER INDUSTRY WITH THE PACKING-FRACTION ENERGY THAT IS SUPPLIED US EVERY DAY THROUGH OLD SOL'S FURNACES.

THE PROBLEM OF ACCELERATING THE DISINTEGRATION OF URANIUM HAS BEEN A BEAUTIFUL AND A VERY DIFFICULT SCIENTIFIC JOB, AND THE RESULTS CAN BE USED IN MANY USEFUL WAYS, BUT IN MY JUDGMENT ONLY WHERE HIGH COSTS ARE NOT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR. AS AN ECONOMICAL, LONG-RANGE SOURCE OF POWER FOR THE POWER INDUSTRY, IN MY JUDGMENT THIS METHOD IS OUT.

END MILLIKAN--NANA

JM738P

KQ
NANA--20. CORRECTION: MILLIKAN

EDITORS:

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT CORRECTION IN THE STORY ON
ATOMIC ENERGY BY DR. ROBERT A. MILLIKAN, FOR RELEASE TUESDAY,
AUG. 21, 1945.

IN BOOK 3 (NANA-3), SECOND PARAGRAPH, FROM LINE SIX TO NINE,
READ:

" X X X BUT THE MASS OF A FREE HYDROGEN ATOM IS 1.0082 ATOMIC-MASS
UNITS (A.M.U.) AND THE MASS OF THE FOUR OF THEM BEFORE THEIR UNION
WAS 4.033 A.M.U., WHILE THE DIRECTLY MEASURED MASS OF THE HELIUM
ATOM IS 4.003 A.M.U., SO THAT .03 A.M.U. HAVE BEEN LOST IN THE
PROCESS X X X ETC."

IN BOOK 2 (NANA-2), THIRD PARAGRAPH, LINE SIX, READ IT "X X X
(300,000,000 CM./SEC.), AND X X X

AS A FURTHER CHECK, WE ARE REPEATING HERewith ALL THE FIGURES
APPPEARING IN THE MILLIKAN STORY:

1895, 1896, 1897, 1,600, 4,500,000,000, 92, 1900, 1905, 300,000,000,
3,000,000,000, 90, 1.0082, 4.033, 4.003, .03, .03, .0075, 35, 35,
2,000.

NANA, NEW YORK, AUG. 20, 1945.

END CORRECTION: MILLIKAN--NANA

JM925P

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

Here I am in England on my official investigation of foreign trade opportunities for small business. I hope I shall live up to the headlines in the English newspapers, Senator Pepper, the envoy of the little man, arrives from America. It is hard for a Floridian to describe England, it is something that you have to feel for yourself. It is a mixture of the familiar and unfamiliar. The weather is usually, as we would say, "cloudy". There are very few bright sunlit days such as we have, so it is a little cool most of the time and somewhat damp. Something that would interest our ladies is that among the ordinary people one seldom sees ladies wearing makeup. Lipstick and rouge are very expensive and therefore only the very well-to-do can afford them here.

I came over on the greatest ship afloat, the QUEEN ELIZABETH, which landed for the first time since it was built in England in Southampton. She had previously landed only in Scotland. There were only 600 people coming over but this great ship will carry 15,000 American boys back home. Today a young Sergeant from Clearwater paid me a visit. He had been in combat in Germany and was having an interesting furlough here visiting English friends whom he had met on the boat. These people had taken him and his friends into their homes for two days. They were parents of RAF boys who had trained in the United States and were returning the favor to these American soldiers. That shows the best ambassadors our two countries have will be the men and women who have visited in each of our countries from the other and have fought this great war together. When the people really understand each other that makes their nations friends.

I have just come from the House of Commons where I have heard Mr. Winston Churchill speak this morning in reply to a member of the Government who proposed to set up a committee to study and improve the rules of the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill, as was rather to be expected, did not much favor such a proposal and pointed out in his characteristic way that it was not desirable to enact laws too speedily. The House of Commons, he said, was not only a machine through which legislation should be enacted; it was the people's forum for debate.

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You could hardly believe, looking right down on Mr. Churchill from the gallery where I was, that he is over 72 years old. His complexion is exceptionally light and his short figure is remarkably alive and strong, this in spite of the fact, you will remember, that he has twice had pneumonia. It would surprise you to hear him speak, how often he stammers and how often in a very interesting way he repeats a phrase. One of the Labor members heckled Mr. Churchill but he made a pretty quick end to his heckler, to the approving cheers of his colleagues. Mr. Churchill is still the old bulldog of Empire because he asked the Prime Minister a question as to whether the Labor Government was going to give away any British colonies and territories, for example Hongkong. When he makes a point his eyes flash and he becomes a tiger defending again the Empire.

Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, is a different type. He is quiet and more judicial in attitude. I had a pleasant talk with him yesterday afternoon about which I will write later. The Labor Government here is really the Liberal Government, not just Labor as we think of it at home. Only one-third of the Labor Party members are really officials of Labor Unions. The Labor Government is what you might call the New Deal in England. There are many brilliant young men of the future who are members.

The people over here are very much disturbed by the stoppage of Lend-Lease. We Americans cannot realize how it is to live in a country where it is impossible to get an egg or an orange or a grapefruit. I think every Floridian would want to ease the difficult problems of our English Allies in this respect. This is one of the times when helping our Allies get necessary foods also forwards the interests of our fine citrus fruit which the English people miss so much. You will hear from me again next week.

* * * * *

(EDITOR'S NOTE: "Very Truly Yours" is intended
(to give you first-hand insight)
(into Florida affairs at)
(Washington. You may find this)
(helpful in a number of ways--)
(for your own information, as)
(background for editorials,)
(for news stories, and perhaps)
(as a column.)
(September 1, 1945 - Number 21)

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

OUR FRENCH ALLIES

I concluded my London visit Monday afternoon with a 45-minute talk with former Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Mr. and Mrs. Churchill are living in the apartment of their daughter and son-in-law until they can get a house of their own in London. The housing shortage is such in London that it is not easy even for a former Prime Minister to find a place in which to live.

Mr. Churchill looks so young in spite of his 70 years that I told him that he surely must have visited our Fountain of Youth in Florida. He was very much concerned about the stoppage of Lend-Lease by the United States to Great Britain. One of the things which has struck me most forcibly both in London and here is that aid from the United States is the only hope these people have against sinking to a standard of living which will produce first, Economic and then, Political Chaos. If we are to keep Free Enterprise in the world and preserve a strong European Market for our manufactured goods and farm products, we must, in a wise and business-like way, help these people get out of the slough of war.

Mr. Churchill spoke movingly of President Roosevelt and of his admiration and affection for him.

I flew over to Paris in a converted flying fortress belonging to Ambassador Winant. The crew was the crew of the famous Flying Fortress "Hells Angels" which did such a heroic job bombing Germany.

I have been getting an insight into the conditions in France and what kind of a market we can expect in France for our American goods. Prices are at least four or five times normal here. The Black Market flourishes everywhere because supplies of everything, including food, are so very inadequate for the people. The transportation system of the country was broken down by the war and they simply can't move even foodstuffs adequately from one part of France to another. Their manufacturing has not yet gotten underway again. Many of their factories have gone through six years without repairs and are out of date anyway for efficient production.

The prospect is that nearly all of Europe is going to be cold this winter because they can't get the coal for fuel, except on the Black Market.

VERY TRULY YOURS

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A private citizen cannot get any gasoline at all for a car. Paris is still dimly-lighted and there is still a spirit of dejection among the people. Their political situation is uncertain. They have not yet had elections since the war but they are getting ready for a very spirited election in October. As best I can judge, it will probably result in a Government not conservative but probably not extremely radical.

* * * * *

You seem to see almost more Americans than you do French. American soldiers are all over the streets. Prices are so high that the French Government, to keep our soldiers from being unable to buy anything to speak of, gives each American soldier 850 francs a month or about \$17 in our money. The French Government also gives back to our soldiers the tax on gifts that they buy which amounts to nearly half of the purchase price.

I plan to go out to see the Normandy Beaches where our boys did what the Germans thought was impossible and began the drive that broke the Nazis' backs.

* * * * *

I had an orange for breakfast this morning but it wasn't a Florida orange. I am trying to find out why it wasn't.

They tell me that the stylish French Shops are beginning to make fashionable women's clothes again but prices are so high that one dress in one of these shops costs the equivalent of about \$500 in our money. I have always heard a lot about the beauty of French women but at dinner last night I saw a lot of young couples dancing and by common consent, the prettiest girl on the floor was an American WAC, dancing with an American soldier whom the French women obviously envied.

I have seen a lot of Florida boys over here and I am doing what I can to help them and their wives get home.

* * * * *

MORE NEXT WEEK-END.

* * * * *

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(as a column,)
(September 8, 1945 - Number 22)

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

GENERAL EISENHOWER AND GERMANY

I have just had the thrilling experience, which I wish every American could have, of spending an hour with General Eisenhower at Frankfurt, and almost another hour thereafter with General Bedell Smith, Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower. Of all the Ambassadors that we have ever had who have interpreted American democracy to the people of Europe, I believe it would be the opinion of history that General Eisenhower has been the greatest. Immediately you begin to talk to him, you feel perfectly at home, put at ease by his engaging and unassuming manner. I saw at once how right Winston Churchill was when he told me in London that General Eisenhower was one of the most selfless men he had ever known.

General Eisenhower not only has a magnificent grasp of the military situation in Europe, but of the economic, social and political conditions as well. Americans can be sure that he approaches every one of the difficult tasks which confronts him from a truly American point of view. Undoubtedly General Eisenhower's own character and personality, as well as his ability, is one of the greatest assets we have in working out the chaos of Europe into some new and better future.

General Smith described in a general way the preparation of plans for the liberation of Europe and how those plans were worked out into our great victory. As you get the story of these vast operations, you begin to appreciate how much General Eisenhower quickened the victory, shortened the war and saved the lives of our men by at least a half-dozen masterful overall decisions that he made as Supreme Commander.

* * * * *

Yesterday I flew from Paris across the territory of the Ardennes offensive, on to Hamburg, and then here to Frankfurt last night. You just can't imagine how a city looks where there is hardly a single house standing, nor, unless you have seen it, can you understand the terrific destructiveness of modern bombing. In Hamburg, for example, the RAF, in a raid which lasted five hours and forty minutes, destroyed forty percent of Hamburg, the second largest city in Germany, and killed some two hundred thousand people. There is a part of Hamburg they call the

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"dead city", where every single house is blown to pieces and nothing but just a few walls are left standing. In the city of Hamburg, it is estimated that between four hundred and five hundred thousand people live in cellars. Many other German cities have suffered as much or more. Germany, this time, knows what war means, and there can be no question but that she is physically, morally, and in every way totally defeated.

I have been curious to notice the attitude of the German people. Apparently they have taken the occupation of the Allied Armies submissively, although there are still a few instances in which small groups have attacked some of our men. The class, as one would expect knowing the poison of Nazi education under Hitler, which has provoked practically all such assaults, is the young men between about fourteen and twenty-one. The only case of sabotage of American property in Frankfurt, however, has been that of a German boy cutting some automobile tires with his knife.

Incidentally, regarding this dangerous type of youth pervaded by Hitler, an American lady in Paris who had suffered in German prison camps during the war, told me that under Hitler, they started twisting the mind of a child at about the age of four by telling him first that in everything he did, he must think of the pleasure and approval of the Fuehrer Hitler. A little later they would see that the child had a pet, such as a dog or a cat. Then they would tell the child that he must kill the pet either by strangulation or by blows or with a knife or in the way he would choose so as to please the Fuehrer. They would leave the child alone then. If he hesitated to kill his pet, he would be isolated from all other children and treated like an outcast. After the child was sufficiently punished in that way, he would be given another opportunity. When finally he brought himself to slay his pet, then he would be patted on the back, signally honored, and told that the Fuehrer greatly approved of what he had done, and that some day he would be a great general in the Army. That class, spending years under such mental torture, has become literally deranged. So they have got to be held and, if necessary, taught by the only thing they know and respect -- force.

* * * * *

VERY TRULY YOURS

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I have never seen finer looking soldiers than are in the Occupying Army in Germany. They are smart, snappy, and the finest type of young American men, and they don't take any foolishness from the Germans.

In Paris I had the great pleasure of meeting a considerable number of Florida boys and visiting with them. I am writing this article now in the Office of General Bedell Smith, General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, and with me is Major Jim Franklin, of Fort Myers. The plane which was to fly me from London the other day, I found to my great pleasure, was flown by a Jacksonville boy, Charlie George Coward, and one of the pilots on General Smith's plane, which is to fly me to Berlin this afternoon, is Captain Shelby Shanklin, another Fort Myers boy. Major Robert H. Milton, from Mariana, is here on General Eisenhower's Staff. I could name many other of our men whom I have seen and whom I am to see before I leave Germany.

* * * * *

September eighth was my forty-fifth birthday. I was grateful for many things that day, but the thing of which my heart was the fullest was the gratitude that God made me an American.

* * * * *

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(September 15, 1945 - Number 23)

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

RUSSIA IN TRANSITION

Last night for nearly an hour I sat in the Kremlin and talked to Generalissimo Joseph Stalin. That is not only a great honor because Stalin is one of the world's busiest men, but a great experience. Stalin does not want you to waste any time with pretty speeches or vague generalities. He likes to get directly to the point, yet you're welcome to ask any question and you can expect either a straightforward answer or a frank reply that that subject is still under consideration. You would describe Stalin as primarily a realist. He has seen the seamy side of life and yet he is engaged in the greatest mass experiment the world has ever seen--to lift the standard of living of nearly 200 million people, living on a sixth of the earth's surface.

Stalin works at night, often all night, and most of the appointments you have here with prominent government officials are in the evening.

Moscow is a most interesting city. Two days ago we visited the Kremlin, seeing the old churches and the magnificent palace of the Czars. The Congressional delegation, which arrived here at the same time I did, and I have seen many interesting sights. For example, the world's finest subway, of which the Russians are very proud, is here. We have been to see an automobile factory employing over twenty thousand people, still making trucks but just beginning to turn out passenger cars. We talked to the Director about the manner in which the workers were paid, the voice they had in the running of the factory, etc. You know that everything here is owned by the State and although each production unit stands pretty much on its own basis, any profits go to the State for the further use of all the people.

We also went to see a collective farm where seventy-one families live. Relatively few people have private houses in the city. In fact the people are crowded due to the shortage of housing, yet at this collective farm each family had a house. Due to the absence of the men in the army the women were still having to do most of the work at this farm. The men are returning now because there has been large scale demobilization in the Red Army.

* * * * *

We have been to the Russian Ballet which gave a very beautiful performance. We are to see other performances before we go and today the agency which is set up to entertain foreigners is going to give us a reception where we will get a chance to meet a good many people who have a part in Russian cultural life.

Of course, you have to realize that while Russia has accomplished marvels not only in fighting but in war production during the war, she is not yet a fully industrialized country. It is rare to see a private citizen owning an automobile. The automobiles they have generally go to officials and to professional people such as doctors or to factory workers who have achieved distinction or artists who merit some special reward. The Russians however are making a tremendous effort to industrialize their country. You must remember that for years before the war, sensing the German menace, the people had to sacrifice civilian goods in order to build up the Red Army and war production. If they hadn't, it is frightening to think what might have happened to the world.

The Russians like the Americans. They are generally a friendly agreeable people. They know about us and they want to be like us generally. It is very clear that the Government and the people earnestly want to work with America in keeping the peace and promoting better conditions in the world. The Russians desperately need peace so that they can repair their own war damage and build their own peace-time production. For that reason I do not believe the Russians have any aggressive intentions. For the first time their old enemies, Germany and Japan, are no more to threaten them. They have an opportunity therefore to raise the standard of living of their people which they have never before had. They need our help and they know they need it. I believe therefore that we ought to cooperate with them. They don't expect us to embrace or to like communism. They think they have a right to their kind of Government as they accord us our right to our kind of Government. They know there are many differences between them and us but they do seem to me, therefore, to have an earnest desire to submerge the little things and concentrate upon the big things upon which we have a common interest.

* * * * *

I flew here on a Russian plane from Berlin. The planes fly at what we call tree-top level but the pilots are skillful. They are using American planes.

I was two full days in Berlin. You just can't imagine the destruction you see there. Mile after mile of the heart of the city is nothing but a shell. Hitler's Chancellery is a shambles. I not only visited Hitler's old office in the Reichs Chancellery but the air raid shelter in which he and Eva Braun are supposed to have committed suicide. I don't believe either of them is dead. It was curious experience to be in an occupied country. The German people seem to be taking Allied occupation without remonstrances. It is hard to realize there is hardly a single well-to-do person now in Germany. Hitler not only impoverished the Nation but practically every single citizen in what was once a rich country. The Germans now know what war is. If we don't get food to them there will be thousands who will starve this winter, by common consent. Yet they are strong people and we will have to be severe not only now but in the future if they are not to regain a dangerous strength. I am sure the Russians, who have suffered indescribable destruction from the Germans twice in one generation, understand that and will follow that policy.

There is some concern here, it seems, that we may be too soft on the Japanese. If you see the ravages of war, the squalor and the poverty which war has caused in this part of the world, you have a new determination that we shall never again let these war makers rise up and that all of us must stand shoulder to shoulder together to keep the peace and to enrich the lives of the long suffering peoples of the world.

* * * * *

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(September 22, 1945 - Number 24		

1 Oct 1945

MANAGING EDITOR:

THIS EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH GENERALISSIMO STALIN WAS GRANTED SENATOR PEPPER TWO WEEKS AGO, BUT HAS BEEN DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION. USE OF PICTURES OF STALIN AND PEPPER IS SUGGESTED.

STALIN SAYS:

U. S. AND RUSSIA MUST FIND
COMMON GROUND FOR PEACETIME
COOPERATION; TOGETHER WE
CAN KEEP THE WORLD AT PEACE

PRECEDE:

SENATOR CLAUDE D. PEPPER, (DEM., FLA.), NOW ON A TOUR OF THE NEAR EAST, IS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND AS SUCH IS WELL QUALIFIED TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY WITH HEADS OF OTHER NATIONS. HERE, IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH GENERALISSIMO JOSEF STALIN, HE IS ABLE TO GIVE US STALIN'S-- AND RUSSIA'S--VIEWS ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THAT COUNTRY. FOR STALIN IS RUSSIA. AND HIS OPINIONS AS GIVEN TO SENATOR PEPPER ARE FAR-REACHING IN IMPORTANCE AS THEY TOUCH ON THE FUTURE OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

END PRECEDE

BY SENATOR CLAUDE D. PEPPER

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CAIRO, SEPT. 30.--(BY RADIO)--FOR NEARLY AN HOUR ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 14 I TALKED WITH GENERALISSIMO JOSEF STALIN IN THE KREMLIN. THAT IS A GREAT EXPERIENCE, FOR, AS YOU SIT ACROSS THE TABLE FROM HIM YOU KNOW YOU ARE PRIVILEGED TO TALK WITH THE SINGLE, MOST-POWERFUL MAN IN THE WORLD--THE MAN WHO IS GOING TO DETERMINE IN A LARGE WAY WHAT KIND OF WORLD OURS IS TO BE.

STALIN WAS RECENTLY MADE GENERALISSIMO SO HE IS NOW ADDRESSED BY THAT RANK, AND NOT AS MARSHAL. WITH THE GENERALISSIMO WERE ASSISTANT COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS H.A.Y. VYSHINSKY AND A YOUNG INTERPRETER WHOM I HAD KNOWN WHEN HE HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MR. GEORGE F. KENNAN, AMERICAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES HERE, WHO INTERPRETED FOR ME.

MORE

N-A-N-A--4. ADD ONE PEPPER--STALIN

THE GENERALISSIMO WORE HIS RED ARMY UNIFORM WITH A SINGLE DECORATION JUST OVER HIS HEART. HIS MANNER IS MODEST AND WITHOUT AFFECTATION. HE USUALLY IS DOODLING--DRAWING FIGURES ON A WRITING PAD--WHILE WAITING FOR HIS REMARKS TO BE TRANSLATED. GENERALLY HE SITS VERY QUIETLY AND SPEAKS IN A LOW VOICE WITH A LITTLE ANIMATION, BUT WHEN A SUBJECT OF KEEN INTEREST TO HIM IS RAISED HIS LARGE, BROWN EYES LIGHT UP, HIS FACE BECOMES ALIVE AND FULL OF EXPRESSION, AND HE SPEAKS EMPHATICALLY AND FLUENTLY, LOOKING YOU STRAIGHT IN THE EYE.

OCCASIONALLY STALIN WILL MAKE A FORCEFUL GESTURE WITH HIS CLOSED FIST, INDICATIVE OF HIS INFLEXIBLE WILL, YOU INSTINCTIVELY TRUST THE GENERALISSIMO AS YOU TALK TO HIM. HIS ANSWERS ARE DIRECT AND TO THE POINT. WHEN HE LAUGHS IT IS A GOOD, HEARTY LAUGH SUCH AS WE AMERICANS LIKE. AFTER THANKING THE GENERALISSIMO FOR THE HOSPITALITY WHICH I HAD ENJOYED IN HIS COUNTRY AND FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF SEEING HIM, KNOWING HOW BUSY HE WAS, I TOLD HIM THAT I DID NOT COME IN ANY OFFICIAL CAPACITY REPRESENTING MY GOVERNMENT BUT THAT I AM A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAS A VERY LARGE PART IN THE FORMULATION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND I WANTED THE PRIVILEGE OF DISCUSSING CERTAIN THINGS WITH HIM.

I THEN ASKED GENERALISSIMO STALIN IF HE WOULD BE GOOD ENOUGH TO TELL ME WHAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY ARE NOW THAT PEACE HAS COME TO THE WORLD.

STALIN TALKED FOR SOME LITTLE TIME. THE GIST OF HIS REPLY WAS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WISHES TO REPAIR THE DAMAGES OF WAR AND TO BUILD UP THE INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH OF HIS COUNTRY AND TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE.

"THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUSTAINED TERRIFIC WAR DAMAGE TO ITS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, TO ITS INDUSTRY, AND TO ITS PRODUCTION FACILITIES," SAID THE GENERALISSIMO.

TO AID IN REPAIRING THIS DESTRUCTION AND IN BUILDING UP SOVIET INDUSTRY AND PRODUCTION, HE SAID, THE SOVIET UNION HAD APPLIED TO THE UNITED STATES SIX MONTHS AGO FOR A \$6,000,000,000 LOAN.

I THEN ASKED WHAT ANSWER COULD BE GIVEN TO THE CRITICS WHO SAID THAT, IF THE UNITED STATES MADE A LOAN TO THE SOVIET UNION SUCH FUNDS WOULD BE USED BY THE SOVIET UNION NOT TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE TO TO BUILD UP THE PRODUCTIVE FACILITIES OF THE NATION, BUT TO CONTINUE LARGE-SCALE WAR PRODUCTION.

N-A-N-A--5. ADD TWO PEPPER--STALIN

STALIN SMILED AND SAID THAT THAT STATEMENT WAS RIDICULOUS. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE SUICIDE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO TRY TO KEEP UP LARGE-SCALE WAR PRODUCTION. THE BEST EVIDENCE, HE SAID, THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS CURTAILING ITS WAR PRODUCTION WAS THE FACT THAT IT HAD DEMOBILIZED MORE THAN THREE MILLION--ALMOST FOUR MILLION--MEN OF THE RED ARMY AND WOULD CONTINUE DEMOBILIZATION UNTIL THE RED ARMY IS DOWN TO ABOUT ONE-THIRD ITS WARTIME STRENGTH. HE SAID HE HAD EXPLAINED IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL TO THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION WHICH HAD SEEN HIM JUST AHEAD OF ME AS TO THE USE THE SOVIET UNION EXPECTED TO PUT THIS LOAN IF IT WERE GRANTED.

THE GENERALISSIMO EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOVIET UNION MEANT TO PAY BACK THE AMOUNT OF THE LOAN AND IF THE LOAN SHOULD BE AGREED TO IN PRINCIPLE, THEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COULD WORK OUT THE DETAILS ABOUT PAYMENT.

STALIN KNOWS THAT RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN HELD CLOSELY TOGETHER DURING THE WAR BY THE COHESION OF MUTUAL SELF-INTEREST IN DESTROYING THE AXIS AND THAT THE END OF THE WAR HAS TENDED TO BRING ABOUT A WEAKENING OF THAT TIE.

"NOW THAT OUR COMMON ENEMIES HAVE BEEN DEFEATED BY OUR JOINT EFFORTS," STALIN SAID, "YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE MUST FIND A NEW COMMON GROUND FOR COOPERATION IN THE PEACETIME."

I ASKED IF HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT SUCH NEW BASIS FOR COOPERATION WOULD BE FOUND.

"IT MAY NOT BE EASY," HE ANSWERED. "BUT CHRIST SAID, 'SEEK AND YE SHALL FIND.'"

STALIN IS A KEEN STUDENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND HE KNOWS THAT WE WILL NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER AND THAT THE GREAT DISTANCES THAT SEPARATE US GEOGRAPHICALLY AND OUR MANY DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGE AND TRADITION WILL OFTEN PUT BARRIERS BETWEEN US. YET YOU FEEL, AFTER TALKING TO THE GENERALISSIMO, A NEW ASSURANCE ABOUT HIS DESIRE TO JOIN WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OUR OTHER ALLIES IN BUILDING A BETTER WORLD.

ONE WHO SPEAKS TO STALIN IMMEDIATELY SENSES THE GENERALISSIMO'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE JOB HE HAS AHEAD OF HIM TO REPAIR THE TERRIBLE DAMAGE OF THE WAR AND TO RAISE THE GENERAL STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. RUSSIA, STALIN TOLD ME, DOES NOT WANT TO WASTE HER SUBSTANCE ON WAR OR PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AND SHE IS NOT THINKING OF AGGRESSION UPON OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

N-A-N-A--6. ADD THREE PEPPER--STALIN

"MY PEOPLE," STALIN SAID, "HAVE MADE THE GREATEST SACRIFICES OF ANY OF THE ALLIES. THEY HAVE GONE WITHOUT ADEQUATE FOOD, CLOTHING OR HOUSING DURING THIS LONG WAR. IT WOULD BE SUICIDAL FOR US TO DO ANYTHING BUT TO DEVOTE ALL OUR EFFORTS AND RESOURCES TO GIVING THE PEOPLE THE THINGS THEY HAVE SO LONG DONE WITHOUT. WE HAVE DEMOBILIZED 4,000,000 MEN ALREADY, DESPITE THE HANDICAPS OF INADEQUATE TRANSPORTATION, AND WE ARE PLANNING ADDITIONAL CUTS IN OUR ARMY."

STALIN SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN THE POSSIBILITY OF AMERICAN LOANS FOR HELP IN RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION. THEY NEED THIS COLLABORATION VERY BADLY TO REPAIR THEIR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, MANY SECTIONS OF THEIR INDUSTRY AND TO GET THEIR ECONOMIC MACHINE TO RUNNING AGAIN. THEY NEED TO IMPORT MUCH FOOD FOR THEIR PEOPLE IN MANY PARTS OF THEIR IMMENSE COUNTRY.

I BELIEVE THEY CAN SATISFY OUR GOVERNMENT THAT THESE FUNDS ARE TO BE USED FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES AND IN THE LONG RUN TO OUR OWN ADVANTAGE, BECAUSE INDUSTRIALIZED RUSSIA IS ONE OF THE MOST INVITING MARKETS THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR US. I AM SURE THEY CAN SHOW US THAT THESE FUNDS ARE NOT TO KEEP UP WAR PRODUCTION TO ANY GREAT EXTENT, BUT TO REPAIR THE DAMAGES OF WAR AND TO BUILD UP THE FACILITIES WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO DEVELOP THEIR GREAT NATURAL RESOURCES AND TO GIVE THEIR PEOPLE SOME OF THE THINGS OUR PART OF THE WORLD ENJOYS AND FOR WHICH THEY HAVE SO LONG HUNGERED AND SACRIFICED.

OUR TALK THEN TURNED TO MATTERS OF FOREIGN POLICY. STALIN SAID THE OBJECTIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION WAS TO COLLABORATE WITH THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN KEEPING PEACE.

I TOLD THE GENERALISSIMO THAT I WAS TROUBLED ABOUT WHAT WE SHOULD DO TO PREVENT GERMANY AND JAPAN FROM BECOMING AGGRESSOR NATIONS. THE GENERALISSIMO BANGED HIS CLENCHED FIST DOWN ON THE TABLE.

"WE MUST BE SEVERE WITH THESE TWO NATIONS," HE SAID. "IN THE CASE OF GERMANY, WE MADE THE MISTAKE AFTER THE LAST WAR OF LETTING HER REARM. WE WERE TOO EASY ON GERMANY. THE RESULT WAS THAT HITLER WAS PERMITTED TO BUILD UP HIS VAST WAR POWER AND TO WAGE DANGEROUS AND DEADLY WAR.

"NOW THAT GERMANY HAS BEEN DEFEATED WE MUST SEE TO IT THAT SHE IS DISARMED. BUT WE MUST GO FURTHER THAN THAT. WE MUST TAKE AWAY FROM GERMANY THE POWER TO WAGE WAR IN THE FUTURE. IF THAT IS TO BE DONE THE RUHR MUST BE TAKEN AWAY FROM GERMANY BECAUSE IT WAS THE RUHR THAT FURNISHED GERMANY THE MAJOR PART OF ITS POWER TO MAKE WAR."

N-A-N-A--7. ADD FOUR PEPPER--STALIN

I ASKED ABOUT SILESIA AND THE GENERALISSIMO SAID THAT THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN ASSIGNED TO POLAND SO THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER QUESTION ABOUT GERMANY BEING AIDED FROM THAT SOURCE.

THE GENERALISSIMO SPOKE WITH EVIDENT FEELING ABOUT THE JAPANESE. IT IS HIS CONCERN THAT WE ARE TREATING JAPAN NOW AS WE TREATED GERMANY AFTER THE LAST WAR AND NOT AS WE ARE TREATING GERMANY AFTER THIS WAR. THE GENERALISSIMO MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE WOULD COMMIT GREAT FOLLY IF WE WERE TO LET GERMANY AND JAPAN RISE UP AGAIN AS WAR MAKERS.

I ASKED THE GENERALISSIMO IF HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA, ACTING TOGETHER, COULD TO A LARGE EXTENT KEEP PEACE IN THE WORLD. HE SAID HE THOUGHT WE COULD. I EMPHASIZED TO THE GENERALISSIMO THAT I THOUGHT ALSO THAT WE, WHO ARE THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, COULD ALSO AID IN BRINGING ABOUT MORE AND MORE DISARMAMENT SO THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WOULD USE THEIR WEALTH TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLE INSTEAD OF FOR BUILDING ARMAMENTS AND INSTRUMENTS OF WAR.

THE GENERALISSIMO THOUGHT THAT THAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IF WE WOULD ALL WORK TOGETHER THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS AND KEEP THE AGGRESSOR NATIONS DISARMED. HOWEVER, THE GENERALISSIMO WARNED, WE COULD NOT EXPECT ALL NATIONS TO DISARM IF, MEANWHILE, WE LET THE AGGRESSOR NATIONS REARM, AND HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS VERY FORTUNATE THAT THE RED ARMY HAD BEEN STRONG ENOUGH TO STOP TURN BACK, AND HELP TO CRUSH THE GERMANS. "YES," I SAID. "IT WAS FORTUNATE NOT ONLY FOR RUSSIA BUT FOR THE WORLD. GOOD NATIONS EVERYWHERE OWE A GREAT DEBT TO YOU AND THE RED ARMY FOR THAT MAGNIFICENT ACCOMPLISHMENT."

THE GENERALISSIMO IS A REALIST, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT HE IS ENGAGED IN THE MIGHTIEST EFFORT EVER MADE IN A SINGLE NATION TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF SOME 200,000,000 PEOPLE AND AS A REALIST HE REVEALED THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD NOT OF ITSELF ASSURE WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY. YET WITH EQUAL CLARITY HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS THE VEHICLE THROUGH WHICH THE POWERS WHICH HAVE BEEN VICTORIOUS AGAINST THE GERMANS AND THE JAPANESE, IF THEY WORK EARNESTLY AND UNSELFISHLY TOGETHER, CAN KEEP THE PEACE AND PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF THE WORLD.

MORE

N-A-N-A--8. ADD FIVE PEPPER--STALIN

I TOLD THE GENERALISSIMO THAT HE WAS VERY MUCH ADMIRER IN THE UNITED STATES AND OFTEN IN THE MOST CORDIAL MANNER IS REFERRED TO AS "UNCLE JOE." HE SMILED AND SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT HE HAD DONE TO DESERVE SUCH ESTEEM BUT THAT HE WAS VERY GRATEFUL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THEIR GOOD WILL TOWARD HIM AND THE SOVIET UNION.

HE THEN AGAIN EXPRESSED THE DEEP GRATITUDE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR WHAT AMERICA HAD DONE TO AID THEM AGAINST THE NAZIS AND FOR THE DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES TO HELP RUSSIA TO RECOVER FROM THE DEVASTATION OF WAR AND TO GET ON HER FEET AGAIN ECONOMICALLY.

I THEN TOLD THE GENERALISSIMO THAT I HAD BROUGHT FOR HIM A COPY OF THE NEW BOOK, "60,000,000 JOBS," BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE HENRY WALLACE AND THAT I THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN IT. I PRESENTED HIM A COPY IN MAGAZINE FORMAT AND EXPLAINED THAT ATTACHED TO IT WAS A COPY OF A REVIEW OF THE BOOK WHICH I HAD WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES BEFORE LEAVING THE UNITED STATES.

THE GENERALISSIMO LOOKED AT THE BOOK WITH GREAT INTEREST, TURNING A FEW PAGES OF IT, AND MADE SOME REMARKS TO COMMISSAR VYSHINSKY, WHO SAT BESIDE HIM. BOTH THE GENERALISSIMO AND VYSHINSKY SEEMED PLEASED TO RECEIVE MR. WALLACE'S BOOK.

FINALLY HAVING BEEN WITH THE GENERALISSIMO FORTY-FIVE MINUTES, I SAID, NOW, WOULD THE GENERALISSIMO SEND ME AWAY WITH SOME MESSAGE OR SUGGESTION WHICH I MAY REMEMBER AS COMING FROM HIM?

STALIN HESITATED AND THEN SAID:

"JUST JUDGE THE SOVIET UNION OBJECTIVELY. DO NOT EITHER PRAISE US OR SCOLD US. JUST KNOW US AND JUDGE US AS WE ARE, AND BASE YOUR ESTIMATE OF US UPON FACTS AND NOT RUMORS."

MR. KENNAN AND I THEN AROSE AND MOVED BACK FROM THE TABLE. THE GENERALISSIMO CAME AROUND THE END OF THE TABLE TO ME, SHOOK HANDS AND SAID GOOD-BYE. HE TURNED AND CONGRATULATED OUR ACTING AMBASSADOR, MR. KENNAN, UPON THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS TRANSLATION.

MR. VYSHINSKY INTERPOLATED, "YES, VERY GOOD."

I THANKED THE GENERALISSIMO FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF HAVING AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM AND LEFT THIS DYNAMIC MAN TO HIS MANY TASKS.

END PEPPER--STALIN--NANA

JM823P

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

IMPRESSIONS OF RUSSIA

Last Monday afternoon the Russian organization which entertains foreign visitors, Voks, gave a reception for the delegation from the House of Representatives and myself and our aides. Many of their distinguished musicians performed for us. There were many outstanding Russian scientists there also, one of them being the famous Russian explorer in the Arctic, Papinin, who was forced down in the Arctic on his way across the North Pole flight to the United States and was rescued after months of exposure in the Arctic wastes.

There was of course much food and good wines. Since one of the musicians had played on the violin a Negro spiritual, we of the Congressional group gathered in a corner and sang "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot", "Swanee River", and "My Old Kentucky Home" for them. Our music wasn't so good but the Russians seemed to enjoy our singing these typically American songs.

One of the most impressive experiences I have had was a visit to the tomb of Lenin which has just recently been reopened. The tomb of Lenin is a dark marble mausoleum reaching at least fifty feet above the ground, just outside the walls of the Kremlin in the famous Red Square. A few feet below the roof of the tomb is a place where Stalin and the leading figures of the State review the enormous parades in Red Square. I doubt if anywhere in the world would one be able to see such an impressive ceremony. Recently, when General Eisenhower was here, he and Ambassador Harriman were invited to stand with Stalin and leaders of the State and the Red Army in this place to review the victory parade which lasted five hours. This is the first occasion that foreigners have been permitted to stand upon the tomb of Lenin.

Inside the tomb, down several flights of stairs, in a glass enclosed sepulchre flooded with flesh-colored indirect lighting reposes the body of Lenin himself. You can hardly imagine how natural and life-like Lenin looks. It seems almost as if he is lying down to sleep clad in the blouse and trousers which he wore in his lifetime and is the characteristic Russian dress. The secret of his remarkable preservation is of course strictly guarded by the Government and the Russian scientists who developed it.

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You can understand how the Russian people revere Lenin, their saint, when you see the enormous crowds which every day the tomb is open, line up to pass through. They stretch at least a quarter of a mile and of course many have to wait for hours before they can enter the tomb.

* * * * *

I went to see a California Navy boy who has been very ill, and got a chance to see a Russian hospital. They are inadequately staffed, short of space and facilities, and they do not have our standards of sanitation, yet I am told that their doctors are very competent and have developed many new surgical marvels. In Russia the chief aid being given by our Red Cross now is in the establishment of hospitals and in furnishing medical supplies.

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Today I am to visit a boy from Miami, Florida, by the name of Jack Kinman, who was at one time Dade County tennis champion and worked for the Mission Herald. This boy is just recovering from pneumonia.

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Yesterday I took off a little while to visit the Tretyakov Art Gallery and saw a splendid exhibition of Russian Art, both of the pre-revolutionary and of the Soviet period.

Yesterday afternoon I had a long conference with the Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Trade and Commerce and went over with him many questions about trade between the United States and the Soviet Union, especially emphasizing our desire that small business in America have a chance to participate in such trade. The Deputy Commissar was interested and made some helpful suggestions on this subject.

Since I am Chairman of the Patents Committee of the Senate I also presented to this Soviet official our views relative to the protection of American patents and copyrights in the Soviet Union and I expect to follow this subject up.

I had a conference yesterday with the Soviet press in the course of which they asked me my views about things here. The reporters don't ask quite as many searching questions as do our reporters and I thought I could observe that they can exercise some discretion in what they put down. In the course of my stay here I have met many representatives of other countries and had a chance to profit by their knowledge of the economic and political situation in the Soviet Union. I have spent days with our Embassy officials, agricultural experts that are here from the United States, our Red Cross

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representatives, and many others who represent the United States here and know local conditions.

Of course you can't learn a great deal about such an immense country in a short time but I am confident that the study which my assistant, who is accompanying me from the Foreign Economic Administration in Washington, and I have made have been very helpful to us and I hope the information which we will be able to carry home will be of some assistance to our Government in respect to what our policy in the future should be toward the Soviet Union.

There is of course a gap between our form of Government and theirs which we can never bridge. These people have had an entirely different background from what we have had. Yet they are two hundred million people, they occupy one-sixth of the earth's surface, they have the greatest resources of any nation in the world outside the United States, they are strong, brave people essentially friendly and especially well disposed towards Americans. We must always stand in our own shoes and stand up for our own views and interests but it is the task of statesmanship of both Nations in the future to find ways by which our two great peoples can work together to keep peace on earth and to promote the well being of our people.

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Tomorrow I leave for Teheran and the Middle East. My journey now, happily, is leading toward home.

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(September 29, 1945 - Number 25

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

THE HOLY LAND

All day yesterday I did what every Christian dreams of; I visited the sacred shrines of the Holy Land. With an able guide from the American Consulate, I tried to retrace as accurately as possible the way the Master trod into Jerusalem and to Golgotha on Thursday and Friday of His last week on earth. First we went to the top of the Mount of Olives across which Jesus came from nearby Bethany into Jerusalem on a donkey on Thursday. Jesus' Ascension after his Resurrection also occurred on the Mount of Olives. There is a Moslem mosque at the spot where the Moslems say he ascended. There is a Russian Orthodox church there also where that church places the Ascension. At the Moslem church communicants of other churches are permitted to come at their worship time.

From the Mount of Olives you get the finest view of the city of Jerusalem. The remains of an old wall mark out what was the ancient city of Jerusalem although this wall is only a few hundred years old and the earlier walls of Biblical times have totally disappeared. We followed the winding road down from the Mount of Olives past the Garden of Gethsemane into the walls of the old city to the Praetorium. This is the place where Jesus was judged on Thursday night after his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane by Pontius Pilate. It was in the courtyard, you will remember, where Pontius Pilate finally pronounced the words that meant the death of Jesus. Underneath a police station which now covers the place you see the old stones of this courtyard and you can almost hear Pilate arguing with the Master's persecutors and finally attempting to wash his hands of Jesus' death. It was here that Pilate ordered the inscription upon the cross of Jesus, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews". The Jews are supposed to have remonstrated and Pilate, you recall, said, "What I have written," and so the inscription stood.

Nearby this courtyard Jesus was flogged and took up His cross to bear it to Golgotha some half a mile away. On foot we followed this route of passion. In Jesus' time his way to the Hill of Crucifixion was probably an open road along the walls of the old city. Now as you retrace his agonized steps you walk along narrow cobblestone streets in an area exclusively inhabited by the Arabs. Time and again you have to flatten yourself against a wall to

avoid being run over by the Arabs leading or riding their heavily laden donkeys. At times the passion route carries you through busy Arab shopping districts where in the manner of many centuries ago the old Arab people chatter, argue, sell and make every imaginable thing in their little shops.

You see along this way the place where tradition says Jesus fell the first time under the weight of the cross. At a fourth station we are told that Jesus passed his anguishing mother. The fifth station is where Simon of Cyrene helped Jesus to carry His cross. At a sixth station we see the place where it is said Veronica came forward and wiped the face of Jesus with a linen cloth and cold water. Then there is the seventh station which tradition has it was the place in which Jesus fell a second time under His heavy cross up the steep incline. There is marked out an eighth station which is where it is said Jesus spoke to the daughters of Jerusalem comforting them in their sorrow upon His suffering. At the ninth station tradition has it Jesus fell a third time under His burden.

You now enter the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this church are to be found the site of the Crucifixion and the tomb where Jesus was buried. Also in the church is marked the place, known as the tenth station, where when Jesus reached the summit of Calvary, he was stripped of his garments. Also in this church is marked the place where Jesus was nailed to the cross on the ground. This is called the eleventh station. The twelfth station is the spot where the cross stood, now covered by an altar. You can look through the floor and see some of the same rock which bore Jesus' cross. You can also see what tradition has it is the rent in the rock caused by the earthquake when Jesus died.

In this church there is also an altar which purports to mark the place where the body of Jesus was taken down from the cross. This spot is marked by a beautiful statue of Mother Dolorosa which was sent from Lisbon in 1778. It is covered with diamonds and precious jewels sent by princes or are the thank offerings of Pilgrims. Here it is that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, by the permission of Pilate, took the body of Jesus down from the cross and as tradition has it laid it in the arms of Mary.

The fourteenth and last station is the sepulchre of Joseph's new tomb, hewn out of rock according to the custom of the time, where Joseph and Nicodemus laid the body of the crucified Lord. You see in an inner room a

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marble sepulchre containing some remaining stones from Jesus' grave. The grave from which on the third day He arose to confirm His victory over death and to give assurance that there is a life beyond the grave.

In the afternoon we drove along a winding road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. On the left as you go along you pass a well where tradition says the Wise Men saw the reflection of the Star of Bethlehem where the Christ Babe was born. And further along, a short distance before you reach Bethlehem, there is the pasture where the shepherds were tending their flocks when they heard the first Hosannas ringing from the Heavens the glad tidings of the birth of Jesus.

Finally in a great church, the first part of which probably dates back to 300 A.D., you see the altar which marks the spot where the birth of Jesus is said to have occurred and close by the site of the manger where He was first laid in His swaddling clothes.

In this great church there were services by two different churches while I was there for here also many churches come to perform their rites.

As you stand here upon the hill of Jerusalem and look over the Dead Sea at the Mountains of Moab and remember Moses standing on those Mountains and looking at the Promised Land; as you pass the tomb of Rachel, Abraham's wife, on the way to Bethlehem and you reflect that not much farther south at Hebron is the grave of Abraham; as you pass also on the way to Bethlehem the place where Elijah is said to have ascended into Heaven in a chariot of fire; as you see the broad spaces where David ruled and the Temple of Solomon stood, and then, as you visit the birthplace of Christ and finally the last scenes of the life of Jesus, you feel a new consecration, a closer connection with both the past and the future.

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(October 6, 1945 - Number 26)

~~VERY~~ TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

EGYPT OLD AND NEW

I flew to Cairo from Jerusalem. Cairo is a great city of over a million, generally modern in appearance. I stayed at the famous Shepherds Hotel, where you see people coming and going from all over the world. On Sunday I went to visit the pyramids, about a twenty minute drive out of Cairo. The largest pyramid is called Cheops: it is 451 feet high, and each one of its four bases is 750 feet in width. Two other smaller pyramids stand close by. The largest pyramid is composed of rectangular blocks of stone, floated at flood time to the site of the pyramid, across the Nile from the mountains beyond.

It is said that the stones were put into their places in the pyramid by sand being built up to the place the stone was to be located, and then the stones were rolled up the sand scaffolding by innumerable slaves. The pyramid was a solid mass of such stones except for the crypts where the King, its builder, was buried far in the interior and high up towards the top. For a long time it was not known that there was anything inside the pyramid at all. Nearby is the famous Sphinx carved out of solid stone itself. Standing some 70 feet above ground the Sphinx has the face of a man, the head of a woman and the body of a lion. I, like most travellers, had my photograph made, Arab style astride a camel.

These structures have stood there since some 3,000 years before Christ. It makes one realise how old these lands are. Near the base of the pyramids stands a modern hotel with beautiful grounds and a swimming pool. I visited next the splendid museum in Cairo which has relics of Egypt's ancient past. You see, for example, the history of writing for 3,000 years, growing from the sign language of long ago to the writing of the present. There is an extensive collection of things which came from the tomb of Tutankhamen opened, you will recall, a few years ago. It is difficult to believe how advanced were the arts and the skill of the people who inhabited this rich valley of the Nile as long as four to five thousand years ago.

The American Minister, Mr. Tuck, and I had a long talk with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Egypt about relations between the United States and Egypt, and especially our trade and commerce. I also had a long meeting with the Minister and all the other American representatives in Cairo, where I went at length into the situation in Egypt and what our policy was with respect to Egypt in the future. You know that one of the

things we are trying to do is to correct the dollar exchange situation throughout the whole Middle East, so that the people in this area will be able to buy the goods they want from the United States. That has been one of the subjects I have discussed in each of the Middle Eastern countries I visited. I also had a long discussion with American businessmen who are in Cairo, learning from them first hand what their difficulties were and what could be done to help them get American products into this part of the world.

One afternoon I paid a visit to a native Egyptian village. Practically every family which has animals in these villages lives in the same building--frequently only one room--with the animal. Hardly a house has other than a dirt floor and you see women sitting on these dirt floors or on the ground, sometimes on straw, nursing their children or making something with their hands. You have never seen such poverty. The average family in Egypt has something over an acre of land to cultivate. One-half of one percent of the people in Egypt own 50 percent of all the cultivable land, and I am told that probably 85 percent of the people of Egypt live as badly as those I saw in this village. Since 1882 the population of Egypt, which is now some 17 million, has increased three times. Only half the children will live to be five years old. There is no middle class, as we know it, in America--generally only the very rich and the very poor. Yet Egypt is a rich country and if she can find a way to buy the goods she needs from America, it will be a great help to them and to us.

I went out to Payne Field near Cairo and made a talk one evening to over 1,500 American GI's and was happy to find about 15 Florida boys, who were glad to hear from home. All of them wanted to know when they were going to get back to America. I have done what I could to hasten their return.

I went to Beirut and met the American Minister to Lebanon, Mr. George Wadsworth. We had a conference with the President and the Foreign Minister of Lebanon and afterwards returned for dinner with the President and his family. Most of those we call Syrians in the United States are from Lebanon, I am told. Lebanon and Syria have been struggling to gain their independence and we have helped them. They are very grateful to America and they want to conclude their first treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States.

Today, I visited the American University of Beirut, which has been doing a wonderful job of training in the Middle East. Here you will find boys and girls from every country in this part of the world living and working together. In most of the countries of the Near East I visited a large number, if not the majority, of the members of the Cabinet have been educated in this great American University. I have had a long talk with the Vice President of the Council of Ministers of the Lebanese Republic. From Lebanon, I go to Old Damascus and then to Saudi Arabia in the desert, for America has great interest in that colorful country.

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(October 13, 1945 - Number 27)

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

ARABIA

When I wrote last I was on the way to Damascus. Between Beirut and Damascus our Minister and I stopped to visit the ruins of the temples of Baalbek built by the Greeks when they dominated that part of the world some two hundred years before Christ. This was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Here the great emperors of Rome, when Rome dominated the country, stopped to worship. There are still standing six huge columns out of the more than fifty which once supported the temple of Jupiter, each over seventy feet high. Some of the foundation stones of the temple weigh over seven hundred tons. We still marvel at how these huge stones in that day could be hewn out of the mountains and moved into their places.

Damascus, an oasis nourished by two rivers (which we would call streams in our country,) is probably the oldest existing city in the world. Here you see the Church of Antinias, one of the oldest Christian churches, where Antinias healed Saul who was blinded on the way to Damascus. You also see the place where later Saul, then converted, was let down from the walls of Damascus to begin his great ministry. In the Great Mosque of Damascus, over twelve hundred years old, you are shown what is said to be a well at which John the Baptist drank, and his sepulcher. Nearby is the tomb of Salahaddin (Saladin,) one of the great Arab conquerors who lived in the twelfth century.

Our Minister and I had several talks with the President of Syria, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance about matters of friendship and commerce between the United States and Syria. The Syrians are struggling for their complete independence from the French to whom they were mandated after the last war. We and Russia have recognized their independence.

From Damascus I flew to Jidda, far south on the Red Sea, and then to the camp of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, a tent city near Taif. King Ibn Saud, a huge man about six feet four inches tall and weighing two hundred and twenty pounds, the absolute ruler of Saudi Arabia, is one of the colorful men of the world. His camp consisted of some twenty tents where he carries on his work in the day and where his ministers, attendants and servants live, and a dozen additional tents about a mile away where the King, his wives and his household live. Saudi Arabia has one of the largest reserves of oil in the world. Its estimated quantity almost equals that of the United States. All the concessions for the development of the Saudi

Arabian oil fields are held by American companies. Our military and naval people consider this oil field vital to our own security and defense in the future.

I arrived Monday afternoon and left Wednesday morning, thereby conforming to the Arab custom that a guest should stay three days. I was comfortably housed in a tent about eighteen feet by eighteen feet with Persian rugs on the ground, and had nearby a tent dining room. On Tuesday afternoon the King gave a banquet for me, having present fifteen of his sons and many of his advisers. On each of four high platters on the table there was a half of a sheep and you could hardly imagine a table so laden with foods. The King neither drinks nor smokes and eats little besides goat's milk and cheese. He has four wives, as is permitted by Moslem law, and altogether has been married one hundred times in his sixty-three years. The King rules his country with a strong hand. I am told if anyone steals, his hand is cut off; if he steals a second time his foot is cut off; the third time his head is gone. Accordingly, nowhere in the world are life and property so secure against the wrong doer as in the King's realm.

The King and I had five different conferences during my visit. All were about international affairs, chiefly matters pertaining to the relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The King is a very wise man. He was very devoted to President Roosevelt whom he met, you remember, in the Red Sea after Yalta. The President gave him an airplane, in which he has ridden only once, but of which he is very proud.

When I left, the King gave me two elaborate Arab costumes, one for summer and one for winter, a wrist watch with his name engraved on it, a beautiful jewel and gold encrusted dagger, and an autographed photograph.

Here you see a man who has built his Kingdom largely by his own fighting strength and courage, who at heart is still the nomad of the desert who likes to get away from his palaces and live in a tent camp far removed from any settlement. Yet he has an effective radio system throughout his country and the first thing he does every morning is thoroughly to go over world news. Beside him as he sits in his sock feet in his ornamental chair, with Persian rugs stretched over the ground, is a telephone. He rules a great land and a strong fearless people. One side of him is the desert warrior, and the oriental monarch; the other side is the modern ruler using modern instruments, the master of one of the largest oil domains in the world.

There is the tender side too, for after dinner Tuesday evening as we sat in the large tent living room, he had a little ten year old daughter brought in. She was a pretty little girl. He took her in his arms and said,

"Our princess, we love her very much". She kissed him. Then he looked up, and in a voice that everyone in the room could hear, said, "And I love her mother very much, too".

On Wednesday I flew back to Cairo and Tuesday morning came on the plane here to Ankara.

* * * * *

Here at Ankara our able Ambassador is Mr. Edwin C. Wilson, of Palatka, Florida, who is one of our most eminent diplomats, and of whom we in Florida are very proud. We saw the Minister of Finance. Today the President of the National Assembly gave a luncheon for us, and this afternoon I see President Inonu. Turkey is the most modernized of the countries in the Middle East. Women have equal rights with men and there are sixteen women members of the National Assembly. The alphabet has been modernized, the church is separated from the state and there is complete religious freedom. They are developing their educational system very rapidly, they are sending missions to the United States in an effort to work out satisfactory arrangements for us to assist them in their program for the industrialization of their country. Here you get back not only toward the western world but into the western spirit again. As never before the East looks to America. The greatest compliment they pay us is that they trust us. What a wonderful thing that our country is the strongest in the world and feared by none.

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(October 20, 1945 - Number 28)

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

TURKEY AND GREECE

From Ankara the capital of Turkey from which I wrote you last week we flew on October 13 to Istanbul, old Constantinople. I think you may be interested in just how I spent a few typical days during this trip. My room at the modern Park Hotel looked right out upon the beautiful waters of the famous Straits, the Bosphorus, which separate Europe and Asia.

After a luncheon and conference with our Ambassador and his staff, the Ambassador and I had a two hour conference with the Turkish Prime Minister. The Prime Minister went over with us the story of the Turkish attitude during the war and the circumstances preventing her from entering the war on our side. We also discussed some of the acute problems facing Turkey today which have a very important relationship to the whole question of future understanding and peace among nations.

Later I met some 25 representatives of the press and tried to present to them our nation's program for the preservation of peace and the stimulation of prosperity in the world. Thereafter, I had a private off the record discussion with the most influential publishers of the Istanbul papers. At a reception later, I met several American businessmen and other Americans in Istanbul. On Sunday the 14th, the Ambassador and some of the members of his staff took us on a boat trip through the Straits of the Bosphorus to within sight of the Black Sea. The Straits which connect the Sea of Marmora with the Black Sea vary from one quarter mile to a mile and a half in width.

After inspecting the old Palace of the Sultans, we had lunch with our Naval Attache, able Captain Trammell, distantly related to the Florida Trammells, and with the recent Turkish Ambassador to London and I got a good insight into Turkish foreign policy since the last World War. In the afternoon, the Ambassador and I visited Robert College and the American College for Girls maintained by Americans in Istanbul. Like the American College in Beirut, they are doing splendid work and creating immeasurable good will for the United States. That evening the Ambassador and I had dinner and a long talk at a famous restaurant with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Turkey. Amongst other things we, of course, discussed

the future of the Straits which as you know are a subject of international consideration at present time. Incidentally, I asked the orchestra to play Swanee River and they did it very well but it made me homesick.

On Monday we visited two of the famous mosques of Istanbul. One is Saint Sofia, built in 532 originally as a Christian Church and the other, the Blue Mosque, a relatively modern Saint Sofia, is an immense mosque with a huge perfect dome and lovely mosaic. It is hard to believe that a structure so magnificent and so complete could have been built 1400 years ago.

We flew to Athens on Monday afternoon. That evening our Ambassador Mr. Lincoln MacVeagh and Mrs. MacVeagh gave a reception so we could meet the American colony in Athens. Afterwards we had some of Greece's famous seafood at a little cafe on the shore of the bay where the great naval battle of Salamis was fought. The next morning my assistant and I spent two hours with the Ambassador and his staff going over the whole situation in Greece. Thereafter, the Ambassador and I spent one hour and a half with the Archbishop Damoskennos, the Regent of Greece, who distinguished himself by his gallant resistance against the Germans. The Archbishop is probably six feet four inches tall and of massive frame. Dressed in Archbishop's vestments and with his long white whiskers and beard, he is a most impressive figure.

Greece is in the midst of a political crisis because of the inability of the political parties to agree upon the date when elections shall be held to determine whether or not the country is to have King George back and to select a National Assembly. The Archbishop has been to the United States two or three times and when we told him of our pride in having in Florida Tarpon Springs the most Hellenic City in the United States, he enthusiastically told me of having visited Tarpon Springs and of the wonderful time he had there. I told Archbishop how great the affection of our people was for the Greeks and how anxious we were not only to continue to give the food and clothes and relief but to help them achieve a stable political and economic situation in heroic Greece.

I then had a conference with the Governor of the Bank of Greece and held a further discussion of the economic situation. He told me how inflation largely brought about by the Germans during their occupation had twice made the currency of the nation practically worthless, wiped out the value of all insurance policies, bank deposits and government and private

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securities and was responsible in part for the sad economic plight of the country now. The Foreign Minister gave a luncheon for me that same day at which I met other members of the Cabinet and the retiring Prime Minister, Admiral Voulgaris.

The rest of the afternoon we spent at the Acropolis. I fortunately was conducted through the ruins of these famous temples, built two hundred years before Christ, by Dr. Stevens, head of the American School for Classical Studies in Athens perhaps the world's most famous student of the Acropolis and classical Greece. On October 17 I spent the morning with officials of UNRRA and they told me the sad story of Greece's suffering during the war. About three-quarters of all food consumed in the cities and about one-half of the food consumed in the rural areas of Greece is furnished by UNRRA. You know our country provides nearly three quarters of all the relief funds spent by UNRRA. This is all that is keeping the people of Greece from starving by the hundreds of thousands. Their economy is terribly demoralized, their livestock, industrial facilities, roads and railroads, ports and shipping were either taken away, destroyed or made unusable by the Germans.

The Ambassador and I had luncheon with the Regent Archbishop Damaskinos and had another long talk with him. Since we had seen him the day before he had taken over the post of Prime Minister himself until he was able to find a Prime Minister to set up a new government. I also had a talk with Colonel Wood who had landed in the mountains along with some of our own secret army representatives of OSS and had helped organize Greek resistance to the Germans before Allied forces entered Greece.

That afternoon we also had a conference with three of the leading political figures of Greece, again discussing the troubled political situation in the country. The Chief of Protocol of the Greek Government came to honor me with the decoration of the Order of Phoenix, with the highest degree of the Order of the Grand Cordon in recognition of my friendship for Greece and the Greek people. Incidentally I also met the Greek father of a young man in our army whose home is at Petersburg who came to give me a model of the Acropolis. I also saw briefly several other delegations which came for various purposes.

I was touched by the warm sentiments of so many of the Greek people whose courage and noble spirit are best evidenced by the fact that with all of its suffering it was only in Greece that I heard the people singing in the early morning as they rode through the streets to work. The Foreign Minister gave a reception in my honor at which members of the government and the leaders of most of Greece's political parties were present. We had dinner with Ambassador and Mrs. MacVeagh, and with the Foreign Minister and other

Greek officials. Even in this busy day, I did steal the time to go look up the step-mother and brothers and sisters of my friend Emanuel Joanos of Tallahassee and also to have a visit with the brother-in-law of another good friend Jimmy Forrest of Daytona Beach.

We flew to Naples the morning of the 18th and had lunch with General McNarney commanding the whole Italian and Balkan Theatre of American forces. I spent the whole afternoon with General McNarney and his Chief of Staff going over their plans for getting the boys home, which are very favorable, and over the general military, economic, and political situation in this area. My hotel room in Naples looked out across the beautiful Bay of Naples straight at Mount Vesuvius and with the moon high in the sky in the evening, I enjoyed the beauty of this scene from my balcony. This morning we drove from Naples to Rome stopping an hour at Cassino, utterly obliterated during the heartrending struggle for that essential point by our forces. I was saddened as I walked among the ruins to think of how many fine American boys had given their lives on that mountain side so far from home and family, and it gave me a new resolve in my heart that I would do what I could to see that their sacrifice was not in vain.

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(October 27, 1945 - Number 29)

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

ROME AND VIENNA

I had just gotten to Rome when I wrote you last week. On Saturday morning Ambassador Kirk assembled his staff, together with our military and naval representatives in Rome, at the Embassy. There were 22 altogether. For more than two hours we discussed the economic and political situation in Italy and what American policies should be with respect to Italy and the Mediterranean areas.

Since peace has not been made with Italy, the country is governed by an Allied Commission, the chairman of which is Admiral Stone of the United States Navy. This Commission is charged with the duty of requiring Italy to carry out the terms of the Armistice. The Commission, however, has delegated government functions in all but a few of the northern provinces to an Italian Government headed by former Crown Prince Umberto, now Lt. General of the Realm, and a cabinet representing a coalition of the principal Italian political parties.

In normal times Italy has to import a considerable part of its foodstuffs because only about half of the country is subject to cultivation. Italy is not in position now to export so she cannot buy food from the outside. This requires the Allied nations to furnish a considerable part of the food the Italian people consume, without which there would be widespread starvation and suffering. It is expected that next year UNRRA will furnish some 450 million dollars worth of commodities and goods of all kinds to Italy. Most of these supplies are such necessities as food, coal and materials needed to get the Italian economy to functioning again.

You will recall that Italy has neither coal, oil nor iron ore. She does, however, have a large textile industry and in the northern part of the country her industries are still intact. It is obvious, therefore, that the sooner we help Italy to get the wheels of her normal enterprises to turning again, the sooner the people will be able to take care of themselves, and spare us the drain of relief for them. The American Army, consisting of something like 15 thousand in Italy now, will soon be reduced to 5 thousand as the boys are rapidly being sent home. The British are retaining about 400 thousand troops in Italy.

I think we should end Allied Control and conclude at least a practical termination of the Italians' enemy status as soon as possible. The main thing is to get Italy economically and politically stabilized. The formal and detailed conditions of the peace are not so pressing.

There has been great destruction in Italy and the people have suffered severely. City after city has been destroyed, many ports have been wrecked, and German sabotage was added to the destruction of combat. I got an example of the damage you don't ordinarily see when one afternoon I visited with Lt. General of

the Realm, Prince Umberto, at the palace ground and saw 26 children being cared for by the Prince.

They were all war casualties, most of them blind, many with both their sight and one or more members of their body gone. One little child had been in its mother's arms when the whole family was shot by the Germans. The child was blinded but not killed and two days later was rescued from among the corpses of its family.

A sweet little girl with one arm torn away by a bomb which killed her family was thrust into the Prince's arms, wrapped in a blanket by two American soldiers during the battle of Cassino. When you looked into their scarred faces, the empty sockets of their eyes, when you heard the stomp of their crutches down the stairway, or you saw them try to eat a piece of bread held between the stumps of arms, you saw what war really is. And yet when you saw their cheerfulness and their brave spirit you were touched by their uncomplaining courage.

The Ambassador and I had a conference with the Italian Foreign Minister and asked him if he thought the Italian people would, when they get a chance again, start building up another army, navy and air force and get ready for aggression again. He stated, "No, no, no, we are through with that."

I visited the palace where Mussolini's office used to be and stood upon the balcony from which he used to address a hundred thousand or more in Piazza Venezia. Today he sleeps in a nameless grave in a Potters Field near Milan. I got a chance to visit the excavations under St. Peter's and to see the burying ground of the Romans before the Christian era and the foundations of the First Christian Church, built upon this pagan cemetery by Emperor Constantine.

I also stood upon the site of the old Roman Senate in the Forum and thought of the departed glory of those great days. Nearby were remains of a temple commemorating the place where Caesar's body was cremated. There were the stones of the old Road which led to the arch of Epirus and upon which the Roman triumphal processions used to find their way into the Eternal City. Not far away was the Coliseum, even the ruins of which attest its ancient majesty. I went in the moonlight to see the Coliseum and out of the shadows seemed to come the whisper of its past glory and grandeur for here, you know, the Christians for their faith were thrown to the wild beasts.

On the 24th we flew to Vienna and spent nearly two days there. The city is a ghost of its old self; there is a great inflation; food is scarce. There is no coal for heating the homes of the people, hardly any clothes are to be had and the country is occupied by Russian, British and French and American armed forces.

The political parties who have always bitterly fought one another are today

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working together and the Austrians are allowed, subject to Allied control, to operate their own government. The cultural vitality of the people is evidenced by the fact that you find many operas and plays being performed by distinguished casts to full houses even if they are unheated.

I had long talks with our State Department and military representatives, as well as with the head of the Austrian Government, Cabinet Officers and political leaders. Austrians are basically democratic in sentiment and will soon, I believe, qualify for membership in the United Nations. The people seem to have found themselves and are forever resolved to stay away from the Germans and from German aggression and war. They too have abandoned any hope of having large armed forces for the future and they only look forward to spending all their substance and strength upon making Austria an independent and prosperous and happy country.

So then out of the wreckage and the tragedy of war one does see gradually but definitely emerging new national aims and ideals which give us reason to hope that people have seen a new light. With God's help and with our support and the good will of other nations and peoples, it can be a new day for the world.

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VERY TRULY YOURS,

By: Senator Claude Pepper

THE BALKANS

Budapest, from which I wrote you last week, once a gay and beautiful city, is now a shell. By estimate it is 80 percent destroyed or damaged; there is not a single good hotel in operation, and I, like most American official visitors, stayed at a convent. The Russian Army occupies Hungary, and the famous Marshal Voroshilov is in command. Our able member of the Allied Military Control Commission, General Key, and I had a long talk with Marshal Voroshilov, who appears younger than his 62 years and is round faced and handsome.

I have noticed that our top military people get along with the top Russian people very well, but that there is little contact between Russian officers of lower grade and Russian private soldiers with our lower grade officers and private soldiers. I urged upon Marshal Voroshilov that he encourage a more easy social contact between such Russian soldiers and our men, and he said he thought I was right and he would do so.

I talked also to the heads of the Hungarian Government. An election is to be held very shortly. It is expected that the election will go off peacefully and that the Small Holders party, a conservative party, will win. The Russians are not interfering in the election.

Food for the country will probably run out in December. There is little coal and the winter is going to be hard. They are paying large reparations to the Russians because the Hungarian Army invaded Russia. Yet with all their troubles, the people still exhibit their old love for music and gayety. I went to a musical concert and to the opera "Traviata", and both performances were excellent and the theaters were crowded.

Yet personal tragedy is everywhere. For example, I met an attractive lady who worked for the American Mission. She seemed to be a pretty lady who had no cares; yet when I got to talking to her, her eyes moistened and she told me that her father, the head of a big enterprise and wealthy buyer having Jewish blood, was taken away by the Germans and killed in a concentration camp and all of the family property confiscated. Another lady told me that her husband was still somewhere in a Russian prison camp and she could not find out where he was.

From Bucharest my flying crew flew me to Belgrade last Sunday. It was a beautiful flight over the rich flat Hungarian plain, some of the best farm lands in the world. I stayed with my old friends, Ambassador and Mrs. Patterson. On Sunday evening Marshal Tito gave a dinner in my honor at the palace, and the next day the Ambassador and I had a two hour conference with Marshal Tito, his foreign minister, and his ambassador to Washington, who happened to be in Belgrade.

Marshal Tito is just over 50, about my size and a very charming man. From a very humble origin in a little town in Croatia, Marshal Tito has literally fought his way to the head of the Government. He is a Communist, and the Communist Party is dominating the Government. There is a question in the mind of our Government as to whether Marshal Tito is living up to the terms of the Yalta agreement by providing freedom of the press, freedom of speech, fair elections and personal security for the people. I discussed all these matters with the Marshal in the frankest way. In so many of the Balkan Countries, the people have never really had Democracy as we know it, and it is not the simplest thing to get Democracy rooted in such soil.

Marshal Tito has a huge German police dog named Tiger which belonged to a German colonel who was killed fighting against Tito's Forces. Tiger is always with the Marshal, and when the Marshal is sitting, lies at his feet. The Marshal, with great pride, showed me his little mare, Molly, which he rode all during the war. He would hug Molly with real affection. I told him about the skelton of General Lee's famous horse, Traveller, being preserved at Washington and Lee University with many relics of General Lee, and suggested that he might wish to preserve the skelton of Molly when she died. He liked the idea and said he would. Later the Marshal sent me a case of Yugoslav wines and liquors, which I sent on home.

I conferred with leaders of the opposition also. The president of the National Assembly gave a luncheon for me. This president, a very able man, had lost his wife and his two sons in the war. There is tragedy everywhere over here in this bleeding part of the world.

I proceeded then to Bucharest, which used to be called the Paris of the Balkans. It has suffered far less than other Balkan Countries during the war, yet there is tremendous inflation and very unsettled political and economic conditions. You know that we have not recognized Rumania because we are not yet satisfied that the Government is representative of the people or that it is giving the people the minimum requirements of Democracy. This country, too, is occupied by the Russian Army. The Government is essentially Communistic, although the head of the Government, Groza, is the leader of the Plowman's Front Party and is personally a rich man.

The Russians have not yet agreed to a change in the Government. Young King Michael, after consultation with the political parties, has requested the Government's resignation, but under pressure from the Russians, the Government has not yet resigned. Therefore there is a stalemate between the King and the Government and between the U.S. and Britain on one hand, and the Government

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and Russia on the other. I am having talks with the leaders of all the parties. I have had a long talk with the Russian General in Command here, and talked at length to him again last evening at a dinner given for me by General Schuyler, our representative on the Allied Control Commission.

Yesterday I visited the Ploesti oil fields over which so many of our fine young aviators lost their lives. Some of the workmen told me how the Germans used to shoot our boys as they parachuted down, or killed them after they landed. In many cases, the workmen and the Rumanian people risked their lives to hide our boys until they could escape or be captured by the Rumanian Armed Forces who would spare their lives. When we are dealing with the Germans this time, we must never forget their crimes.

The war has brought in its wake agricultural reforms in Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania. The great feudal estates have been broken up and, generally speaking, individual farms are no larger than one hundred acres.

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS,

By Senator Claude Pepper

RUMANIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

When I wrote last week you remember I was in Bucharest, the capitol of Rumania. About 85 percent of the people of Rumania are farmers - they call them peasants. Rumania and Bulgaria, as you know, are occupied by the Russian Army under the Armistice with Rumania. The British and we, however, have members on the Allied Control Commission but the Chairman is the Commanding Russian General Lt. General Susikov. In addition to talking to the head of each of the 4 main Rumanian political parties I talked to some of the most outstanding Non-Partisan statesmen of Rumania. I was not able to talk to the King, or the Rumanian Government because our Government has not recognized the present Government of Rumania. We take the position that the Government is not in accordance with the agreement at Yalta. On the afternoon of the fifth our representative on the Control Council and I had a long talk with the Commanding Russian General about the whole point of controversy between Russia on one side and Great Britain and the United States on the other, and I hope our discussions did some good in bringing about a closer understanding among our countries. At least our conference ended most pleasantly because ^{when} ~~we~~ finished our talk General Susikov had us in for a typical spread, which of course included vodka. I found the Russian General was a good story teller and I contributed a few myself. When I left Bucharest the following morning a Russian Major General with many aides was at the airport to see me and my assistant off.

I learned of an incident which greatly contributed to American popularity in Bucharest. A little Rumanian girl, beautiful and talented, was stricken with infantile paralysis and completely paralyzed. For 5 days she was kept alive by artificial respiration, that is, two people 4 times a minute, one on either side, raised and lowered her arms. There was of course no iron lung in Rumania or anywhere nearby. When General Schuyler, our representative on the Allied Control Commission, heard of this he sent to Italy and got an iron lung which our Ordnance Department in Italy had made for an American soldier who had infantile paralysis. Just before I arrived in Bucharest this American iron lung reached the city and was adapted to the girl by a clever American Sergeant who had a mechanical turn. When I left she had begun to use the iron lung and had so far recovered that she could breathe 4 seconds a day outside of it. She had even got so she could sing a little. The Sergeant stayed with her most

of the time to see that nothing went wrong with the iron lung. All of Budapest was talking about the Americans saving the life of this little girl.

From the sixth until this morning, the ninth, we were in Prague, the capitol of Czechoslovakia. The evening of the sixth our Ambassador Steinhardt and I had dinner and spent an evening with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jan Masaryck, the distinguished son of the founder of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Masaryck. The wife of Thomas Masaryck and the mother of the present Foreign Minister was an American girl from Brooklyn. President Wilson was principally responsible for setting up Czechoslovakia at the Paris Peace Conference after the last war. The Country's Constitution, modeled after our own, was framed by Thomas Masaryck in Philadelphia, where our Constitution was written.

On the seventh the Ambassador and I had a long talk with President Edward Benes. President Benes has been the head of a State longer than any statesman in the world, and in my opinion is one of the wisest statesmen to be found today. It was President Benes who stood out to the last against Hitler and begged the great powers to stand by him and his country in 1938 and before. When Hitler overran his country in 1939, President Benes went into exile in the United States. He raised an army which fought valiantly upon many of the allied fronts. Finally after the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May he came back in triumph again to head his country. Now he is leading it through a difficult period with great wisdom and understanding.

You might be interested to know that he told me that he was convinced that if Britain and France had stood by Czechoslovakia before Munich in 1938, Russia and Poland would also have stood by it, for Russia had pledged him it would stand up against Hitler and his aggression if the Western Powers would make a common front with Russia. If the great powers, including the United States, at that time had made a common front against Hitler there would have been no war. Think what appeasement has cost mankind.

I of course discussed the whole foreign situation with President Benes and benefited greatly from his wide experience as to how we in the United States can help to keep peace in the future. We of course had a talk with the Prime Minister and as I usually do I had a press conference at which I tried to describe what we Americans mean by democracy.

I went with the Ambassador to a Russian Reception celebrating their Independence Day. One of the principal figures there was the Russian Commanding General who had commanded Russian troops in that area. He had about 40 ribbons and decorations on both sides of his breast.

Now, by the invitation of Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, our Prosecutor of War Criminals, I am in Nurnberg. You may recall that I was here with my wife in 1938 and saw the great Nazi Congress. At that time I heard Hitler speak, saw Hess, Goering, and all of the Nazi hierarchy. Now their city is utterly wrecked. Those who strutted so arrogantly and who are still alive, are in prison cells where I hope I shall see them soon. They stand charged as criminals before not only the bar of world opinion but an international court. For the first time, those who schemed and plotted as heads of a great State are counted common criminals and are to be held personally responsible as far, as their puny lives can answer, for the monstrous crime of this war. Even their conviction cannot bring back the dead nor repair the devastation. But it can be a stern lesson to those who head States in the future when they plot murder and call it war.

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1945

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

NAZI CRIMINALS

For a week now I have had a chance to see the unfolding of one of the great events of history - the trial of the major German war criminals before an International Tribunal. Our prosecutor, Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, is due the thanks of the country and of good men everywhere for the splendid job he has done in getting an agreement, of Russia, Great Britain, France and the United States to set up the International Military Tribunal for the trial of those men who perpetrated the crime of the Nazi war and in preparing the case for trial.

A great staff had to be assembled and all the physical facilities necessary for such a gigantic event had to be arranged including provision for the trial of the case in four languages. The Press had to be provided for and accommodated, procedure governing the trial had to be worked out and the efforts of the four prosecuting powers had to be coordinated. You can hardly imagine how great and difficult the task was, yet the job has been magnificently done by Justice Jackson and his staff and the time approaches when the trial shall begin.

There are 2 significant features of the trial, it seems to me. The first is that aggressive war has been declared a crime by the International Agreement setting up the Tribunal and those who are charged with perpetrating the aggressive war Hitler launched upon the world are being tried as International criminals. The second is that in spite of their foul crimes the Nazi criminals are being given a fair trial which meets the essentials of our standards of justice. We probably would have been justified before history if we had taken these criminals out and shot them. Yet that resembles what the Nazis would have done and that indicates the difference between them and us. We are trying to get rid of gangsters and gangster methods in the world and establish on earth not only peace but law and order.

There are, you know, twenty-four defendants indicted. These include leaders of the State like Goering, Ribbentrop, Hess, heads of the Army such as Keitel and Jodl, heads of the German Economy like Schacht and Funk, and Nazi Party Leaders and Gauleiters such as Shirach, Strecher and Frank, and the hated Gestapo Leader, Kaltenbrunner, and other principal culprits in the Nazi Hierarchy. Certain organizations are also indicted, for example, the Gestapo, the SS, the SA and the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party as well as the Nazi Cabinet and the High Command of the Armed Forces. There are 4 principal Judges representing the 4 prosecuting countries, Russia, Great Britain, France,

and the United States, each with an alternate who sits beside him. All people in the court room at the trial will wear earphones and the mechanical devices are so arranged that by turning a dial you can tune in on any one of the 4 languages - Russian, English, French or German - for everything said in the court-room is immediately translated into the other 3 languages and transmitted through this automatic communicating system.

I have heard the preliminary interrogations of Admiral Raeder and Admiral Buerkner, Field Marshal Kesselring, General Jodl, Julius Streicher, Alfred Rosenberg and others. They are a pretty shabby, cheap looking lot and like our own gangsters, when they were caught red-handed, they have turned out to be pretty sorry spectacles. I am shortly to see Goering and Ribbentrop but they, I hear, are no better than the others.

I spent yesterday at Dachau attending the opening of the trial of some of those who perpetrated the outrages of the Dachau Concentration Camp. It is so horrible that it is hard to believe that it could have happened. When our Army occupied the Dachau Camp on the twenty-ninth of April they found two large rooms on either side of four large furnaces which the Nazis used as a crematory filled with naked dead bodies, generally so emaciated from starvation that they were little more than skin and bones. There were thirty-nine freight cars standing on the siding in the camp in which there were several thousand dead.

It will probably never be known how many thousand people perished in this one camp alone and it was just one of at least fourteen the Nazis operated. They constructed a large building purely for the purpose of killing and burning the bodies of those marked for death. There was a large gas chamber in which several hundred could be killed at one time. In the ceiling of this concrete chamber were imitation shower nozzles and the victims were induced to enter this gas chamber by being told that they were to be freed but they must take a shower before they could be released. Each was required to take off his clothes and given a towel and piece of soap. When the room was filled the doors were shut, the gas turned on, and in a little while they were dead.

But the largest number of deaths was due to the most fiendish system of starvation which the Nazis deliberately conceived and carried out. For instance, the diet of an inmate would be half of a cup of coffee for breakfast, for dinner a small portion of thin soup, and for supper a small peice of bread and a small portion of potato. Many were killed by beating and shooting; a great number were killed by so-called experiments carried out by the camp Doctors upon Nazi orders. For example, they would immerse their victims in ice water to see how long they could stand it before dying; then when they were frozen almost stiff they would take them out and try fiendish methods of restoration.

VERY TRULY YOURS

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Others would be injected with malaria and other disease germs. Still others would be given inoculations of poison to see which were the most deadly. Unspeakable tortures were inflicted upon the helpless victims.

The Commander of the camp and thirty-nine others, who were the ones principally responsible for these crimes, are being tried. I was proud to discover that a Florida boy, Captain William D. Lyons of Quincy, is one of the principal prosecuting lawyers in this trial and is doing a splendid job. Lt. David Lemelman of Miami is also assisting in the prosecution. Lt. Robert Murphy from Tallahassee was there with some witnesses he brought from Paris.

Surely these defendants could have been similarly shot and had justice, yet they too are getting a fair trial under a military court in which they are represented by American lawyers in our Army and their rights are zealously guarded.

Slowly but surely we are tracking down the Nazi criminals. The principal task now facing this generation is to see that the next generation is not the victim of such foul offenses. The trial at Nurnberg, the trial of those who ran the mass murder concentration camps, and the many other trials which will follow, are making and will make a great contribution not only to the administration of justice but to the prevention of future war. In impressing upon would-be aggressors the solemn determination of the peace-loving nations to visit swift retribution on those who break the peace we are helping to create a more wholesome standard of international morality and conduct.

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(EDITOR'S NOTE: "very Truly Yours" is intended to)
(give you first-hand insight into)
(Florida affairs at Washington.)
(You may find this helpful in a)
(number of ways--for your own)
(information, as background for)
(editorials, for news stories,)
(and perhaps as a column.)
(November 24, 1945 - Number 33)

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

THE NAZI TRIALS

The hand of justice is at last clutching at the throats of the principal Nazi criminals. The past few days here in Nurnberg twenty of these evil men who made war upon mankind and the world under the infamous banner of Nazism have been on trial in this city of their ancient arrogance and triumph.

I have been very pleased to find engaged in this important work of bringing to the bar of justice these Nazi criminals some friends from Florida. Captain William Lanes, of Quincy, Florida, was one of the principal prosecuting attorneys at the Dachau Trials. I now find that Miss Glietz, of St. Petersburg, and Miss Evelyn Tucker, of Miami, Florida, are in responsible positions on Justice Jackson's staff here in Nurnberg. Miss Tucker is writing up this letter to you fellow Floridians for me now.

Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop--most of these twenty desperate men, whom for days I have seen in the prisoner's dock--I saw in 1938 in this same city of Nurnberg, walked like little Gods amongst their soulless but subservient fellow-gangsters. Today, in their hearts they must know that they are doomed men, for their crimes are not only in the history of the last decade but with typical German thoroughness have been written into their own voluminous records, and even in many cases recorded in talking pictures.

There are three men not indicted whose names are foremost in every charge of Nazi criminality--Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels. For Hitler spawned this evil web which first strangled Germany and then threatened the world. He was the God of this hierarchy of German devils who wanted to make a Nazi Hell on Earth. He fathered every perfidious thought which became Nazi policy and program. He drew to him all these hard and heartless men who with him, have brought to mankind and to the earth more sorrow, death and devastation than any group of men in history. Himmler personified the degeneracy and degradation of the whole system, and Goebbels was the twisted prophet of their distorted doctrines. But Himmler and Goebbels are dead in nameless graves, and Hitler is either dead or burrowing like a mole underground.

But there, in the accused's box, sit the other leaders of the gang: Goering, Hitler's right-hand man and designated successor, who was party to nearly every Nazi crime. Hess, first Hitler's Secretary and then Deputy Leader of the Nazi Party, who, until early in 1941, was Hitler's shadow and spokesman. Ribbentrop, who as Foreign Minister, was Hitler's supercilious and unscrupulous accomplice in throwing the world into the agony of war for Nazi domination. Keitel, the cold Prussian militarist, who under Hitler organized and ordered the death and devastation which German Armed Forces--from the first of

September, 1939 until the eighth of May, 1945--poured out upon the world.

And then there is Rosenberg, whose devilish mind was the philosopher and cunning creator of Nazi doctrine and who later looted the art treasure of Europe and perpetrated some of the principal outrages of Nazi occupation. Frank, whose cynical face marks him the typical gangster, the legal mouth-piece of the gang who destroyed every vestige of German law and justice and set an example of butchery and barbarism as Governor-General of occupied Poland. Frick, who was Minister of the Interior and cruel administrator of many occupied areas. Sauckel, who organized and carried out the enslavement and execution in Germany of millions of forced workers from occupied countries. Speer, who provided the arms and munitions with which their criminal aggression was hurled against the world. Funk, who managed the German economy and mobilized the whole might of the German nation and people behind the Nazi war. Schacht, head of the highest German central bank, who lent to the Nazis his perverse financial wizardry to build up their power to make war at the expense of other nations--though he now proposes to scorn his former confederates. Von Papen, who as Hitler's Ambassador, by intrigue, coercion and corruption spread the Nazi web from one European Capital to another.

And the others include Von Neurath, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, under whose administration hundreds of thousands were sent to their death and millions persecuted in occupied Bohemia and Moravia. Schirach, Hitler's Youth Leader, who poisoned and perverted the minds and the souls of German youth and made them little devils--whom he first taught to kill their pets so they could later butcher their fellowmen without pangs of conscience. Seyss-Inquart, who first destroyed Austria and then was one of the principal perpetrators of the outrages committed in occupied territory. Streicher, the Jew-baiter and killer, whose diabolic face is the picture of his Satanic heart and crimes. Jodl, whose planning genius made it possible for German forces to scourge Europe and to threaten the mastery of the world. Raeder and Donitz, heads of the German Navy, who sent their rattlesnakes of the sea into every ocean and left their victims strewn even upon the Coast of Florida. Fritzsche, who spewed out under Goebbels the foul Nazi propaganda.

Four indicted men are not in the Courtroom: Bormann, Deputy Party Leader to Hitler, has never been caught; Krupp, head of the Krupp Steel Works which for generations has armed German aggressive wars, is mentally and physically unable to be present at the trial; Kaltenbrunner, Himmler's accursed deputy, who murdered countless millions and tortured millions more, is dangerously ill from a cerebral hemorrhage; and Robert Ley, who enslaved, tortured and killed even German labor before he committed worse outrages upon

foreign labor, killed himself by strangulation with a cord which was the edge of a towel.

For four days I could hardly keep my eyes off of them as they sat in the prisoner's dock--the civilians in civilian clothes, the men from the Armed Services in their respective uniforms but without insignia of rank or decoration. Keitel sits like the stern German soldiers; Hess, professing to be mentally unbalanced, appears to listen to nothing but to be reading a novel; Goering often makes notes, sometimes shakes his head and occasionally nods. His fat body and superficially genial manner and childish love of vain display concealing as grim and unscrupulous a lust for power and cruelty as is to be found among any of the Nazi gang: Ribbentrop, and Abler appearing man than I thought he was, was broken greatly.

During the reading of the indictment most of the prisoners didn't listen but when Justice Jackson delivered his opening statement of the case it seemed for the first time that their faces showed some conviction of their heinous guilt. For four and a half hours Justice Jackson in measured and solemn words poured out mankind's indictment upon these now wretched and broken but bloodstained men. He spoke to a hushed and crowded courtroom--but there seemed to be hovering in that room not only living men but the ghosts of millions of dead whom these men had murdered, and Justice Jackson seemed to speak with their voices too.

When he finished there were tears in many eyes, including mine, and you felt that at last the conscience of the world had had a chance to condemn these men. Their crimes had been so numerous, their devastation so extensive, their wrongs so unspeakable that it had been hard to get them into focus. But Justice Jackson marshalled them into a more scathing indictment than the charges of Demosthenes against Phillip. He was inspired because he was deeply sensible, as you felt, that he was discharging a mission in this prosecution, with others associated with him, not only to prosecute and to punish these men but by the precedent of this case to stop other men from the commission of such crimes. He not only spoke against war and crime, he spoke movingly for peace, law and order on earth. The United Nations Organization, and now this trial, speak to our dead that they have not died in vain.

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(December 1, 1945 - Number 34

December 11, 1945

OUTLINE FOR CLAUDE:

1--Meet the press-radio boys with "What do you want to know?"

You are very good on question and answer. Speak extemporaneously from a full brain and a good heart.

NOTE: The picture in New York is that hundreds of people have been arriving in New York with prepared statements--mostly generalities and drivel. But the fact is that the quantity of statements and the volume of words has sickened the news men and the public.

So if you answer questions intelligently as put by an average group of news men, you will have the natural leads of WHAT THE FOLKS REALLY WANT TO KNOW rather than what you want to tell them.

2--By following the above you can say what you really want to say in the mass circulation magazines such as Ladies Home Journal, Womens Home Companion, Readers Digest, Colliers, and Saturday Evening Post. You will present your new philosophy of leadership for America (that is not a bad heading) in intelligent continuity and GET PAID FOR IT. If you attempt to put it in a longish sort of statement, you will take the guts out of your future articles and get a badly chopped up presentation from the reporters seeing others besides yourself and having deadlines to make.

3--By operating along the lines of (1) and (2) you will return home a modest Senator seeking to serve in the Senate WHERE HE IS PAID TO SPEAK AND SERVE. Your prestige in the Senate will be the greater if you save the punch lines for your fellow Senators and the natural press and prestige value of Senate statement.

4--The above three points have two indirect values: (a) When you left, people questioned the right of any Senator to "junket" and you have been away for a long time from the place you are paid to be by Florida and the federal treasury; and, (b) you should GET YOUR FEET ON THE GROUND AND GET REACQUAINTED WITH AMERICAN THOUGHT BEFORE YOU SPEAK AT LENGTH ON ANYTHING. This may take a week.

5--Flash and some others in the mean time, will inquire from the magazine market what they think their readers want to know.

NOTE: In the above outline you are playing safe, being paid for it, and saving

yourself from the criticism of being a Big Ike.

WARNING: Please do not mortgage your future with dates to speak for any group. Remember especially that capital and organized labor at this moment are at a post war crisis and that perhaps 80 million unorganized consumers and potential voters of both sexes (not including their reading children who will eventually reach voting age) are listening for the intelligent message of a statesman regarding their immediate and future problems. You should be their representative by refusing immediately to be factional. You are seeking to be the Democratic liberal leader. You can't do it as a Party Democrat, as a labor statesman, or, at the moment, as a baiter of Wall Street. You can't do it as a "for Russia" against England, or as a "for England" against Russia. The present majority in America is an unorganized Protestant consuming group thinking of jobs and education, worried about the atomic bomb and next war possibilities about 20%, and 30% concerned about family life and personal readjustments in business and home. Your Senate position as head man in education, health, and social advancement, is where you should hit the line. Your European experience should be illustrative of what can happen here and what must not happen here. English and Russian social advances and the new government patterns being forged out of the collapse of lesser countries, can make real meat for thinking people which may put you ahead of any other brain in America IF YOU GO SLOW FOR A WEEK OR TWO.

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

THE NAZI CONSPIRACY UNMASKED

Last week, you recall I wrote from Nurnberg where the Nazi criminals are on trial. During the last 10 days I have heard the indictment read, have heard the defendants and some of the other Nazis who are to be witnesses for the prosecution questioned, and have gone over the preparation of this world-renowned case with Justice Jackson and his staff. For four days I attended the trial itself.

Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Raedar and all these defendants are charged first with organizing and carrying out a conspiracy through the Nazi Party to take over the absolute control of Germany and to crush all opposition to their absolute power in the German Nation. That involved the abolition of the civil rights of the citizens, the establishment of the secret police and the ruthless party gangs like the S.S. and the S.A. troops, and the setting up of concentration camps into which their enemies could be thrown and either confined, tortured, or killed.

The second step of the conspirators, as the prosecution is showing, was to plan aggressive war, first upon Europe, then upon the United States and other parts of the world. This policy of conquest still carried out by the Nazi Party but through the instrumentality of the German state because the party by this time absolutely dominated and controlled the state.

The third step was the beginning of the German wars of conquest as planned by the Nazi conspirators and the attack upon Nation after Nation which followed. The indictment charges that in the course of the conduct of this war of aggression and conquest, the defendants, as the responsible heads of the Nazi Party and the German state, tortured and killed prisoners of war, want only destroyed and looted in occupied territory, shot people in occupied countries as hostages, and generally violated the laws of war. The indictment also charges that from the beginning of their struggle for power in Germany until the collapse of Germany the Nazis committed crimes against humanity, that is, they ruthlessly tortured and killed millions of Jews in their own country and in occupied countries, millions of Russians, Poles, and Czecho-Slovaks, whom they called "inferior peoples", and butchered innocent men, women and children in all the countries they occupied.

All these charges are being proved by documents and records, motion picture films, and other evidence which the Germans themselves prepared as they went their ruthless way of wickedness. Under the mountains of evidence which the prosecution day after day is piling up against them, the defendants are increasingly apprehensive. Von Ribbentrop looks like an old man as he shuffles in

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and out of the court room; Hess, formerly robust and confident, is now a pale, shrunken, hollow-eyed man whose wily attempt to pretend amnesia has now been exposed. Von Papen, who did Hitler's dirty diplomatic work, although he tries to approach his old elegance in dress, is also a breaking man. Keitel, under Hitler, formerly the commander of all the German armed forces, is like a lion in his cage, restless and chafing at being caught in the tightening web of the trial. Only Goering allows himself the diversion of glancing frequently at any attractive lady whom his searching eyes may find in the court room.

From Nurnberg I drove to Frankfurt and had another long talk with General Smith, Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower, concerning the relations between the American and Russian military forces. These relations, I am sure will have an important bearing upon our relations with Russia generally.

Out of his long experience General Smith was able to give me some very helpful information as to what was the underlying principles upon which all genuine friendship between the United States and Russia, and undoubtedly the peace of the world, will depend.

En route from Frankfurt to Paris by train I had the pleasure of running into one of my old friends, Lt. Colonel Golden of Tampa, who has done a great job for General Eisenhower in handling petroleum supplies for the American forces in France and Germany. He was happily en route home.

In Paris I found two more of my old friends, Colonel R. J. Marshburn and Lt. Colonel Bob Pentland. Colonel Marshburn had charge of our post exchanges during the French and German campaigns, and Colonel Pentland, recently discharged after distinguished service with the Army, came back in the Army as a civilian to help Colonel Marshburn in Paris. Thanks to Colonel Marshburn the American soldiers have had the best supplies possible; everything from cigarettes, candy and coca-cola to music boxes and swiss watches. Colonel Marshburn and Colonel Pentland, are soon to come home.

Many Florida boys, hearing I was in Paris, came to see me about their problems. Some had illness in their families and I was able to help them get home. Some felt that they had suffered an injustice and had their cases looked into by responsible officers. I constantly kept up pressure upon the armed forces to expedite the return of our boys home, if possible, by Christmas. I have also kept pressing the armed services to release doctors and nurses as fast as possible so they could return to serve the civilian population at home. I have been making some progress in this respect.

I had a long talk with General De Gaulle in Paris. He is a tall man and, I would judge, in his fifties. He has a large and rather pointed nose, a relatively narrow forehead and his hair, though sprinkled with gray, is still black; he speaks in a quiet, serious manner. He understands some English but we

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spoke through an interpreter. Before seeing General De Gaulle I attended a dinner given for Ambassador and Mrs. Caffery, and I had a chance to talk with M. Bidault, France's Foreign Minister, and other heads of the French Foreign Office. With them as well as with General De Gaulle I discussed the whole question of what to do with Germany in the future to keep her from cursing the world with another war. For, besides the study of how small business, in the United States can have a larger share in foreign trade than it has had in the past, my principal mission has been to make a study of Europe and the middle east to learn what policies I could recommend to the President, Congress, and the country which would insure peace in the future. The keys to our future peace are obviously, first, a proper policy toward Germany so that she shall not again be able to plunge the world into war; the second condition of peace is a firm friendship between the United States and Russia.

I discussed the German problem also with eminent newspaper publishers and other distinguished French citizens. I am personally convinced that this time we must break up the German Nation so that it will not in the future be a Nation of sixty or seventy millions strong, able to threaten the peace and security of the world. Then, we must keep a close scrutiny over the whole German people in the years ahead, principally through the United Nations, to see that she does not prepare again for war. I do not want to keep an American Army of Occupation indefinitely in Germany, but undoubtedly we must, through the United Nations, at all times be prepared to supply our share of the forces necessary to stop any act of aggression before it becomes a world war.

I shall have more to say later about the details of these policies. My principal concern is that we do not too soon get soft with the German Nation and the German people who three times since 1870 have attacked France and twice in the last generation have hurled the world into a horrible war.

I came over to London yesterday in General Eisenhower's plane, the pilot of which, I was glad to learn, was Captain Shelby Shanklin of Fort Myers.

I am just leaving for the Embassy for a conference with our Ambassador and members of his staff. I shall spend the last week of my trip here in London trying to put together many of the thoughts of my trip in various parts of the middle east and Europe. My principal effort here will be to learn what really caused the failure of the London Conference, for that failure was a serious matter to the future peace and prosperity of the world. One week more and I shall be leaving for home at last. It has been a wonderful trip but I have long been home-sick.

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(December 8, 1945 - Number 35)

December 15, 1945

CLAUDE, JANUARY 1--JULY 1 (Editor's Note):

The following is designed as an outline of FIRST THINGS FIRST in the making and keeping a Senator in the NATIONAL eye with 1948-1952 the personal objective. It is already late for the foundation. It will take tremendous personal effort and some money to carry out the six months outline. Though Farley made many "fixing" trips for Roosevelt before '32, the field work was done by Howe, Governor Roosevelt, and his wife, in 1928 and 1929 (details available if asked). The wrong way to get anywhere is the way Governor Richey of Maryland did it in '32 and the way McNutt tried it in '39 and '40. (Details available if requested). Here goes.

1--A tie-up between the Senator and the newspapers and the radio by PERSONAL APPEARANCES AT REGIONAL POINTS. Bryan did this through Chautauqua datings. You are his natural successor. The modern Chautauqua--political plan of Bryan--is a tie-up between you and a national speakers and writers bureau. The bureau offers you a fee of say \$500 per appearance, you agreeing by contract to speak exclusively under the bureau auspices, the bureau guaranteeing you twelve dates in 1946, all expenses paid with yourself to be consulted on subjects and cities. This will give you \$6000. This bureau will be set up before January first and will be responsible, and you may draw \$500 a month in twelve installments. The bureau will be so friendly with you that when you want to work out something for any other Senator such as Hatch or Fulbright, the bureau will produce the audience and honorarium if one is necessary. The bureau will work on mass audience lines rather than the way the New York speaking bureaus function--which is to get the most money for themselves and to hire the speaker for the least money. The commercial bureaus don't care before whom the speaker appears or how small the audience. This bureau, which

will be headquartered at Washington, will specialize on liberal speakers with real messages as the bureau's reputation will be made along these lines with liberal newspapers and radio station.

2--Personal visits to politicians AS AN INCIDENT AND BY-PRODUCT TO THE SPEAKING DATES. This keeps the speaker from being an active politician seeking a national office. This is written in Memphis. If a Memphis date was being held here today, of course the Senator would call on Mr. Crump to pay his respects. If the speaker were dated this morning at Jackson or Baton Rouge, he would be calling on the Governor and seeing the Mayors and probably being photographed and interviewed ~~en-the with-the-politicians-of~~ on the politics of the new south--liberal.

3--Magazine articles. This matter has been discussed but is tremendously important in watching the content and quality of the written word. There is no time to lose here as publication dates are generally sixty days from the date the article is contracted for. The speakers bureau will have a writers division for the placement of these articles. It is impossible to state just what money returns are to be expected. Washington has several contact people for the magazines who generally take fifty per cent for making the contact between the magazine and the writer. But the speakers and writers bureau outlined in (1) will be sustained without the need of taking from the writer anything in the way of a commission and will be prepared to do research and some writing if requested, should the Senator, for instance, be pressed for time. The bureau will be staffed with a good writer and also with research.

4--Personnel lists of politically active people throughout the country will be made on a regional basis so that the speaker while travelling will have a travelling companion with proper lists containing men who have attended the national Democratic Party Conventions

and who are politically important in their Congressional Districts and states. These people rarely get to Washington. The people who get to Washington are the self-seekers who PRETEND to pull a political back home influence. Wilkie was ruined by this crowd seeking him and consequently on his big swings through the country saw the wrong people. This also happened to Hughes and lost him the Presidency.

The writer remembers that at Hot Springs on midnight, the broad subject of the above was discussed. It was agreed that the operation required finance and brains. I emphasize the brains and the energy. 5--A political secretary who does nothing else except handle the national scene and is completely separated from secretaries handling the Florida and Washington scene. Howe did this for Roosevelt. Farley was a much later comer. Hannegan did it awkwardly, with Pauley's help, for Truman. But Truman, through Champ Clark, put Hannegan in there just as Roosevelt put Farley in AFTER the battle had been won. Truman never would have gotten anywhere except that Clark arranged the brain work and the spade work and had able assistants in New York and St Louis areas working the big conservative forces which finally reached into Hillman after Roosevelt had been sold Hannegan, and Hopkins had decided he preferred anybody to Wallace. The Chicago victory of Truman over Wallace was a three way set up engineered by Clark and composed of Hopkins, Hannegan, and Hillman. It was a 3H deal. Hopkins was reached through Lehman Brothers associates who were able to reach the liberal right wing through Dubinsky. Hillman was manoeuvred by Hopkins and Hannegan. Roosevelt was out-talked by the combination. Crump was reached by the New York insurance groups. Kelly of Chicago was handled by big interests in Chicago connected with big New York interests. So it is obvious

that behind the political secretary will have to be brains and money of the first class. At the same time it is more than obvious that the national figure himself stands out pre-eminently before the voting public as a man of great liberal stature--in other words as a vote-getter. Stassen is his probable opposition.

NOTE: At the moment the 1948 Democratic set up seems to be Truman and ----- versus ----- and Stassen.

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

LONDON AND HOME

When you read this I shall be in Washington. I leave by Pan American plane at five o'clock Monday afternoon and twenty-one hours and forty minutes later, by schedule, will be in New York. Allowing for Eastern United States being five hours ahead of time here, I shall really leave at five o'clock Monday afternoon and be in New York at nine-forty Tuesday morning.

The principal reason which led me to come back through London was to speak in behalf of the establishment of the permanent site of the United Nations Organization in Florida. Miami has filed application and I have presented it to the United Nations Preparatory Commission here. I shall also invite the Commission to visit Florida to see the whole State and the superb advantages that we offer.

I also wanted to come to London again to discover as best I could what was really responsible for the failure of the Conference of Foreign Ministers here some time ago. Peace treaties are not being made, occupation troops are being kept in many places, a state of war continues to exist between the Allied Powers and the enemy States, largely because we have not been able to agree. The Conference of Ministers in London broke up, as it announced, because the British and we, on one hand, and the Russians, on the other, could not agree whether France and China were to take part in the forming of treaties with respect to certain of the enemy countries.

I thought then there was a deeper reason and I am convinced there was. The real reason the conference did not succeed was, first, because it was not well enough prepared and, second, because there was a fundamental lack of confidence between the British and ourselves on the one part and the Russians. The Russians fear that already a Western bloc is forming, and that in the period after this war, as after the last war, the major powers will turn against them and block them in every way. Remember, the mistakes and mistrust of this kind which after the last war led to this one. That is the reason we must find a way of removing these elements of doubt and distrust among the principal powers and satisfy each the other that we are utterly sincere in our friendship. I hope I shall be able to help at home in that effort.

I have been in contact with our representatives who are aiding in setting up the United Nations Organization here and the work is proceeding splendidly. The first meeting of the General Body, that is, the representative body of the United Nations Organization, will occur here in early January.

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There is a spirited contest going on as to whether the permanent seat of the organization will be in the United States or in some country of Europe. We are not seeking it in the United States but we made it clear that we would welcome it. We are told that the British and the French are working to have the site in Europe. The Russians favor the United States. I hope we can get it in Florida.

Tuesday evening I was honored by being invited to address an informal meeting of members of the British Parliament. Although the House of Commons was in session, more than one hundred members of Parliament from the House of Lords, some from Canada, and others from the House of Commons, attended and the meeting including the question period lasted nearly two hours. We discussed the international situation and how we can work together better to promote prosperity and the peace. Today some members of the House of Commons gave a luncheon for me and we had further discussions.

Wednesday I had lunch at Gray's Inn, a famous old society of lawyers, with a lawyer named Henry Salt whom I met when I was a student at Law School at Harvard. We had had lunch together that day and when we separated I introduced myself. My friend turned red in the face and said: "Are you kidding me?" I said: "No, why do you ask?" He said, "My name is Salt." That was years ago. Meeting again in London Mr. Salt introduced me to some of the English Judges who asked me to come and sit on the bench with them yesterday in Court. You should have seen them in their scarlet cloaks trimmed in Ermine and with their white wigs. Three Judges sat. The lawyers wore black gowns and white wigs in Court. Everything is dignified and restrained and when you see their proceedings you understand why British Justice is always spoken of with admiration.

Wednesday night I was a guest at the Pilgrims Dinner in honor of Prime Minister Attlee. This is a society the purpose of which is to bring Britons and Americans closer. I sat at the Prime Minister's table and he did me the honor to rise and meet me and shake hands very cordially when I approached the table because of the very pleasant meeting he had with me when I went through London in August. The Prime Minister made an excellent speech as did Lord Jowitt, the Lord Chancellor, who presides over the House of Lords, and our able Ambassador, Mr. Winant. I was fortunate enough to sit by the Minister of Civil Aviation in Britain and I got a chance to put in a word for Pan American Airways, who mean a lot to us in Florida, and who have been having some trouble with the British because they want to charge cheaper fares than their British competitors, and I want to see cheaper transatlantic fares by air so that the masses of the people and not just the rich man can travel.

Yesterday I was in the House of Commons from three o'clock in the afternoon until eleven thirty in the evening listening to the exciting debate and to the statement by the Prime Minister on the Loan Agreement between the United States and Britain. Mr. Churchill opened the debate with a stinging attack on the Socialist Government. He was in good form and his words cut deeply as he hurled them at the opposition, charging that they had not put first things first in their reconversion program but were wasting their energies on Socialist Doctrine. Prime Minister Attlee replied. Many thought he made the best speech he ever made, for instead of being altogether serious as he usually is, he also laid very sharp verbal lashes on Mr. Churchill, saying that he was just disgruntled because he lost the election and could not see anything except Toryism, that is, rank conservatism, in domestic public affairs.

The House of Commons is a small chamber and the parties generally face each other across a rather narrow aisle. The House was crowded and each side roared as its champion dealt his blows. Some new members made maiden speeches. Mr. Herbert Morrison, one of the leaders of the Government, concluded the debate, also in excellent form, and the vote was taken at nine fifteen. The Government won by a big majority, for England is now definitely committed to Socialist principles and this Government is determined to carry them out.

There was some opposition to the conditions we have imposed on the loan to Britain when the Prime Minister made the announcement of an agreement for a four billion dollar loan from us. Some cried it meant the return to the gold standard, but it will be approved next week, I am confident, by the House of Commons, for Britain needs the loan very badly.

You get a dense fog here now most of the time and it gets dark by four-thirty p.m. This land has its quaint customs and its peculiarities but it does not take long to see the fundamental character and strength in the people. Their integrity and sense of justice, their devotion to democracy, their courage, stand like rocks in the shifting world. We have to allow for them a little and sometimes disagree with them or even laugh at them, yet they stand in this troubled world for the dignity of men, women and children and the divinity of God. They need us, we need them. Together and with others of good will we cannot only save this good earth which is ours from devastation and spoliation; we can build it into the best home man has ever had.

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(EDITOR'S NOTE - "Very Truly Yours" is intended to give you first-hand insight)
(into Florida affairs at Washington. You may find this helpful)
(in a number of ways--for your own information, as background)
(for editorials, for news stories, and perhaps as a column.)

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

I know more than ever before how sweet is "home sweet home." Bad weather delayed my return from England for several days, because I had arranged to fly over on the Pan American Clipper. The delay, however, did enable us to spend a day and night in Western Ireland. Among other interesting things which we saw near Limerick, is the famous pack of Limerick hounds, some of the most famous foxhounds in either England or Ireland. A lady, Mrs. Alexander, was the master of these hounds. They were eighty in number, pure blood all, about equally divided male and female. On the hunts, they use about fifteen pairs of hounds, male and female. They ride, you know, after the fox, jumping hedges, fences, walls, and, as one lady put it, "they would almost try to jump a house if it got in the way!" They average about two "spills", as they call it, in each hunt where forty or fifty people are following the hounds; but to hear a pack of hounds in hard chase is good music in any country. I saw some of the fine hunters which they ride, some valued at several thousand dollars apiece. They are magnificent horses and can easily take a jump more than five feet high.

The weather was a little rough in the middle of the Atlantic, and it is not too comforting to think that you only have four motors between you and the cold Atlantic, more than a thousand miles from the nearest land. But the trip was uneventful and the flying time between Ireland and New York via Gander, Newfoundland is only about eighteen hours.

I came on down from New York to Washington Thursday night to find Washington covered with snow and ice.

Many Senators have asked me when I was going to make a report on the Senate Floor on my trip. But I am first reporting to the President--then to the Acting Secretary of State--then to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Several Senators are arranging either luncheons or private dinners, where groups of Senators will get together so I might go over with them, in confidence, some of my findings after having visited and conferred with American representatives and the top Government officials in nineteen countries of Europe, the Middle East, Asia Minor, and the Balkans.

This week Congressman Lyndon Johnson of Texas gave a dinner for Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House of Representatives, also of Texas, to eat some Texas steak which a friend had sent up, and I was one of the guests. Among others present were members of the Cabinet, Mr. Robert E. Hannegan, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and other friends who were Members of

Congress or of Government agencies, After dinner they kept me talking for a good while about the trip, and especially about certain international matters of great interest now to us all. Speaker Sam Rayburn, who drove me home after the dinner, emphasized that he thinks that people are primarily interested in the personalities one sees on such a trip. In other words, the people wanted to know "how did Stalin look" and "how is Prime Minister Atlee in private conversation", "how did I feel talking to Mr. Winston Churchill and what is his attitude upon being out of office now," "What was the appearance of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia", "how did I like General DeGaulle." After all, we are primarily interested in the human side of affairs, all of us. One of the greatest thrills I had when I first came to Washington was to get to see and to know personally people whom I had always read about and admired, such as the President, of course, former Senator McAdoo, Mr. Bernard Baruch, General Pershing, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, and others who have been great names in our country.

I am certainly pleased that the United Nations has now decided to establish its permanent headquarters in the United States. I spoke for that, you remember, when I was in London, and tried to emphasize that the people of the United States did not want the new International Organization buried under the old quarrels of Europe.

I shall devote a great deal of my time to matters pertaining to foreign policy because I consider the first task of this generation is to keep the peace of the next. We must not make the mistakes which day by day and year by year we made after the last war. I don't know of any greater service that one could render his country than to help it to be prosperous and peaceful for we all know from two experiences in this generation the agony and the waste of war.

But I am now back into our own domestic problems and picking up again contact with legislation pending or proposed which will aid in hastening the return of our boys and girls home, enabling them to find homes, and to get established again in life or to get into school or some kind of a training program which will fit them for a better livelihood and a greater service. In short, to get the wheels of their normal lives to turning again.

Before I left, I had been trying to get the G. I. Bill amended so as to provide greater educational benefits for returned servicemen and women. The new bill embodies most of the recommendations I made before I left and upon which my staff has continued to work. All veterans may now know that they don't have to be under twenty-five years of age to get the educational benefits of the G. I. Bill. The time in which they may take advantage of the G. I. educational benefits has been extended to four years instead of two. Two

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years have been added to the time during which their educational benefits may be obtained, from seven to nine years. Under the new bill, veterans can take special courses on the same terms as they could take college or high school instruction. And the amount a veteran will receive while getting such educational training is now \$65 a month instead of \$50, and if he has dependents it is \$90 a month. I had proposed graduated benefits up to \$150 a month for a man with as many as four dependents, but even the more limited change is helpful.

Mrs. Pepper and I are going home for the holidays as soon as the Congress recesses. I am to make the Woodrow Wilson dinner address in St. Petersburg on December 28 at the Jeffersonian Club which, ever since the last war, has every year at this time given a dinner in honor of President Wilson and to carry on President Wilson's ideas of an international organization to keep the peace.

On the 30th, I am to attend with Governor Caldwell and many others the Annual Rodeo Fat Stock Show and 4-H Club Exhibits at Lakeland. On the 31st, we shall go on to Miami to attend, as we have for many years, the New Year's Orange Bowl Game. I certainly am anxious to get some good Florida fruit and sunshine and to see friends again.

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December 22, 1945 - Number 37

December 28, 1946

AUTHORS NOTE:

The following book has been limited in theory to thirty thousand words, which means something less than two hours reading time.

I who have not fought in the mud have nothing to say with the authority of those who have fought in the mud.

To America and to those friends whom I met so intimately in some nineteen countries of Europe and Asia, I can only say my thought is of what is to be.

What is to be? Exactly, I should have said, what should be. But today in our uncertainties, it is not true to be certain. What is to be or even what ought to be, is something we know very little about.

So if there is any virtue in what I have written, it is merely that of sincerity and hope and passionate belief in the dignity of growth and intelligence of the average man. It would have been so easy to write of the atomic bomb and the future air age and pluck again the poppies from the fields of France. But writing tonight in the twilight of the country-side, I can only say, "God bless my friends. We are on our way. We have taken it. We can take it. Man in the over all under God never has been beaten."

To stop here would be pleasant. Nothing really has been said above which any one may feel or with reason remember. But this writer has known for many years a simple truth. He knew this truth before the First World War. He was certain of this truth before the second World War. And should there even be a third World War, he will know the truth.

The truth is that man has never been beaten by any natural force^{or}/invention. There may have been a world flood. We know there was an ice age which drove man in despondency from his north home-lands as far as the Mediterranean and the Ohio Rivers. We now know that there is an atomic air age with all its implications.

But without logic, without deduction, and without any authority to say yes, we must and do passionately deny that man may or shall be defeated by nature or himself.

History which took man from the caves and the trees through tribal warfare into the age of bronze on into the age of steam and electricity, from the canoes to the trans-Atlantic steamships, from the Ox wagon to the modern airplane, this time of

modern life shall not confuse or puzzle or destroy. Those who fear shall not lead.

December 28, 1945

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Phone--Michigan 1313
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Washington 8, D.C.
December 30, 1945

To Senator Fulbright from Charles S. Marsh:

I have been away. Picking up the December thirty-first issue of Time magazine, I find Truman is the man of the year.

Turning to page fourteen, I find that you are very much of a man. Congratulations as the New Year opens.