

Mr. Wallace has played a major part in the following activities of great importance to the Welfare of the United States and the World -

~~1. Initiating & Administering~~

~~1. Selecting the personnel~~

1. Working out with Congress fundamental farm legislation

2. Picking out the key personnel for administering that legislation.

3. Administering the ^{farm} legislation in such a way as to -

a. Double farm gross income.

b. Treble farm net income

c. Halt erosion

d. Increase soil fertility

e. Build up huge storage stocks as a protection against drought and war.

f. Develop county committees elected by the farmers themselves & committees which have proved to be the backbone of the county war boards.

4. Supervising the loaning of ^{billions of dollars} ~~money~~ to millions of farmers on a basis which resulted in an excellent collection record. careful

5. Insisting on the ^{careful} storage of farm products is the Ever Normal Granary at a reasonable charge. Many millions of dollars were saved in ~~this~~ storage charges.

6. Promoting maximum foreign trade. He was the author of the pamphlet "America Must Choose" which had a profound effect on public opinion. He appeared repeatedly before Senate and House Committees in behalf of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program and made many speeches ~~in behalf of~~ for it.

7. A appearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of reasonable freight rates.

8. ~~Fighting~~ Advocating higher wages as a method of increasing domestic demand for farm products.

9. Directing attention to the plight of the little farmer with no land and no money. He worked with Congress to save the Farm Security program when it was unpopular. He worked with Congress on various legislation.

10. Developing the S-Tamp plan in cooperation with hundreds of thousands of retailers and wholesalers. This gave millions of people enough to eat for the first time in their lives.

11. Taking a special interest in the unusual problem which faces farm products on the export market such as cotton and wheat. He pushed the International Wheat agreement.

12. ~~E~~ Pushing scientific research in the Department of Agriculture especially along the lines of genetics, nutrition, soils, and chemistry.

~~13. Arranging for Selling Senator~~
13. Initiating the Cotton-rubber trade in April of 1939 which gave us enough rubber for 18 million auto tires.

14. Backing both ~~plant~~ natural and synthetic rubber investigations in the Department of Agriculture prior to the war.

15. Cultivating Latin American relations. He made trips for the President to Mexico, Costa Rica and all the West Coast countries of South America. His knowledge of Spanish and his eagerness ~~withness~~ to visit farmers, miners, and factory workers made many friends for the U.S. among the people who in the long run count most.

16. Cultivating Asiatic friendships.
He visited Soviet Asia on his way to China
and became acquainted with the
agricultural scientists, ~~and~~ the
factory managers, and the directors of
the collective farms. He promoted friendship
between Russia and China. ~~He~~ This may save
the lives of thousands of American soldiers.

~~17. Serving temporarily~~

17. Helping to break bottle necks
in both Economic Warfare and War
Production. He served ~~as a for a time~~ as
Chairman of BEW and SPAB ^(later WPB) just
prior to and immediately following Pearl
Harbor and broke many bottle necks when
there was much opposition in high places.

18. Preaching the "Century of the
Common Man" in World wide terms.

His Free World Speech on May 8 has
been translated into more than 20 languages
and millions of copies have been circulated.

19. Preaching the doctrine of jobs for all
and abundance for all based on
full use of ^{all} resources and technologies.

He believes any peace not founded on this
doctrine will prove to be a mockery.
Money must be the servant not the master of man.

9th Edition.

Post March 21.

Wallace Learning to Fly



Associated Press Photo

AFTER FIRST LESSON—Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace steps from the cockpit of a training plane at National Airport after completing his first flying lesson. His instructor is Paul E. Young (seated), assistant chief of the General Inspection Division of the Civil Aeronautics Administration

9-27-36
Post

March 21

Wallace Learning to Fly



Associated Press Photo

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THE YOUNG JEFFERSON

Review by Henry A. Wallace of Claude
Bowers' most recent Jefferson Book

No young man living a hundred and seventy years ago so completely embodied in himself the nation as it was to be as did the Jefferson of 1775. What Jefferson envisioned before the American revolution we are today in the United States in actuality. If Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin or our Latin American neighbors wish to understand how deeply rooted is the fundamental essence of American democracy, let them read this last book of Claude Bowers.

More than any other single individual Jefferson is the prophet and the architect of New World democracy. The British democracy in the time of Jefferson was as restricted in its vision and narrow in its application as the Jewish religion in the time of King David. Jefferson broke the bonds of an established aristocracy, an established Church, and an established ignorance. He believed in the potentialities of black men and Indians as well as white men. Just like the Apostle Paul, he was driven by the universal aspects of the Christian religion, so Jefferson was driven by the universal aspects of Anglo-Saxon democracy.

Prophets and Founding Fathers always seem strangely cold, distant and inhuman. Bowers in his last book remedies this with regard to Jefferson, the young man. While not as exciting as the other two Bowers books ~~about the later life of Jefferson~~ dealing with the Hamilton controversy and Jefferson as President, this book is probably more fundamentally important. At any rate, we gain many more glimpses of Jefferson as a

human being during the first forty-five years of his life than we do later.

Jefferson, despite all his belief in democracy, was definitely not a common man. His father had started out by being a common man but had accumulated enough property to marry into an aristocratic family. And so the young man Jefferson had an abundance of opportunity to study, to play the violin, to ~~x~~ ride horseback, to dance and enjoy all the social graces. Jefferson was never in any sense dissipated, wild or profligate, yet we can hardly hold up to the youth of the land his first year of college at William and Mary as one which they should imitate. Neither can we suggest that our youth should literally study their eyes out as Jefferson did for a time.

Jefferson undoubtedly felt within himself great creative power extending in many directions. So we have manifested at quite an early age an ~~intense~~ ^{just} ~~practical~~ ^{yet} interest in science, in the arts, in agriculture, and in graceful living. His interests were not purely intellectual --p he did something about them. It was as a young man, not as an old man, that he designed Monticello. As a young man he was a practical lawyer, trying over four hundred cases a year and earning more than three thousand dollars in lawyer's fees. As a farmer he made a net income of more than two thousand dollars. Wherever he went he had an excellent wine cellar. As seems so often to be the case with men of artistic temperament, he greatly appreciated association with women. Bowers' account of his lady friends in Paris just before the French revolution makes most interesting reading.

It seems to me that Jefferson, the most uncommon man, sensed that every common man had in him many of the potentialities which he, Jefferson, recognized in himself. That is why the phrase, "All men are created equal," became the very core of Jefferson's being and eventually, because of Jefferson's efforts, the very core of American democracy. Believing this so strongly he fought ~~much~~ to make the new Virginia constitution immediately after the Declaration of Independence an instrument for religious freedom, free education, and the abolition of slavery and feudalistic land-holding systems. In the most aristocratic of all the colonies Jefferson planted seed which will bear fruit as long as mankind exists.

Jefferson, because he felt in the very center of his being that the supremely important thing about government had to do with insuring to each individual the dignity of his own soul, was a great believer in freedoms of all kinds. ~~He insisted that the Constitution should have appended to it a Bill of Rights.~~ He did not sit in our Constitutional Convention because he was serving as Minister to France but when the new Constitution was mailed to him he insisted by letter from France that there be added to it a bill of rights which would include among other things security for five freedoms, "Freedom of religion, freedom of press, freedom from monopolies, freedom from unlawful imprisonment, and freedom from a permanent military."

It is interesting to note Jefferson's reference to "freedom from monopolies" in 1788, in view of the way in which various types of monopolies have been trying to hide behind the phrases, "Jeffersonianism" and "States'

Rights" ever since the time of Theodore Roosevelt. Prior to the time of Theodore Roosevelt the corporations on the whole were against States' rights because they felt they had a better chance with the Federal government than with the States' governments. With them it has not been a matter of philosophy but of expediency.

No one can read over Bowers' book on "The Young Man Jefferson" and have any illusions as to where Jefferson himself would ~~immediately~~ stand today if he had the opportunity to battle in his uncommon way for the common man against the forces of hereditary wealth, privilege and monopoly.

There is an astonishing similarity between Jefferson and Roosevelt in many ways. I cannot help feeling that Roosevelt must have drawn more inspiration from Jefferson than any other of our historic figures. In both are to be found the same artistic architectural bent, the same love of agriculture, the same joy in the graces of life, the same capacity for the most careful and precise use of political power.

Telegram to HAW:

George Bill and Work-Fight Bill involve same fundamental issue. Your group holds balance of power on work bill while opponents hold balance of power on George Bill. Suggest solidarity and strategic unity upon your part. You could delay Work-Fight Bill pending satisfactory compromise on George Bill. Avoid dividing bargaining power.

60 Million Jobs

Chapter I Credo of the Common Man (Economic Democracy in action.)

II Cost of Unemployment

(10 million unemployed for 10 years costs the national budget \$350,000,000. Unemployment in the decade of the 50's could cost the national budget \$500,000,000. The ultimate cost would be revolution. Jobless soldiers would not be as complacent as WPA workers.)

III Who are the 60 Million?

(The breakdown in narrative form--setting forth also the interdependency of farm worker, factory worker, and the business man. For breakdown, check with Louis Bean's tables prepared from Department of Labor statistics.)

IV 60 Million Customers for the business man.

(80 percent of the market is among those who earned less than \$3000 a year. Pull up the ill clad, ill housed, ill fed, to a buyer's level.)

V 60 Million Customers for the farmer.

(60 million workers at good wages will solve three-fourths of the farm problem. Explain other one-fourth.)

VI 60 Million Customers for the worker.

(No individual can be certain of full employment for himself unless there is full employment for all. An unemployed worker impoverishes all workers. Increase the wage per hour as hours of work are shortened. Sustain the market by adoption of an annual wage policy.)

VII The Veteran's stake in 60 million jobs.

VIII Homes and the Common Man.

(Producing for modern housing and homes will be the greatest single opportunity for furnishing post-war jobs. Modify FHA to provide lower interest rates, lower down payment and longer amortization. To prove the high cost of slums, make reference to report on Laurel Homes Project in Cincinnati.)

IX Health and the Common Man.

("Health Plus" for the common man will double his efficiency. This is the most exciting of all the post-war projects.)

X Education and the Common Man.

(The future belongs to those nations whose people are most vividly educated in the knowledge of history and the sciences,

and adequately trained in the technical use of their hands. There should be better pay for teachers, federal aid regardless of race or creed; and we should embrace to the fullest extent the new teaching techniques.)

XI Social Security and the Common Man.

(Universal coverage for old age security, etc. Increase old age benefits.)

XII Foreign Trade and the Common Man.

(Increased imports, increased exports contribute to the peace of the world and to full domestic employment. We cannot possibly have full employment without a great increase in export of heavy goods.)

XIII Freedom from monopoly and scarcity.

(Free enterprise, free competition, full use of patents, technologies and resources will assure abundance and full employment. Artificial monetary controls which protect outmoded businesses work for unemployment and scarcity.)

XIV The government and 60 million jobs.

(Only the government can put a floor under jobs. No corporation or group of corporations, no trade union or group of trade unions, can do it. No government can do it unless all people realize that the peace time peril is very great. Where should the job insurance floor be placed? 53 million? 55 million? 57 million? The place of public works in job insurance--what kind of public works? Set forth the principles of the Murray Bill.)

XV The cost of full employment.

(Where does the money come from? The debt and 60 million jobs. Five billion new private debt every year in the 20's was accompanied by substantially full employment. Decline of three billion private debt annually in the 30's was accompanied by ten million unemployed. Full employment costs money; but it costs less than unemployment. Fiscal policy for full employment is one of first and most important Congressional post-war duties.)

XVI 60 Million Votes.

(The appeal to political action.)

HOW BAD IS MR. WALLACE?

By Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania.

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Senator Taft on the floor of the United States Senate repeatedly said during the course of debate during the early part of this month that Mr. Wallace was incompetent, so bad that he was repudiated by the great majority of the United States Senate. Senator Taft's statement was to be expected. In the recent campaign Senator Taft was running for reelection in Ohio. Mr. Wallace campaigned in Ohio, speaking in many places against Senator Taft and Governor Dewey. Mr. Wallace said "Taftism" must go. Well, Judge Pickrell in spite of the defection of certain elements in his own party came within 17,000 votes of beating Senator Taft. The animus of Senator Taft no matter how much he may protest is obvious and can be discounted for what it really is.

Let's look at the record and see how bad Wallace really is. What is there about it to cause the Taftites to fight him with such venom? Mr. Wallace's sin is that he has never knuckled under to the special interests. He has been more than fair to them when their interest coincided with the public good but merciless in his fight against them when they were pushing some measure against the general welfare. Take the story of how Mr. Wallace saved \$874,000,000 to the U. S. treasury which otherwise would have gone unjustly to enrich certain processors who had done nothing whatever to earn the money. When the AAA was declared unconstitutional and with it the processing tax which financed the cost of the agricultural program, many of the processors thought that inasmuch as the tax had been declared unconstitutional, the tax money belonged to them. Mr. Wallace called this a

"legalized steal" and immediately asked the solicitor of the Department of Agriculture to work with the appropriate committees in Congress to draw up "unjust enrichment tax" legislation to see that the money already collected from the farmer or consumer was not returned to the processor who had done nothing whatever to earn it. The legislation was passed. Mr. Wallace's men in the Department of Agriculture worked with the Treasury to carry it out. In justice to the processing trades it should be said that the majority of them recognized the justice of the action taken by the Government under Mr. Wallace's leadership. The courts sustained the Government in 92 per cent of the cases which were brought to court. The overwhelming majority of the cases were settled out of court because the justice of the government's position was so apparent. Of course there were some individuals who thought they had their hands on windfall gains amounting to millions of dollars who had a strong feeling of resentment against Mr. Wallace for the strong leadership which he furnished. It is these men and men inspired by them who are chiefly responsible for the vicious attack continually carried on against Mr. Wallace in the press and over the air.

Take the Ever Normal Granary which Mr. Wallace fathered. Some of the grain interests did not like this. But it was an essential step to take on behalf of the farmer and the consumer. Of course Senator Taft who speaks for the special interests does not like the Ever Normal Granary. But the American people can be mighty thankful for the extra 100,000,000 bushels of wheat and 450,000,000 bushels of corn which Mr. Wallace had stored up in the Ever Normal Granary when the war came on. This huge stock of extra grain made the difference between crippling hunger and efficient working and fighting for many millions *in England and France.*

In the Ever Normal Granary were also huge stocks of cotton and in April of 1939 Mr. Wallace was responsible for initiating ~~in England and~~

Summa the trade of 600,000 bales of cotton for 90,500 long tons of rubber. The rubber cartellists in the East Indies were holding production down at that time to 50 per cent. Naturally they and their business friends didn't like what Mr. Wallace started. 90,500 tons of rubber is a lot of rubber, enough to make 18 million average automobile tires. Both the automobile user and the war effort were served by this far visioned action by Henry Wallace.

As early as August of 1934 in an article in the Sunday New York Times Mr. Wallace said, "That is why I have mentioned the adaptability of the Triple A to a wartime state, should such madness again possess the nations of Europe and Asia or our own. As it is, we have fixed a peaceful course, not too fixed or rigid, for American agriculture. It is a course to a far end: balanced harvests, with storage in an ever normal granary: a peaceful balance between our major producing groups, rural and urban: a wise and decent use of all our land: a shared abundance, here at home: and, if possible, sensible and friendly trading relations with the people of other lands."

The Wallace farm program in the thirties doubled the farm gross income and trebled the farm net income. There was nothing inept about the way Wallace got the cooperation of the farmers, the Congress and the administrators in the executive branch of the government to do a difficult job which had been precipitated by the scarcity policies of industry. Senator Taft is not worried about Wallace's incompetence - he is terribly worried about his competence. Mr. ^{Barney} Haruch has repeatedly said that Mr. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture did a superb job of administration.

Let's look briefly at this administrative job. Under the Triple A which became law in May of 1933 Mr. Wallace had to pick the man who would build an organization which would contact county by county and state by state the majority of the 6 million farmers of the United States. The chief responsibility was placed on the county committees elected by the farmers themselves. This annoyed a few politicians but it was sound administration to decentralize what otherwise would have been an impossible task. These county committeemen trained in local responsibility have been invaluable in the war, serving on the county war boards to ration scarce materials and machines in the best way to promote the maximum war effort. To these men as much as to anyone goes the credit for the phenomenal job of all out agricultural war production.

Mr. Wallace picked Milo Perkins to work out the Stamp plan for distributing food and cotton which would otherwise go to waste, to the neediest parts of our population. He told Mr. Perkins to work out the most friendly relationship possible with the wholesale and retail distributive trades. It was almost as difficult an administrative job to come into effective touch with several hundred thousand distributive outlets as it had been to work out the Triple A in cooperation with several million farmers. But the job was done and it was done efficiently and effectively. One of the men who worked with Mr. Wallace and Mr. Perkins at that time was J. Frank Grimes, President of the Independent Grocers' Alliance. Mr. Grimes recently wired to Senators as follows, "I strongly urge full complete support of Henry Wallace's appointment as Secretary of Commerce. My experience with him when chairman of the important food

and grocery conference committee has earned my deep respect for his ability and integrity. I believe he is ideally suited to be Secretary of Commerce and urge you to support him unwaveringly."

When Wallace saw the war coming on in 1939 he appointed a special advisory committee composed of representatives of business, agriculture and labor to advise the Department of Agriculture on the problems which would inevitably arise in case war should materialize. Mr. Wallace gained the whole hearted esteem of both the business men and the representatives of labor on this Committee.

When someone calls Senator Taft's attention to Wallace's outstanding accomplishments in managing the loaning of more than one billion six hundred million dollars in the form of eleven and a half million loans, he says that most of that loaning was done by the R.F.C. The Senator simply does not know that Mr. Wallace attended the Commodity Credit board meetings in the R.F.C. building far oftener than Mr. Jones did. He it was who used Presidential backing to force Mr. Jones to give the farmers 4 per cent instead of 5 per cent money. He it was who insisted on safe storage facilities at reasonable rates. He it was who finally insisted that the Commodity Credit Corporation be transferred to agriculture so that the products could be stored more economically. More than fifteen million dollars in storage charges were saved after complete control came into the hands of the Department of Agriculture. This was done merely by enforcing ordinary, sound business procedure. The purpose of the Commodity Credit Corporation was not the making of money but it is interesting to note that in spite of the fact the loans made were non-recourse loans resulting in large accumulations by the government of farm products, nevertheless the final collection and liquidation experience of the loans

made prior to 1941 was remarkably good - 98.6%.

Senator Taft would really prefer ten million unemployed under old fashioned business controls to full employment and prosperity resulting from cooperation between business and government. He is honest in his belief. The only trouble is that he has not yet learned "to add and subtract".

The only Vice President who ever did any work in the Executive branch of the government was Mr. Wallace. No President would ever have asked a Vice President to engage in Executive work except in time of war. Certain coordination jobs necessary to the war effort could only be done by the President or by someone who outranked the Cabinet officers. The various cabinet officers had to be coordinated with respect to Economic Warfare and War Production. Mr. Wallace at the request of the White House stepped into both situations only a few months prior to Pearl Harbor. He was serving as Chairman of both BW and SPAB when Pearl Harbor struck. He prides himself that he broke bottle necks which nobody else could have broken except the President. In SPAB (later WPB) Mr. Wallace working with Don Nelson and Stacy May broke the log jam. He was glad to step out at the earliest possible moment because he knew that a Vice President working as an Executive would certainly be looked on critically by certain people in both the executive and the legislative branches of the government. Only Don Nelson and Milo Perkins know what a magnificent contribution Mr. Wallace made to the war effort at a time when the "business as usual" attitude was still found in many high places. In taking his uncompromising stand he made many enemies.

And so I say to Senator Taft, "Yes, Wallace is a bad man for the enemies of the general welfare. He is a bad man for those who do not believe in justice for agriculture. He is a bad man for the

cartelists. He is a bad man for those who think there should only be 50 million jobs in this country. He is a bad man for those who want ten million unemployed. He is a bad man for Senator Taft."

But one man's meat is another man's poison. I do not agree with Senator Taft. Wallace's multitudinous business contacts made on behalf of the general welfare make him an ideal man for Secretary of Commerce. If he only shows one half the ability as Secretary of Commerce that he showed as Secretary of Agriculture, the business men of the United States will soon come to feel that he is the best Secretary of Commerce they have ever had. I believe and I think Mr. Wallace believes that the vast majority of business men are sound, forward looking and eager to cooperate with government in doing a first class job of furnishing the maximum number of positions for willing workers in the production of peace time goods for a peace time market.

How bad is Mr. Wallace in the eyes of the Allied and Neutral Nations? What will Mr. Wallace's rejection by the Senate mean to our harmonious relations with the peoples of other nations? The answers to these questions are put most briefly by saying that Mr. Wallace has a standing abroad second only to that of President Roosevelt. The British know that his full employment ideas are less radical than those of Sir William Beveridge, to which even the British Tories are giving the most respectful consideration. The British are unable to understand why the Tories of the United States fight both President Roosevelt and Henry Wallace with such viciousness.

Mr. Wallace has long taken a deep interest in the peoples of Latin America. This was recognized by the President when he appointed Mr. Wallace as Ambassador Plenipotentiary to Mexico in December, 1940, on the occasion of the inauguration of President Avila Camacho. The situation was a very delicate one, threats of revolution were in the air and Mr. Wallace's coming at that particular moment served as a very useful stabilizing influence. The newly inaugurated President of Mexico immediately gave Mr. Wallace information as to the nature of Axis threats by air and sea to Latin America and specifically to the West Coast of Mexico.

Mr. Wallace's trip to Mexico was such a success that the President asked him in the spring of 1943 to visit the West Coast of South America. The Western Latin American countries felt that they ^{had been} ~~were~~ neglected by high ranking United States officials. Mr. Wallace, by that time, had learned to speak in Spanish and everywhere he was tumultuously received. At the huge outdoor stadium in ^{Santiago} ~~Chile~~, he spoke in Spanish to more than 80,000 people on behalf of the Allied Cause. ~~On his way down to Chile, Mr. Wallace stopped~~

On his way down to Chile, Mr. Wallace stopped in Costa Rica to lay the cornerstone for the Inter-American Institution of Agriculture. Mr. Wallace has long believed that the solidarity of the Americas^R is vital to the safety of the United States and that this solidarity can only be obtained by understanding the Latin peoples and their problems, especially their agricultural, industrial and mining problems. That is why Mr. Wallace visited the people in the factories, mines and farms all over the West Coast of Latin America. That is why the people there knew, respect and love him. Mr. Wallace reported to the President that the cost of living in most of the Latin American countries had ~~far~~ outrun the income of the people and that the Axis agents were using the resulting discontent to blame the Yankee Colossus.

Mr. Wallace, ever since that trip, has predicted that the most serious threat to the post-war security of the United States would come by reason of lack of solidarity and understanding between the United States and Latin America. To the people of Latin America, the fight in the United States Senate over Mr. Wallace has been profoundly significant. This is demonstrated by a letter which the Chilean paper "La Nacion" published in Spanish on January 21, 1945. This letter speaks most highly of President Roosevelt and bemoans the fact that Wallace is no longer Vice President, even though the office had no power. He says the passing of Mr. Wallace is for the Chileans a "definite loss, a vanishing of a hope". (He then goes on to say that the ^{man} ~~men~~ in the ^{street} ~~State~~ has not forgotten that the United States is the place "where Theodore Roosevelt lived, the place where wall street acts, the nation which produced a Senate, which rendered Woodrow Wilson ^{impotent} ~~important~~." The letter writer goes on to say that in order to counteract this feeling of the ~~men~~ ^{man} in the ~~State~~ ^{street}, it is essential that Roosevelt should have around him men who know the smell of the

earth, men who have a feeling for the poor nations of the earth, who are capable of identifying themselves with the privations and sufferings of the twenty American peoples who fundamentally are just one people. The writer declares that there cannot be real peace on this earth while injustice and misery continue to make of this earth the ^{Kingdom} "Tower of Bitterness". The writer closes by declaring that Spanish America had complete faith in this good man (Wallace) and that the Latin Americans hoped that he would not let his spirit be removed from them and that Roosevelt would remember that the problems of Latin America must be studied in his councils of government.

When the situation in China became unusually difficult in the spring of 1944, the President asked Mr. Wallace to carry a message to the Generalissimo. The first result of the trip was that the Generalissimo gave permission to the officers of the United States Army to visit the Chinese communists in the North. Mr. Wallace did not visit any of the communist leaders himself but his mission was undoubtedly a contribution towards that understanding between China and Russia which is essential if the war against Japan is to be terminated with the minimum loss of American lives and peace in the Far East is to be established on the firmest possible basis. On his trip to China, Mr. Wallace visited many agricultural states and factories in Soviet Asia. In so doing he established friendly relations with Soviet Asia. He did not visit European Russia or meet with any member of the Russian Cabinet.

In all these trips, Mr. Wallace worked with the closest possible relationship with the State Department. Everyone cooperated with him in the best possible way and a magnificent job was done of creating the maximum of good will on the part of millions of people towards the United States. Mr. Wallace has painstakingly created good will capital for the United States which

(UNRECORDED)

Taken from the Congressional Record of May 11, 1942.

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

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

serve all the people instead of only the few.

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

If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy.

1112

1:15

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City of New York

Gift of the

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City of New York

City of New York

-41-

an international advertising man might value at hundreds of millions if not billions of dollars. The United States Senate can destroy all of this in a twinkling of an eye and in so doing start the American people on a path which will be beset with unimaginable difficulties.

(On May 8th, 1942, Mr. Wallace made before the ^{Free} ~~Public~~ World Association his famous ~~speech~~ "century of the common man" speech. This speech was translated into more than twenty languages and broadcast ^{far and} ~~foreign~~ wide among the neutral nations and among the Axis nationals. Millions of copies were distributed.)

(insert here quotation from Congressional Record of May 8, 1942, Page 2 1676, beginning at the bottom of first column and closing with the third paragraph of the second column.)

No wonder the forward looking people of the United States and the common people of the world believe in Mr. Wallace. It is not Mr. Wallace's competence which is on trial before the Senate, It is the Senate which is on trial before the people of the world.

11

an international agreement... as in...
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 of an eye and in so doing...
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1649
 1623

2136 R Street, N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
December 29, 1944

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

The attached telegram Mr. Wallace wished to have called to his attention before you and he have your luncheon with Mr. and Mrs. Clayton.

The arrangement he made with Mr. Marsh, was that we would call him at 12:30 noon on Monday to remind him. As Mr. Marsh is to be in the country and it seems best that Mr. Wallace actually have a copy of the wire, I am sending it to you as the safest and surest way in which to remind him. Would you be so kind as to hand this wire to him just before your luncheon?

I am sorry to bother you, but Mr. Marsh felt that you would be the most reliable person to do this for him.

Sincerely,

Secretary

Mrs. Henry A. Wallace,
The Wardman Park,
Washington, D.C.

Financing for Small Business

In my testimony before your Committee on January 25, 1945 I promised an expanded statement of my views on helping small businessmen to obtain needed financing.

Now I want to make it perfectly clear to begin with that assistance to the small businessman is a prerequisite to healthy free enterprise. I believe that free enterprise means more than the right of established business organizations to produce and sell goods under competitive conditions. I believe that free enterprise must also mean the opportunity to move up the economic scale from worker to owner. It must mean the opportunity for the efficient and successful small businessman to expand in proportion to his ability. We must make sure that lack of adequate capital to finance new and expanding business does not become a bar to healthy economic advancement.

Private enterprise in the United States can survive only if it expands and grows, and it can expand and grow only if new enterprises are born and permitted to develop. The lifeblood of private enterprise in America is the new business and the small business. Without more and prosperous small businesses it will be impossible to maintain a healthy economy and high level of employment. 96 percent of the business enterprises in this country have less than 20 workers. More than one-third of the workers in manufacturing and business firms in the country are employed in enterprises with less than 20 workers. We must not forget that these small businesses are the foundation on which the large businesses of the future will be built.

Contrary to what you may have seen in the press, I am not against big business. I want more business and more business enterprises for this country, — large and small. We can have efficient progressive business in the future only

if we make sure that the seeds for large-scale enterprises are sown far in advance.

It is only when large businesses are constantly exposed to the keen competition of newly-formed and expanding businesses that our economy can remain healthy. The day we make it difficult to establish new business and for efficient small business to grow and expand in competition with large business, that day we sound the death knell of private enterprise and give a vested interest to monopoly. The great danger that lies before us, the threat against which we must protect ourselves is the growing tendency to make it impossible for small businessmen to get enough capital to start and to expand.

There are tremendous new frontiers that await American enterprise. They provide unparalleled opportunity for the millions of the young men and women in the armed forces who will return home and the millions of men and women now engaged in war work who will have to turn to peacetime pursuits. Many of them have acquired specialized knowledge and talent as a result of their wartime experience. America will greatly profit by providing them with an opportunity to use their new knowledge -- to use it in the American way. Unless new industrial fields are opened up and old fields are kept open to ambitious and competent young men and women who show reasonable promise for business success, American industry will stagnate. That can mean only unemployment and low wages.

I do not believe the monopolistic businesses of today have any God-given right to keep for themselves the business of this country. Big business must earn the right to remain big by producing at lower cost or by

giving the consumer better goods at the same cost while maintaining and improving working conditions for their employees in harmony with the American standard of life.

The cancer of free enterprise is monopoly. Free enterprise thrives on new businesses and the expansion of the smaller ones that have proved successful. America has stood for unlimited opportunity for the man of energy, imagination and resourcefulness to rise to industrial leadership; and we must insure the continuance of this tradition. The worker must have an opportunity to move from his bench to a small business of his own and through energy and vision build his business into a great enterprise. It was that opportunity which made possible the economic progress of the United States, and it is only by safeguarding this same opportunity that it will be possible for the United States to fulfill its destiny.

There was a time--and not so long ago--when an ambitious young man could start a business of his own with a few thousand dollars. Because of the increased mechanization of industry, and the modernization of marketing techniques even a small-size business if it is to operate efficiently needs far more capital. But facilities for securing opportunities to raise such capital by small business have not expanded with the growing need. While it is easy enough for a large corporation to float new equity securities of \$10 million or more at a cost of 5 percent of the issue and to sell these securities on a 5 or 6 percent yield basis, it is practically impossible for a small business to secure \$25,000 or \$50,000 for equity capital, except at a cost of 20 to 25 percent of the issue and the securities must then be sold at a yield of 10 or 12 percent, or even more.

Some small business enterprises do manage to raise capital under these onerous terms. Many more prospective enterprises die stillborn because they cannot even begin to pay such high charges. These figures make it clear that even where a man is fortunate enough to be able to secure financing, he does so at a cost which handicaps him in his efforts to compete with the larger concern that has ready access to capital. No one cognizant of the facts can doubt that inadequate arrangements for financing are important deterrents to the development of new business and the expansion of small business in the United States.

This is not a question of idealism. It is a stubborn fact that small business in this country does not have an opportunity to secure the capital it needs for its development and growth. In my testimony on January 25, I called attention to the fact that some investment bankers fully recognize the great need for new lending devices to assure adequate financing for small business. One of these Mr. Ferdinand Harstadt, an investment banker with whom I served on the War Production Board, has developed a proposal for forming local investment companies or pools of capital to be obtained from local businesses, banks and public spirited citizens and where necessary additional funds could be secured from Governments. Now I call your attention to the fact that Senator Taft has introduced a bill designed to aid in the financing of small business enterprise by providing governmental insurance of long-term loans made by banks and insurance companies and of stock when held in the portfolio of investment companies.

The R.F.C. during the past decade could have been the agency which would have filled this great need. It could have used some of its tremendous resources to help secure financing for small business. It could have struck a tremendous blow for new enterprise and the growth of small enterprise. But it is clear that it has not made use of that opportunity to any significant extent. According to a recent report issued by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation covering its operations for the period from the organization of the Corporation on February 2, 1932, to September 30, 1944, except for loans for national defense, the R.F.C. has made less than 9,000 loans to business enterprises over the last 12 years. This is a piddling number in a country where we have over 3 million small businesses.

I think it is not of overwhelming importance which of several methods we use to help provide financing for small business. It is important only that the government assist small business in securing from private investors some of its risk capital. It is important to do so without fostering ill-conceived, ill-advised and highly speculative ventures and without putting the government in business. The essence of free enterprise is to give well-conceived new business a chance to prove its worth. The capital needed by free enterprise must come from private investors. The role of the government must be limited to that of an insurer of the extraordinary risks that private investors cannot assume in full. We must make sure that financing such enterprises is possible if we are to have free enterprise providing productive employment to American labor and good markets for American agriculture.

The program which I suggested was that the Government should play its part in helping stimulate the growth and expansion of business enterprises in this country in a manner comparable to the way in which this Government

stimulated small home building and home modernization under the F.H.A. program. Just as under the F.H.A. program private homes were built and modernized by private contractors, and financed by private institutions, so under the program I have suggested the business enterprises would be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed. Just as under the F.H.A. program the Government shared with private lenders certain risks involved in financing the building and modernizing of small homes, so under the program I have suggested the Government would be sharing with the private investors certain risks involved in financing the growth of new business and the expansion of existing business. The Government would merely facilitate financing, without in any way acquiring ownership or assuming responsibility for management.

The real enemies of the American way of doing things are those who oppose constructive measures to insure the development and growth of private business in this country. If we make the American system of free enterprise work in time of peace with the same outstanding success that it has achieved in time of war, we need have no reason to fear the spread of any "ism" in this country. If we do not make an American system of free enterprise work then there is real danger that our American way of life will be threatened. The total answer to any threat of the spread of "isms" in this country is production to capacity in peace as we have produced to capacity in war, thus providing full employment and a better life for all.

February 15, 1945

Memorandum for Mr. Wallace on the provisions of an agreement for the publication of his projected book tentatively entitled "60,000,000 JOBS" or "57,000,000 JOBS?" or other title to be determined.

1. The manuscript containing between 40,000 and 60,000 words, more or less, to be delivered by March 15, 1945 to be an expression of Mr. Wallace's views and philosophy with respect to the future of employment in the United States based on research by Press Research, Inc. and others. Copyright in the name of the author.
2. The Publishers agree to publish on or before April 15, 1945.
3. The book will be written and signed by Henry A. Wallace but proper credit will be given in appropriate places to the assistance and research provided by Press Research, Inc. and others who may assist.
4. The Publishers will be entrusted with world rights on the book but will endeavor to market a separate edition in the British Empire except Canada acting as the author's agent and paying him 90% of the proceeds of any such edition. They will also endeavor to market the translation rights for the author, paying him 85% of any proceeds.
5. The book will be published in two formats - paper bound at \$1.00; cloth bound at \$2.00. The royalty on the paper bound edition will be 10%; on the cloth bound edition 15%, both on the catalogue retail price. The usual special royalties will apply on special sales of one kind or another as customary in most publishers' standard contracts.
6. The Publishers will pay the author an advance on account of royalties of \$10,000 payable half on the signing of the agreement, half on delivery of the completed manuscript.
7. The author will retain all subsidiary rights other than book except that should he desire to have the book serialized or "digested" after book publication he will agree in writing and the publisher will use his best offices to market the second serial and digest rights paying the author 75% of any income received from second serial and 50% of any income received from digest. In the event the author desires to have any other subsidiary rights marketed by the publisher, including motion picture, the publisher will do so at the regular agent's commission of 10%.
8. Under a tentative agreement made between Reynal and Hitchcock and Simon and Schuster, subject to Mr. Wallace's approval, the publication will be jointly undertaken by the two firms, both of whom will contribute whatever resources they can to the successful marketing of the book. Under this arrangement, the paper edition would carry the imprint of Simon and Schuster, the cloth edition the joint imprints of Reynal and Hitchcock and Simon and Schuster, both editions to carry a note on the copyright page to the general effect that owing to the importance of the publication, the two firms were pooling their facilities to make the book as widely available as possible. The announcements to the book trade would be joint and the imprints of both firms would be used in an agreed upon formula in advertisements. Both would cooperate to the fullest to make the book successful.

Under these circumstances it would seem to me that the best arrangement would be to have a contract with Mr. Wallace drawn with one firm or the other, preferably Reynal and Hitchcock as Mr. Wallace's regular publishers, and attach thereto a memorandum to be signed by all three covering the respective responsibilities of the two firms for carrying out the obligations of the combined agreement.

Contract

AGREEMENT made this 8th day of February, 1945,
between

Henry A. Wallace and Press Research, Inc.
(as Co-Authors)
whose post-office address is

732 Seventeenth St. N. W.
Washington, D C (6)

party of the first part, hereinafter also referred to as the "Author"; and Simon and Schuster, Inc., of 1230 Sixth Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, party of the second part, hereinafter also termed the "Publisher."

WITNESSETH: WHEREAS the parties hereto are mutually desirous respectively of having published and of publishing a certain literary work, at present entitled

SIXTY MILLION JOBS

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the stipulations and the covenants hereinafter set forth, and for valuable consideration by each to the other passed, receipt whereof is by both of them acknowledged, the said parties do hereby agree to and with each other as follows:

FIRST: THE AUTHOR AGREES:

*Exclusive
Publication
Right*

(a) to grant and hereby does grant, bargain, sell, convey, transfer, and set over unto the said Simon and Schuster, Inc., the sole and exclusive right to publish, print and put on the market the said work now entitled as above

in book form in the United States of America and in Canada, during the full term of copyright and all renewals thereof, and also grants to the Publisher the further rights hereinafter set forth;

*If Copyright
Is Held By
Author—*

(b) if the copyright is in the name of the Author to make timely application for the renewal of the copyright to be secured for the said work as hereinafter provided within one year before the expiration of the copyright therein; and to execute any further or other papers which may be necessary to extend the term of this agreement (if then in existence) so that the same shall be coincident with the term of the copyright in said work and the renewal thereof;

*Delivery of
Complete
Manuscript*

(c) to deliver to the Publisher not later than the 1st to 15th day of March, 1945 a completed and legible typewritten copy of the manuscript in proper shape for the press. If the same shall not be delivered within said time, then the publisher shall have the right, at any time thereafter, at its option, exercised by notice in writing to terminate this agreement and to recover from the author any and all amounts which it may have advanced to the Author with interest. If the Publisher does not elect to terminate this agreement, any and all amounts advanced to the Author shall bear interest at the rate of 6% per annum from the date when the manuscript was originally due to the date when the completed manuscript is accepted by the Publisher, or the advance repaid, whichever shall first occur.

The Author further agrees to supply promptly all photographs, drawings, charts and/or index necessary to the completion of his manuscript, and if he fails to do so the Publisher shall have the right to supply them and shall charge the cost thereof against any sums accruing to the Author under this agreement. It is understood and agreed that the "complete manuscript" shall include the following additional items as specified herewith:

The manuscript is to consist of approximately 40,000 to 60,000 words and is to present Mr. Henry A Wallace's ideas and philosophy, regarding the importance of 60,000.00 jobs in the post-war United States and the ways and means of furnishing them. The factual material will be based essentially on the bulletins of Press Research, Inc.

The book will be written and signed by Henry A. Wallace with due acknowledgment at the end of the text to Press Research's share in supplying facts and figures.

*Copyright
Infringement*

(d) to grant and he hereby does grant to the Publisher, the right, if the copyright be in the Author's name, to bring in the name of the Author as plaintiff or complainant any action or proceeding for the enjoining of any infringement of the copyright in the said work and for any damages resulting therefrom; and if in the Author's name, to hold the said copyright during the existence of this agreement subject to the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher;

*Proofreading
and
Author's
Corrections*

(e) to read when submitted and within fourteen days of the receipt thereof to return to the Publisher the galley and page proofs of the said work; and in the event of the failure by the Author to return the said proofs within the period aforesaid, then the Publisher shall have the right to publish the said work as submitted; and the Author shall pay or permit to have charged against royalties the amount of the expense incurred by the Publisher because of changes and/or additions other than corrections of printer's errors made in and to the text by the Author, in excess of ten per cent. (10%) of the original cost of composition. Corrected proofs shall be presented for inspection of the Author at the office of the Publisher, upon the former's request therefor;

Option on
Other Works
NONE

Guarantee
Against
Infringement,
Libelous Matter,
etc.

Permission to
Reprint

Supplementary
Clauses

~~(f) to grant and hereby does grant to the Publisher the option to publish the next two full length works, to be written and/or offered for publication by the Author, the said works to be published on the same terms as in this agreement set forth with regard to the work first hereinbefore referred to except that the option shall not extend beyond the said two succeeding works. The said option shall continue in force for ninety (90) days after the submission of the manuscript of each work, unless the Publisher shall, within such period, give notice in writing to the Author that it elects not to exercise the said option. Exercise of the option shall be by written notice to the Author. The said option shall not apply to the second succeeding work if it shall not have been exercised as to the first succeeding work.~~

(g) that he hereby represents and guarantees to the Publisher that he is the sole Author of the said work, that he is the owner of all of the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher, that the said work contains no libelous and/or unlawful matter; and that it in no wise infringes upon the copyright or violates any other right of any person, partnership or corporation whatsoever; and agrees to hold harmless the Publisher against any claim, demand or recovery finally sustained in any suit which may be brought against the Publisher by reason of any violation of proprietary right or copyright, or because of any libelous or unlawful matter contained in the said work; and promptly at his own expense to act with regard to and defend any claim or demand which may be made and/or action which may be brought, based upon any assertions or allegations of infringement, violation, libel or unlawfulness. The Publisher shall notify the Author of any claim, demand or action and give to the Author such reasonable time as the exigencies of the situation will permit to meet the same or to undertake the defense thereto; and if default shall be made by the Author in the respects aforesaid, then the Publisher is hereby granted the right to meet the same or to make such defense, as it may be advised by its counsel, and the costs and counsel fees thereof together with any recovery shall as aforesaid be charged to and paid by the Author; and the aforesaid representations and guarantees shall apply to the subsequent works covered by this agreement.

(h) in the event that the Author plans to incorporate in the manuscript or work any writings or composition, either of his own or those of any other writer or artist, previously elsewhere published, to obtain and deliver to the Publisher proper and complete written permission and authorization to reprint same from the owner of the copyright covering same.

(i) the Author further agrees as follows:

SECOND: THE PUBLISHER AGREES:

(a) to publish the said work at its own expense in book form in such style or styles as it deems best suited to the sale thereof at a catalog retail price of not less than \$1.00 nor more than \$2.00 per copy, regular trade edition; said publication to be within 30 to 45 days of delivery of the complete ms., provided the manuscript shall be delivered within the time hereinbefore stipulated; and if not so published (except on account of strikes, fires or other contingencies beyond the control of the Publisher or its suppliers, in which event publication shall be postponed until the next spring or fall season immediately succeeding the removal of the cause of the delay), then the Author shall, at the end of the year set for publication, have the right to terminate this agreement by written notice to the publisher delivered within twenty days after the end of such year and, thereupon, the rights in and to the said work herein granted to the publisher, shall revert to the Author; otherwise this agreement shall remain in full force and effect and the publication shall be postponed to the next immediately succeeding spring or fall season, as the case may be.

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, except with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author and grant to the Author and his designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author held in the name of the Publisher as the record owner of the copyright provided the Author or his designee shall completely indemnify and hold harmless the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding;

Style, Price,
Time and Date
of Publication

Protection of
Copyright

*Schedule of
Royalty
Payments*

(c) to pay to the Author royalties on the following schedule :

1. A royalty of 10% per cent. of the catalog retail price for all copies sold, less returns, for the \$1.00 edition

A royalty of 15% per cent of the catalog retail price for all copies sold, less returns, for the \$2.00 edition.

As an advance against and on account of all monies accruing under this agreement, there shall be paid the sum of \$5,000.00 as follows: \$2,500. is to be paid on the signing of this agreement, receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged; and \$2,500. on delivery of the complete manuscript, ready for the press.

provided that

*Royalty on
Export and
Special Sales*

On copies (bound or sheets) sold for export or in Canada or to reading circles or similar organizations in such quantities as to warrant in the opinion of the Publisher a discount of 50% or more from the catalog retail price, the royalty shall be the regular rate of royalty based on the price received.

provided further that

*Royalty on
Mail Order
Sales*

On copies sold direct to the consumer through the medium of mail order coupon advertising or direct by mail circularization the royalty shall be 5% of the amount of the Publisher's charges for copies of said work, less returns, but with no deduction for bad debts.

provided further that

*Royalty on
Book Club
Sales*

In the event of editions being sold for a lump sum, in lieu of royalty to the Book of the Month Club or The Literary Guild or any similar organization, the amount received therefor shall be divided equally between the Author and Publisher. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (e) of Paragraph Second of this agreement.

provided further that

*When No
Royalty
Is Paid*

No royalties shall be payable on copies furnished gratis, to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes or copies destroyed by fire or water. No sales and deliveries of copies of this work shall be made dependent or conditional upon the purchase of any other work published or to be published by the Publisher;

*Galley and
Page Proofs*

(d) to forward on request to the Author promptly upon completion thereof galley and page proofs with printer's corrections;

*Reports and
Payments of
Royalties*

(e) to render a semi-annual statement of account to the first day of April or the first day of October immediately succeeding the publication of the said work and to render similar semi-annual statements for all succeeding periods of six months during which copies of said work subject to royalty shall have been sold, and to forward such statements during the month of May and during the month of November following to the address of the Author as the same appears at the beginning of this agreement, and to make payment in accordance with the said statements on the first day of August and first day of February;

provided that

Where the Author has received on any statement an overpayment of royalties, it is agreed that the Publisher may deduct the amount of such overpayment from any further royalties whether on this book or other books of the Author which may be published by the Publisher.

provided further that

If, in any six month period the total royalties due are less than ten (\$10) dollars, the Publisher may defer the rendering of statements and the payment of royalties until such time as the sum of ten (\$10) dollars or more shall be due.

provided further that

*Free Copies
for Author;
Purchases by
Author*

(f) to present to the Author ten free copies of the said work upon publication and to permit the Author to purchase further copies for his own use and not for resale at three-fifths of the catalog retail price thereof;

*Withdrawal
From
Publication*

(g) in the event that after two years from the date of the first publication of said work, the same in the opinion of the Publisher is no longer merchantable or profitable, it shall give three months' notice to the Author of its desire and intention to discontinue publication; or in the event that the Publisher shall fail to keep the work in print and for sale and after written demand from the Author declines or neglects to reprint the same within six months and to offer it for sale, then in either of these events the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and upon notice to that effect by the Author to the Publisher, all rights granted under this agreement shall revert to the Author and any plates of the work, if such had been made and preserved with any plates of illustrations furnished by the Author and any remaining copies, shall be transferred to the Author; provided the Author shall pay the actual manufacturing cost, including composition of such plates and the actual manufacturing cost of any remaining copies or sheets, the said right or rights to be exercised by the Author within three months after notice by the Author of termination; and in the event that the Author shall not exercise this option and shall not purchase the aforesaid plates or remainders then the Publisher shall have the right to melt any such plates and sell remaining copies or sheets at cost or less without payment of any royalty to the Author upon such copies; and the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates or the remainders on the basis aforesaid each without the purchase of the other;

*Examination of
Sales Records
and Accounting
Books by
Author*

(h) to grant to the Author the right upon his written request to examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher in so far as the same relate to the said work; provided that if such examination shall not divulge errors of accounting (arising otherwise than from an interpretation of this contract) amounting to One Hundred Dollars (\$100) or more to the Author's disadvantage, the cost of such examination shall be borne by the Author, otherwise to be paid by the Publisher.

THIRD: It is mutually agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

*Mailing of
Notices*

(a) that all notices which may be given by either of the parties hereto to the other under this agreement shall be so forwarded by one to the other by ordinary mail except notices of termination which shall be forwarded by registered mail, and all notices shall be directed to the party designated at the address hereinabove written unless notice of change shall be given in writing by either party to the other, and after receipt of such notice, the address therein stated shall be used in all further communications to said party;

Confirmations

(b) each of the parties hereto will execute for and forward to the other upon request therefor any further written instrument, document or certificate confirming or evidencing the grants in this agreement set forth;

*Rights Under
Copyright*

(c) that regardless of the record of the copyright, the Publisher shall use or dispose of no right or rights comprised in the copyright to the said work other than those herein specifically granted to the Publisher and whether the said rights be now or may at any time hereafter be recognized as included in the copyright to the said work;

*"Cheap
Editions"
Royalty
Provisions*

(d) that subsequent to the publication of the said work, the Publisher may publish under its own imprint "cheap editions" of the said work, or permit the same to be published by leasing the plates of the said work to a regular "cheap edition" publisher. The term "cheap editions" is intended to mean any edition or editions sold at any price lower than the catalog retail price of the first regular trade edition of the said work and containing any part or all of the said work. In the event that such "cheap editions" should be published under the imprint of the Publisher the Publisher shall pay to the Author ten percent of the Publisher's charges for copies of said work, less returns, but with no deductions for cash discounts or bad debts; and in the event the Publisher shall lease the use of the plates to the said work, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author one-half of the amounts received from such lessee. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provision of Subdivision (e) of Paragraph Second of this agreement.

*Royalties on
"Remainders"*

(e) that should the Publisher at any time after one year from the publication of the said work conclude that it is overstocked with copies on hand thereof and that it could not dispose of the same within a reasonable time, then the Publisher shall have the right to sell such copies at the best price that it can obtain therefor and in the event that the sale of such copies shall be made at or below the actual cost thereof, then no royalty thereon shall be paid to the Author; and if the sales price shall exceed the said cost, but be fifty per cent. (50%) or less than the catalog retail price, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent. (10%) on the actual price received and payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (e) in Paragraph Second of this agreement;

*Destruction
of Plates*

(f) that if the plates or type forms of the said work shall be destroyed or rendered valueless by fire or otherwise, then the Publisher shall have the option of reproducing the same or not and if it shall conclude not to reproduce them, then the rights herein granted by the Author to the Publisher shall revert to the Author except that the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand subject to the provisions with regard to payments and accountings set forth in the immediately preceding subdivision of this agreement;

*Provisions for
Bankruptcy
and Liquidation*

(g) in the event of the bankruptcy or the liquidation through any cause whatsoever of the Publisher, the Author shall have the right to buy back the rights in this agreement by the majority decision of three persons, one to be appointed by the Author, the other by the legal representative of the Publisher and the third by these two, and upon payment of the amount so fixed and the transfer of the rights, this agreement shall terminate except that the representative of the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand, if the same are not purchased by the Author, at the best price he can obtain therefor, and without payment of any royalty thereon to the Author;

*Suits for
Infringement
of Copyright*

(h) in the event that the copyright of this work shall during the existence of this agreement be infringed, then upon notice thereof by either party to the other, the parties hereto shall meet and confer with regard thereto and if no arrangement mutually satisfactory shall be arrived at for their joint action in regard thereto, then either one of the parties hereto shall have the right to bring an action for the enjoining of such infringement and/or damages. If they shall proceed mutually in the matter, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally; and if they shall not agree to proceed jointly in the matter and if one of them shall decline to do so on the basis aforesaid, then the other party hereto shall have the right to go forward with such proceeding and such party shall bear all the expenses thereof, and any recoveries had therein shall belong absolutely to such party; and if such party hereto shall not hold the record title of the copyright, then the other party hereto shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name as hereinbefore provided;

*Notice of
Breach of
Contract*

(i) that if this agreement shall be breached by the Publisher in any particular not hereinbefore specifically provided for, and if within thirty days after written notice thereof by the Author to the Publisher, the breach complained of shall not have been remedied by the Publisher, then the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author. Upon any reversion of the rights herein granted to the Author, the Publisher shall, if the copyright be of record in its name, transfer said copyright to the Author by due and proper legally executed and acknowledged assignment;

*Waiver of
Breach of
Contract*

(j) that no waiver of any breach of any condition of this agreement shall be binding unless the same shall be in writing and signed by the party waiving the said breach, and no such waiver shall in any wise affect any other term or condition of this agreement or constitute a cause or excuse for a repetition of such or any other breach unless the waiver shall include the same;

*New York
Laws to
Apply*

(k) that this agreement regardless of the place of its physical execution shall be treated by the parties hereto as though executed within the State of New York and be interpreted according to the laws and statutes of the State of New York and of the United States of America;

*Assignment of
Agreement*

(l) this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executors, administrators and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment voluntary or by operation of law shall be binding upon either of the parties hereto without the written consent of the other party of this agreement, except as hereinbefore specifically provided.

*Issuance of
Copyright*

FOURTH: It is hereby further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(a) that copyright to the said work referred to in Subdivision (b) of Paragraph Second shall be secured in the name of the ** as below and the proper copyright notice or notices necessary to protect copyright to and in the said work shall be printed on the reverse side of the title page in every copy thereof in the aforesaid name; (**Henry A Wallace)

*Additional
Rights Granted
by the Author
to the Publisher*

(b) that the additional rights included in Subdivision (a) of Paragraph First consist of all abridgement, translation, foreign, serial, syndication rights, world wide motion picture (silent and sound) rights, dramatic rights and other publication and editorial rights as well as all other rights, direct or indirect, mechanical and literary, and affiliated by-products deriving from them now existing or hereafter arising, not otherwise mentioned in this agreement. All revenue derived from the sale of these rights shall be shared equally between the Author and the Publisher, provided that a deduction shall be made from the gross receipts under such rights for any direct expenses (other than normal general overhead expenses) incurred by the Publisher in exercising or disposing of such rights before such division is made.

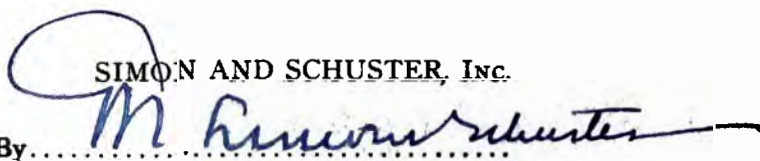
The proceeds from the sale of motion picture rights are to be divided 75% to the Co-Authors and 25% to the Publisher.

All monies accruing under this agreement are to be paid to the Co-Authors' agent, Henrietta Poynter of 732 Seventeenth St. N W, Washington, D C, whose receipt shall constitute a full and valid discharge of the Publisher's obligations under this agreement.

MPS Please
Initial

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Author has hereunto placed his hand and seal and the Publisher has caused this agreement to be executed by authority of its Board of Directors, all on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

In the presence of

.....
By  SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Inc.

AUTHOR

..... (L. S.)

Contract

AGREEMENT made this 8th day of February, 1945, between

Henry A. Wallace and Press Research, Inc.
(as Co-Authors)
whose post-office address is

732 Seventeenth St. N. W.
Washington, D C (6)

party of the first part, hereinafter also referred to as the "Author"; and Simon and Schuster, Inc., of 1230 Sixth Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, New York City, party of the second part, hereinafter also termed the "Publisher."

WITNESSETH: WHEREAS the parties hereto are mutually desirous respectively of having published and of publishing a certain literary work, at present entitled

SIXTY MILLION JOBS

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the stipulations and the covenants hereinafter set forth, and for valuable consideration by each to the other passed, receipt whereof is by both of them acknowledged, the said parties do hereby agree to and with each other as follows:

FIRST: THE AUTHOR AGREES:

Exclusive
Publication
Right

(a) to grant and hereby does grant, bargain, sell, convey, transfer, and set over unto the said Simon and Schuster, Inc., the sole and exclusive right to publish, print and put on the market the said work now entitled ~~as above~~

in book form in the United States of America and in Canada, during the full term of copyright and all renewals thereof, and also grants to the Publisher the further rights hereinafter set forth;

If Copyright
Is Held By
Author—

(b) if the copyright is in the name of the Author to make timely application for the renewal of the copyright to be secured for the said work as hereinafter provided within one year before the expiration of the copyright therein; and to execute any further or other papers which may be necessary to extend the term of this agreement (if then in existence) so that the same shall be coincident with the term of the copyright in said work and the renewal thereof;

Delivery of
Complete
Manuscript

(c) to deliver to the Publisher not later than the 1st to 15th day of March, 1945 a completed and legible typewritten copy of the manuscript in proper shape for the press. If the same shall not be delivered within said time, then the publisher shall have the right, at any time thereafter, at its option, exercised by notice in writing to terminate this agreement and to recover from the author any and all amounts which it may have advanced to the Author with interest. If the Publisher does not elect to terminate this agreement, any and all amounts advanced to the Author shall bear interest at the rate of 6% per annum from the date when the manuscript was originally due to the date when the completed manuscript is accepted by the Publisher, or the advance repaid, whichever shall first occur.

The Author further agrees to supply promptly all photographs, drawings, charts and/or index necessary to the completion of his manuscript, and if he fails to do so the Publisher shall have the right to supply them and shall charge the cost thereof against any sums accruing to the Author under this agreement. It is understood and agreed that the "complete manuscript" shall include the following additional items as specified herewith:

The manuscript is to consist of approximately 40,000 to 60,000 words and is to present Mr. Henry A. Wallace's ideas and philosophy, regarding the importance of 60,000,00 jobs in the post-war United States and the ways and means of furnishing them. The factual material will be based essentially on the bulletins of Press Research, Inc.

The book will be written and signed by Henry A. Wallace with due acknowledgment at the end of the text to Press Research's share in supplying facts and figures.

Copyright
Infringement

(d) to grant and he hereby does grant to the Publisher, the right, if the copyright be in the Author's name, to bring in the name of the Author as plaintiff or complainant any action or proceeding for the enjoining of any infringement of the copyright in the said work and for any damages resulting therefrom; and if in the Author's name, to hold the said copyright during the existence of this agreement subject to the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher;

Proofreading
and
Author's
Corrections

(e) to read when submitted and within fourteen days of the receipt thereof to return to the Publisher the galley and page proofs of the said work; and in the event of the failure by the Author to return the said proofs within the period aforesaid, then the Publisher shall have the right to publish the said work as submitted; and the Author shall pay or permit to have charged against royalties the amount of the expense incurred by the Publisher because of changes and/or additions other than corrections of printer's errors made in and to the text by the Author, in excess of ten per cent. (10%) of the original cost of composition. Corrected proofs shall be presented for inspection of the Author at the office of the Publisher, upon the former's request therefor;

Option on
Other Works

NONE

Guarantee
Against
Infringement,
Libelous Matter,
etc.

Permission to
Reprint

Supplementary
Clauses

~~(f) to grant and hereby does grant to the Publisher the option to publish the next two full length works, to be written and/or offered for publication by the Author, the said works to be published on the same terms as in this agreement set forth with regard to the work first hereinbefore referred to except that the option shall not extend beyond the said two succeeding works. The said option shall continue in force for ninety (90) days after the submission of the manuscript of each work, unless the Publisher shall, within such period, give notice in writing to the Author that it elects not to exercise the said option. Exercise of the option shall be by written notice to the Author. The said option shall not apply to the second succeeding work if it shall not have been exercised as to the first succeeding work.~~

(g) that he hereby represents and guarantees to the Publisher that he is the sole Author of the said work, that he is the owner of all of the rights in this agreement granted to the Publisher, that the said work contains no libelous and/or unlawful matter; and that it in no wise infringes upon the copyright or violates any other right of any person, partnership or corporation whatsoever; and agrees to hold harmless the Publisher against any claim, demand or recovery finally sustained in any suit which may be brought against the Publisher by reason of any violation of proprietary right or copyright, or because of any libelous or unlawful matter contained in the said work; and promptly at his own expense to act with regard to and defend any claim or demand which may be made and/or action which may be brought, based upon any assertions or allegations of infringement, violation, libel or unlawfulness. The Publisher shall notify the Author of any claim, demand or action and give to the Author such reasonable time as the exigencies of the situation will permit to meet the same or to undertake the defense thereto; and if default shall be made by the Author in the respects aforesaid, then the Publisher is hereby granted the right to meet the same or to make such defense, as it may be advised by its counsel, and the costs and counsel fees thereof together with any recovery shall as aforesaid be charged to and paid by the Author; and the aforesaid representations and guarantees shall apply to the subsequent works covered by this agreement.

(h) in the event that the Author plans to incorporate in the manuscript or work any writings or composition, either of his own or those of any other writer or artist, previously elsewhere published, to obtain and deliver to the Publisher proper and complete written permission and authorization to reprint same from the owner of the copyright covering same.

(i) the Author further agrees as follows:

SECOND: THE PUBLISHER AGREES:

(a) to publish the said work at its own expense in book form in such style or styles as it deems best suited to the sale thereof at a catalog retail price of not less than \$1.00 nor more than \$2.00 per copy, regular trade edition; said publication to be within 30 to 45 days of delivery of the complete ms., provided the manuscript shall be delivered within the time hereinbefore stipulated; and if not so published (except on account of strikes, fires or other contingencies beyond the control of the Publisher or its suppliers, in which event publication shall be postponed until the next spring or fall season immediately succeeding the removal of the cause of the delay), then the Author shall, at the end of the year set for publication, have the right to terminate this agreement by written notice to the publisher delivered within twenty days after the end of such year and, thereupon, the rights in and to the said work herein granted to the publisher, shall revert to the Author; otherwise this agreement shall remain in full force and effect and the publication shall be postponed to the next immediately succeeding spring or fall season, as the case may be.

(b) to take all the steps required to secure copyright of the said work in the United States of America and such other countries as may be included in this agreement, except with regard to Canada, where the Publisher and Author shall cooperate in securing copyright. The said work shall be copyrighted either (1) in the name of the Author or (2) in the name of the Publisher; if in case (1), the Author shall hold the copyright as hereinbefore set forth in subdivision (d) of paragraph First hereof; and if in case (2), the Publisher shall either assign the copyright to the Author, or hold all the rights comprised therein and not in this agreement granted to the Publisher for the benefit of the Author and grant to the Author and his designees the right to bring any suit or proceeding necessary to protect the copyright against the infringement by the unauthorized use of any such rights for the Author held in the name of the Publisher as the record owner of the copyright provided the Author or his designee shall completely indemnify and hold harmless the Publisher against the payment of any costs and expenses in connection with any such suit or proceeding;

Style, Price,
Time and Date
of Publication

Protection of
Copyright

*Schedule of
Royalty
Payments*

(c) to pay to the Author royalties on the following schedule:

1. A royalty of **10%** per cent. of the catalog retail price for all copies sold, less returns, **for the \$1.00 edition**

A royalty of 15% per cent of the catalog retail price for all copies sold, less returns, for the \$2.00 edition.

As an advance against and on account of all monies accruing under this agreement, there shall be paid the sum of \$5,000.00 as follows: \$2,500. is to be paid on the signing of this agreement, receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged; and \$2,500. on delivery of the complete manuscript, ready for the press.

provided that

*Royalty on
Export and
Special Sales*

On copies (bound or sheets) sold for export or in Canada or to reading circles or similar organizations in such quantities as to warrant in the opinion of the Publisher a discount of 50% or more from the catalog retail price, the royalty shall be the regular rate of royalty based on the price received.

provided further that

*Royalty on
Mail Order
Sales*

On copies sold direct to the consumer through the medium of mail order coupon advertising or direct by mail circularization the royalty shall be 5% of the amount of the Publisher's charges for copies of said work, less returns, but with no deduction for bad debts.

provided further that

*Royalty on
Book Club
Sales*

In the event of editions being sold for a lump sum, in lieu of royalty to the Book of the Month Club or The Literary Guild or any similar organization, the amount received therefor shall be divided equally between the Author and Publisher. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (e) of Paragraph Second of this agreement.

provided further that

*When No
Royalty
Is Paid*

No royalties shall be payable on copies furnished gratis, to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes or copies destroyed by fire or water. No sales and deliveries of copies of this work shall be made dependent or conditional upon the purchase of any other work published or to be published by the Publisher;

*Galley and
Page Proofs*

(d) to forward on request to the Author promptly upon completion thereof galley and page proofs with printer's corrections;

*Reports and
Payments of
Royalties*

(e) to render a semi-annual statement of account to the first day of April or the first day of October immediately succeeding the publication of the said work and to render similar semi-annual statements for all succeeding periods of six months during which copies of said work subject to royalty shall have been sold, and to forward such statements during the month of May and during the month of November following to the address of the Author as the same appears at the beginning of this agreement, and to make payment in accordance with the said statements on the first day of August and first day of February;

provided that

Where the Author has received on any statement an overpayment of royalties, it is agreed that the Publisher may deduct the amount of such overpayment from any further royalties whether on this book or other books of the Author which may be published by the Publisher.

provided further that

If, in any six month period the total royalties due are less than ten (\$10) dollars, the Publisher may defer the rendering of statements and the payment of royalties until such time as the sum of ten (\$10) dollars or more shall be due.

provided further that

*Free Copies
for Author;
Purchases by
Author*

(f) to present to the Author ten free copies of the said work upon publication and to permit the Author to purchase further copies for his own use and not for resale at three-fifths of the catalog retail price thereof;

*Withdrawal
From
Publication*

(g) in the event that after two years from the date of the first publication of said work, the same in the opinion of the Publisher is no longer merchantable or profitable, it shall give three months' notice to the Author of its desire and intention to discontinue publication; or in the event that the Publisher shall fail to keep the work in print and for sale and after written demand from the Author declines or neglects to reprint the same within six months and to offer it for sale, then in either of these events the Author shall have the right to terminate this agreement and upon notice to that effect by the Author to the Publisher, all rights granted under this agreement shall revert to the Author and any plates of the work, if such had been made and preserved with any plates of illustrations furnished by the Author and any remaining copies, shall be transferred to the Author; provided the Author shall pay the actual manufacturing cost, including composition of such plates and the actual manufacturing cost of any remaining copies or sheets, the said right or rights to be exercised by the Author within three months after notice by the Author of termination; and in the event that the Author shall not exercise this option and shall not purchase the aforesaid plates or remainders then the Publisher shall have the right to melt any such plates and sell remaining copies or sheets at cost or less without payment of any royalty to the Author upon such copies; and the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates or the remainders on the basis aforesaid each without the purchase of the other;

*Examination of
Sales Records
and Accounting
Books by
Author*

(h) to grant to the Author the right upon his written request to examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher in so far as the same relate to the said work; provided that if such examination shall not divulge errors of accounting (arising otherwise than from an interpretation of this contract) amounting to One Hundred Dollars (\$100) or more to the Author's disadvantage, the cost of such examination shall be borne by the Author, otherwise to be paid by the Publisher.

THIRD: It is mutually agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

*Mailing of
Notices*

(a) that all notices which may be given by either of the parties hereto to the other under this agreement shall be so forwarded by one to the other by ordinary mail except notices of termination which shall be forwarded by registered mail, and all notices shall be directed to the party designated at the address hereinabove written unless notice of change shall be given in writing by either party to the other, and after receipt of such notice, the address therein stated shall be used in all further communications to said party;

Confirmations

(b) each of the parties hereto will execute for and forward to the other upon request therefor any further written instrument, document or certificate confirming or evidencing the grants in this agreement set forth;

*Rights Under
Copyright*

(c) that regardless of the record of the copyright, the Publisher shall use or dispose of no right or rights comprised in the copyright to the said work other than those herein specifically granted to the Publisher and whether the said rights be now or may at any time hereafter be recognized as included in the copyright to the said work;

*"Cheap
Editions"
Royalty
Provisions*

(d) that subsequent to the publication of the said work, the Publisher may publish under its own imprint "cheap editions" of the said work, or permit the same to be published by leasing the plates of the said work to a regular "cheap edition" publisher. The term "cheap editions" is intended to mean any edition or editions sold at any price lower than the catalog retail price of the first regular trade edition of the said work and containing any part or all of the said work. In the event that such "cheap editions" should be published under the imprint of the Publisher the Publisher shall pay to the Author ten percent of the Publisher's charges for copies of said work, less returns, but with no deductions for cash discounts or bad debts; and in the event the Publisher shall lease the use of the plates to the said work, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author one-half of the amounts received from such lessee. Payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provision of Subdivision (e) of Paragraph Second of this agreement.

*Royalties on
"Remainders"*

(e) that should the Publisher at any time after one year from the publication of the said work conclude that it is overstocked with copies on hand thereof and that it could not dispose of the same within a reasonable time, then the Publisher shall have the right to sell such copies at the best price that it can obtain therefor and in the event that the sale of such copies shall be made at or below the actual cost thereof, then no royalty thereon shall be paid to the Author; and if the sales price shall exceed the said cost, but be fifty per cent. (50%) or less than the catalog retail price, then the Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty of ten per cent. (10%) on the actual price received and payments and accountings under this clause shall be subject to the provisions of Subdivision (e) in Paragraph Second of this agreement;

*Destruction
of Plates*

(f) that if the plates or type forms of the said work shall be destroyed or rendered valueless by fire or otherwise, then the Publisher shall have the option of reproducing the same or not and if it shall conclude not to reproduce them, then the rights herein granted by the Author to the Publisher shall revert to the Author except that the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand subject to the provisions with regard to payments and accountings set forth in the immediately preceding subdivision of this agreement;

*Provisions for
Bankruptcy
and Liquidation*

(g) in the event of the bankruptcy or the liquidation through any cause whatsoever of the Publisher, the Author shall have the right to buy back the rights in this agreement by the majority decision of three persons, one to be appointed by the Author, the other by the legal representative of the Publisher and the third by these two, and upon payment of the amount so fixed and the transfer of the rights, this agreement shall terminate except that the representative of the Publisher shall have the right to sell the remaining copies on hand, if the same are not purchased by the Author, at the best price he can obtain therefor, and without payment of any royalty thereon to the Author;

*Suits for
Infringement
of Copyright*

(h) in the event that the copyright of this work shall during the existence of this agreement be infringed, then upon notice thereof by either party to the other, the parties hereto shall meet and confer with regard thereto and if no arrangement mutually satisfactory shall be arrived at for their joint action in regard thereto, then either one of the parties hereto shall have the right to bring an action for the enjoining of such infringement and/or damages. If they shall proceed mutually in the matter, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally; and if they shall not agree to proceed jointly in the matter and if one of them shall decline to do so on the basis aforesaid, then the other party hereto shall have the right to go forward with such proceeding and such party shall bear all the expenses thereof, and any recoveries had therein shall belong absolutely to such party; and if such party hereto shall not hold the record title of the copyright, then the other party hereto shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name as hereinbefore provided;

*Notice of
Breach of
Contract*

(i) that if this agreement shall be breached by the Publisher in any particular not hereinbefore specifically provided for, and if within thirty days after written notice thereof by the Author to the Publisher, the breach complained of shall not have been remedied by the Publisher, then the rights herein granted shall revert to the Author. Upon any reversion of the rights herein granted to the Author, the Publisher shall, if the copyright be of record in its name, transfer said copyright to the Author by due and proper legally executed and acknowledged assignment;

*Waiver of
Breach of
Contract*

(j) that no waiver of any breach of any condition of this agreement shall be binding unless the same shall be in writing and signed by the party waiving the said breach, and no such waiver shall in any wise affect any other term or condition of this agreement or constitute a cause or excuse for a repetition of such or any other breach unless the waiver shall include the same;

*New York
Laws to
Apply*

(k) that this agreement regardless of the place of its physical execution shall be treated by the parties hereto as though executed within the State of New York and be interpreted according to the laws and statutes of the State of New York and of the United States of America;

*Assignment of
Agreement*

(l) this agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executors, administrators and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment voluntary or by operation of law shall be binding upon either of the parties hereto without the written consent of the other party of this agreement, except as hereinbefore specifically provided.

*Issuance of
Copyright*

FOURTH: It is hereby further agreed between the parties hereto as follows:
(a) that copyright to the said work referred to in Subdivision (b) of Paragraph Second shall be secured in the name of the ~~** as below~~ and the proper copyright notice or notices necessary to protect copyright to and in the said work shall be printed on the reverse side of the title page in every copy thereof in the aforesaid name; (~~**Henry A. Wallace~~)

*Additional
Rights Granted
by the Author
to the Publisher*

(b) that the additional rights included in Subdivision (a) of Paragraph First consist of all abridgement, translation, foreign, serial, syndication rights, world wide motion picture (silent and sound) rights, dramatic rights and other publication and editorial rights as well as all other rights, direct or indirect, mechanical and literary, and affiliated by-products deriving from them now existing or hereafter arising, not otherwise mentioned in this agreement. All revenue derived from the sale of these rights shall be shared equally between the Author and the Publisher, provided that a deduction shall be made from the gross receipts under such rights for any direct expenses (other than normal general overhead expenses) incurred by the Publisher in exercising or disposing of such rights before such division is made.

The proceeds from the sale of motion picture rights are to be divided 75% to the Co-Authors and 25% to the Publisher.

All monies accruing under this agreement are to be paid to the Co-Authors' agent, Henrietta Poynter of 732 Seventeenth St. N W, Washington, D C, whose receipt shall constitute a full and valid discharge of the Publisher's obligations under this agreement.

MCA
Please
Initial

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Author has hereunto placed his hand and seal and the Publisher has caused this agreement to be executed by authority of its Board of Directors, all on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

In the presence of

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Inc.

By

AUTHOR

.....(L. S.)



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25

March 31, 1945

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

Dear Charlie:

I am glad to know you are serene and hope you keep that way. Vigorous serenity is one of the finest attributes of man.

I am glad to know you feel about my forthcoming book in just the same way I do. I am going to be giving full time to it next week.

Sincerely yours,

W A Wallace



TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING

BY APPOINTMENT TO THEIR
EXCELLENCIES



THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND
THE LADY TWEEDSMUIR

April
2nd,
1945.

KARSH *Portraitist*

L.J. Gordon, Esq.,
2136 R Street, N.W.,
Washington, 8, D.C., U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Further regarding your inquiry regarding portraits of Mr. Henry A. Wallace, they can be obtained in the 8x10 DeLuxe size priced at \$10.00 each or in the 11x14 DeLuxe size priced at \$25.00 each.

Since all our photographs are hand-finished prints requiring the same amount of time regardless of the number ordered there is consequently no reduction in price for quantity orders.

Mr. Karsh is leaving for Washington this coming Friday, April 7th. I do not yet know where he will be staying but if you wish to get in touch with him for any reason you can always reach him through the Canadian Embassy.

Yours very truly,

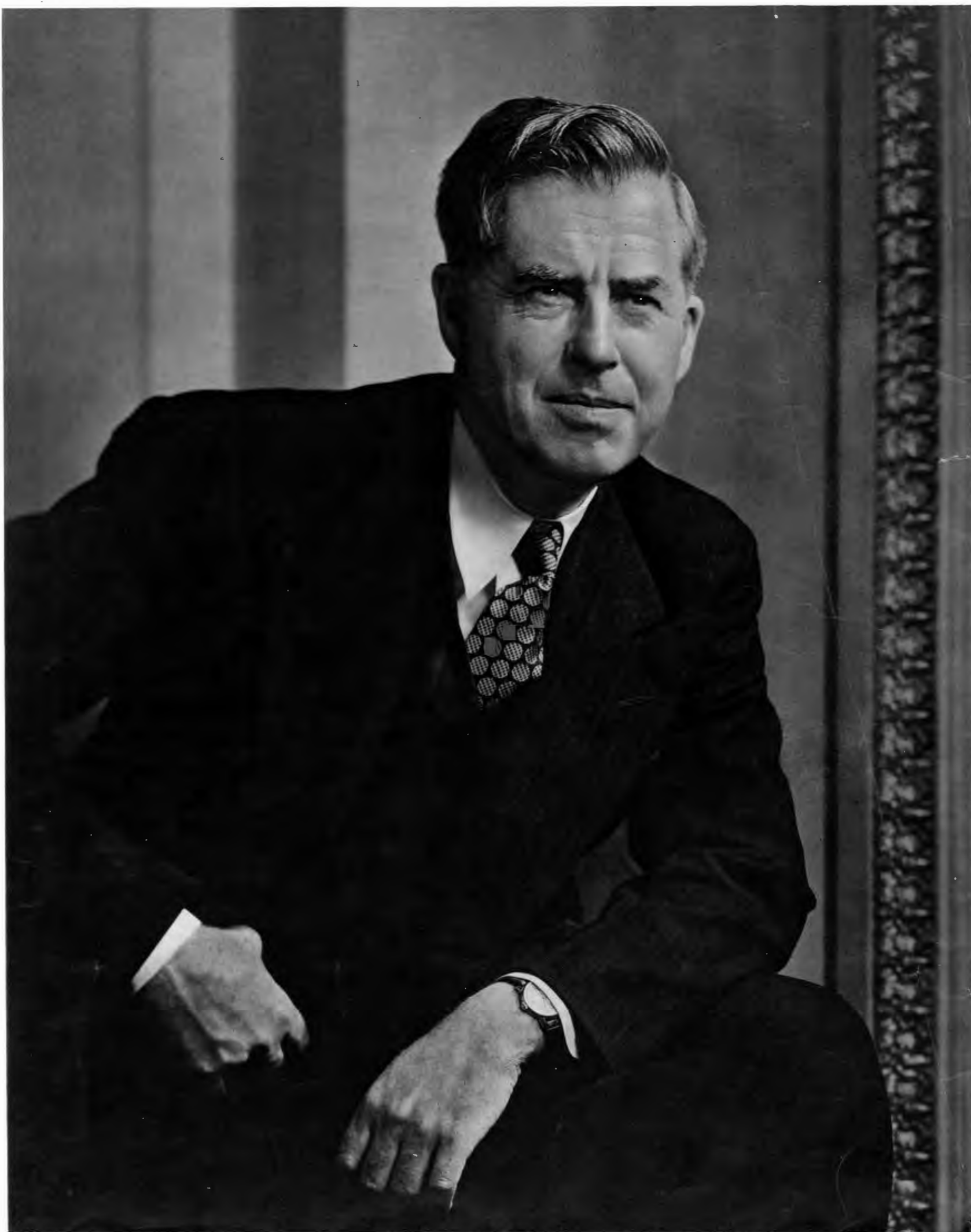
A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jean E. McJanet".

Jean E. McJanet,
Secretary.

P.S. Mr. Karsh will be in Washington for several weeks.

130 Sparks St., Ottawa
Telephone 2-5442

AMERICAN LEADERS: 13—THE FORMER UNITED STATES VICE-PRESIDENT.



MR. HENRY A. WALLACE, WHOSE RECENT NOMINATION BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO THE POST OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE CAUSED A CONTROVERSY IN THE U.S. SENATE.

The political controversy in which Mr. Henry A. Wallace, former Vice-President of the United States, recently became involved followed his nomination by President Roosevelt as Secretary of Commerce. This nomination was sent by the President to the Senate on January 22 after he had asked Mr. Jesse Jones, the existing Secretary of Commerce, to resign in favour of Mr. Wallace, who, as the President wrote, "deserves almost any service which he believes he can satisfactorily perform." Mr. Jesse Jones objected, and the controversy came before the Senate. Henry Agard Wallace was born in Adair County, Iowa, one of America's richest farming districts, in 1888. Presidents of the United States had already invited members of the two preceding generations of the Wallace family to become

Secretaries of Agriculture, and Henry Wallace became the third, being chosen as Secretary of Agriculture by President Roosevelt when the Democratic Party came into power in 1933. After a distinguished record in this post and in other Government work, Henry Wallace was elected Vice-President in 1940 and served for four years as one of the President's most important advisers and executives. Described as the hardest-working Vice-President in America's history, Henry Wallace is noted for his integrity of purpose and high ideals. He has great faith in the destiny of mankind, and in a famous speech described the present century as "the century of the common man." Mr. Wallace was married in 1914, and has two sons and a daughter.

An exclusive portrait by Y. Karsh, of Ottawa.

NEW DEVICES USED BY THE ASSAULT ROYAL ENGINEERS IN

DRAWN BY OUR WAR ARTIST,



THE ASSAULT R.E.S AND THEIR NEW DEVICES IN ACTION: A FLAIL TANK CROSSING A TRAP OVER

The traditional rôle of the Royal Engineers as "responsible for handling the King's engines of war" came to the forefront of news on D-Day in Normandy, when they effected the initial breach in the fortifications of Hitler's Europe. New devices to breach the stupendous defences erected by the Germans were put in hand by the War Office in 1943, and many of them are still on the secret list. The section known as the Assault R.E.s go into action in the forefront of a battle, and, with their various devices and engines

to punch holes in the resisting lines in conjunction with the R.A.C., are proving highly successful. Among the new engines of war they handle may be noted the flail tank, known as the Crab, and the Petard-mounted tank, the A.V.R.E., which also carries fascine bundles for filling in tank traps. On occasion, when the gap of the tank trap is too deep to be bridged by the fascines alone, an A.V.R.E. or other vehicle is deliberately driven into the gap to form a solid foundation for the wooden bundles and thereby to constitute

How

July 30, 1945

YOUR PERSONAL FUTURE:

If Truman slips, Wallace is a contrast alternative within the Party. At this point--or if there is a point--of conflict in pre-Convention '48, your position as a "basket holder" between Truman and Wallace might make you a Vice Presidential candidate on a Truman-Pepper ticket. BUT YOU WILL NEVER GET THAT FAR UNDER A CIO OR A HANNEGAN BANNER, BUT ONLY AS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY REGULAR WITH A PERSONAL FOLLOWING.

The important thing is that you get going as soon as possible leaving the drab business of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks to Connally and the Party technicians. If the Senatorial battle was close or even exciting, you would be in great public demand. But actually there is not any place for anybody in any forgone conclusion. Even if you took a position to the left and said that it ought to be stronger, it would be a bad note. The present note is sweetness and light with the isolationists licked.

THE COUNTRY IS NOW IN A POSITION TO RAILROAD THROUGH NOT ONLY THE PEACE BUT THE JAP WAR ITSELF.

* * * * *

Since everybody is set to wind up this war and peace business in '45, it is time for CP to go buggy riding BEFORE 1946. This should be a Chautauqua type thing where CP gets paid and the public pays. One who has watched Bryan knows that political talks can be made to pay. Bryan often talked to five hundred people and some times to as many as five thousand, following his final defeat in 1912 at Baltimore and his retirement as Secretary of State under Wilson. But Bryan was a hell of a good business man, even to the

point of money avarice. The main point is that he talked often to very many audiences and said the same thing to each with little local flourishes and compliments to the community and the mass rather than to the individual who introduced him. This is not far from what Hitler did in his crusade whipping in 1924 to his arrival at the Chancellor's job. Hitler simply produced a great show and was a great show man. His ideas came largely from a German professor and Rosenberg. Hitler simpler popularized a weird combination of the superman, geo-politics, and superficial race-blood deductions. To the half educated World War I-World War II world mass, he seemed extremely profound. His Mein Kampf, for instance, was simply Hitler talking to himself in jail because he could not talk outside of jail.

What CP needs to get busy on, at least by October the first, is:

1--A group of carefully prepared dates and crowds almost all of them just over night, most of them within five hundred miles radius of Washington. Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Columbus, Indianapolis. (When the Legislatures are in session.)

2--Informal three day "jump outs" from Washington by airplane and auto. This is the pattern laid down by Wallace in New England and followed by a half dozen other similar trips that laid down the pattern of his independent position BEFORE the campaign opened. He cleared this with Roosevelt only after he had made a success of the New England and southern trips and could report success. P should not clear anything with Hannegan, CIO, or anybody else. HIS MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE UNPREDICTABLE; HIS DECISIONS SHOULD APPARENTLY BE SPONTANEOUS AND INFORMAL.

For instance, the last Chicago visit got the expected rebound from the Kelly henchmen. But P himself was saved in that he did not himself PLAN to go to Chicago; he merely accepted a speaking engagement. So Pepper could listen with sympathy to Mayor Kelly's attack on the Illinois Independents. But the net effect on Kelly is that there is a tie-up of large independent forces who recognize Pepper as a national independent Democratic leader. HOW IN HELL CAN ANYBODY GET ANYWHERE IN '48 IF HE HAS NO OUTSTANDING PERSONAL FOLLOWING? It is equally true that if this independent following is gotten through throwing bricks at the regular Democratic machine or the CIO, there will be hell to pay. It must not be done like a Wilkie pulling a Blitz on the Party, but it certainly can't be done by using the Dewey tactics. Dewey is as dead as a door nail. And Stassen is moving up a bit. Stassen is playing the racket half way between a Wilkie and a Dewey. You noticed Ball's position in the Senate.

But when you compare what you got in Chicago ON A PAID BASIS TO WHAT STASSEN GOT IN WASHINGTON THE SAME WEEK ON A NO ADMISSION BASIS, YOU MUST ADMIT THAT A CAREFULLY ORGANIZED PROGRAM OF EXPLOITING CP CAN BE MADE TO PAY OFF BOTH FINANCIALLY AND POLITICALLY IF HANDLED INDEPENDENTLY OF CIO AND HANNEGAN AND WITHOUT ANTAGONIZING THE PARTY CITY BARONS. Let those who are with you tonight take care of the places and the money and the build up and the press and the radio. You remain receptive. Gordon will devote almost full time to this. He can work very closely with his personal friend, Frank, who is public relations for CIO-PAC. Be friendly with Benson-Baldwin as will all of us. Be friendly with Hannegan. But let your following be created in localized areas. Never be a servant of any man or any faction.

* * * * *

Regarding the speeches this fall: There should be one general pattern--one mother speech. It should have to do with jobs for all as the duty of any successful modern government. It should contain a maximum health and education plank which goes much further than the Wagner health security measure. It should hate war and forecast permanent peace through a world and an America busy, healthy and peace loving. YOU MUST BECOME THE PROPHET OF THE FUTURE--THE NEW DEAL FOR THE WORLD ITSELF.

But particularly in each speech in each locality, there must be a fourth movement intensely local and for the community addressed. This will be the most difficult. It can only be done through the most painful and intense and expensive preliminary work. I am sure that Gordon, with much other help, can work up the places and the crowds. We are now spending much time and money working up a Who's Who of about one hundred thousand Democratic and liberal names. We are making an analysis of approximately one hundred Congressional Districts from the standpoint of national origin, religion, kind of work, and the political history of the Districts. The Who's Who cards and the history of the Congressional Districts will be available to Pepper as he takes the train or plane and to Gordon as he goes forward as advance agent. The local part of each speech can be written rapidly as fast as the dates are fixed and become an insert in the local speeches and radio addresses.

* * * * *

THE RESULT: Pepper will come into January the first as the most active and best publicized liberal. Hannegan will be flooded with requests for Pepper in '46. This happened with Wallace. There were fifty requests for Wallace before the campaign opened--more than for all other speakers combined. Hannegan had to go to Roosevelt

to ask Roosevelt to tell Wallace to take them. You know the result. Wallace was always ahead of Hannegan and came out of the '44 campaign, not as a hack speaker under the speakers' bureau delivering a Party address, but as big boy. Pepper could do the same. Pepper has the personality and the oratory. We can use the Wallace experience and improve because Pepper is a better speaker and we will have much better material. Some people already feel that Pepper may be the Jesus Christ in '52 following the Wallace John the Baptist and the liberal '44. Wallace may lose his head in the forthcoming Truman-Wallace future, but Pepper may become the son of God among the liberals. Pepper's age and the events soon to unfold, may so dictate.

It is for this reason that Pepper should now read the forecast of the effect of the British elections on the internal American political future. The path of Pepper's significance does not lie in international affairs. It only lies specifically in the applications of the world trend in INTERNAL American politics.

Now let's continue with the forecast.

2400 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
September 25, 1945

Dear Henry:

V-J Day was not the day to speak--neither was perhaps the day of the British elections.

But I feel the day to speak is thirty days late.

You should speak broadly and promptly, in a place of heavy industry--not in sophisticated New York where you too often have spoken under minority auspices.

You should speak to all the people--essentially to the consumer and the patriot who looks ahead in calmness and resolution. You are essentially an American native Protestant-unorganized and unreconstructed. Certainly the heartbeats of eighty million Americans are that way. Cut out talking with any minority. Temporarily do not even be a Democrat. You have about four months left as the concerns of Party politics in 1946 will force you down the line.

Your endorsement of O'Dwyer was correct because O'Dwyer represented eighty per cent of the liberal thought of all Parties. But you are not a Democratic organization politician for the next four months.

I know you have been delaying speaking because you hoped to perfect, under Commerce, a constructive machine to deal with full employment. The job is so immensely bigger than you or your department that your identity as an operating unit in maintaining full employment will be lost in the shuffle. A Truman or a Schwellenbach will get a spot if it is successful. You will merely be lost in the smudge if it is unsuccessful.

So you must speak soon and firmly. Your sixty million job book is a good overture. It gives you the color of a thoughtful man. But where is the fighter? Where is the seer? Where is the white heat of the fanatic for truth? Where is the broadsword of the smiter in the public welfare? Where in the hell is Henry Wallace?

People are asking this last question. As one the other day said: "Must we depend on Henry Wallace for liberal leadership?"

You are not to win in Congress anyway. For you to try with smiles and petty compromise--you will go the way of McNutt. Should you cry after failure, you will be called a crying failure. A slow death in legislative controversy is perhaps the most destructive thing for any individual character to sustain. The death is not dramatic. It has all of the ugliness of syphilis--slow decay.

Your father went through an awful bitter dose when Secretary of Agriculture. Perhaps the bitterness and disappointment brought about an early death. He fought well for the farmer and died by inches in getting the farmer his justice.

So this is the blue-print of what you should say in one of five cities. That is a cinch. Anybody can write that. But it should be said at Detroit before the industrial battle there and before your legislative defeat here. You should protect your own defeat. You should protect the realism of the labor-capital clash. You should blue-print very simply the only way it may be stopped. Otherwise the thing will drift until soldiers and strikers force the issue. And since soldiers and strikers probably will force the issue anyway, the man who points the way will be the man--just as Churchill was--who was there when the times demand a new leader.

You of course, will support the intent and the heart of Truman. You will speak of your friend Schwellenbach as able. You will say Bowles is good. You may speak kindly of a Supreme Court and the Democratic leadership of a Congress. But you have got to say that not any one of these people or units can stop the debacle unless the American people see in time and demand in time that full employment and full production go on.

One can not ride the Murray Bill into prosperity. One has to fire the people of this country as to the danger now near. And then to present clearly and courageously the picture that all must be given prompt work who in health seek it, and that all disturbers and dolesters must take warning that the American people are determined that all men who can work must work at something instead of making a noise.

Lyndon Johnson even took that message to Texas two months ago and got the greatest applause of his life. You and men like Pepper have been very busy cutting down trees and underbrush. I doubt very much if you are not post-dated.

The movement to the left is tremendous. But it is not the left of a dated liberal. It is the left of an economic American family unit which will not take in calmness the struggling ineptitudes of a capitalistic and legislative system, heckled, stymied, or shot at by labor bossism. There are about ten million union card holders and the fifty million other job holders know something of the score nowadays. They are not going to sweat while others idle. They are not going to have their wages taken away from them by an aristocracy of minority sit-down strikers who force up the cost of merchandise. They really want a fair economic deal and I think they are going to get it from some government.

As I said, your sixty million job blue-print is very nice. Your endorsement of the Murray Bill is correct. I hear nice words about your efficiency in your departmental detail as compared to the Jones regime. And the O'Dwyer thing is a gesture to Party regularity.

But all this stuff is petty. You are tinkling pagoda bells in Burma. Get out a cow bell.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

The Honorable Henry A. Wallace,
Secretary of Commerce,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

Return to Haw

October 15, 1945

The Significance of the Atomic Age

The first effect of the atomic bomb is to make the United States appear to the world as the greatest potential aggressor nation. Actually, of course, most Americans have no aggression in their hearts. Nevertheless during the years immediately ahead we are in position to produce many more atomic bombs than all the rest of the world put together. As long as we make atomic bombs or the world thinks we are making atomic bombs we shall be looked upon as an aggressor nation. This is a very dangerous position for a democratic nation to be in. The greatest value of atomic bombs is to explode many of them without warning in the heart of the industrial region of the enemy. A democracy cannot do that. Therefore, ten years hence a non-democratic nation with only one third as many bombs as the United States could destroy American industry in half a day. The bombs would not need to be dropped from airplanes or rockets. Many methods could be used by ^{a gang} ~~criminals~~ in the pay of non-democratic countries.

As long as the United States makes atomic bombs she will be looked on as the world's outstanding aggressor nation and the United Nations Organization cannot function as it was designed to function at San Francisco. Undoubtedly the United Nations Organization will have to be redesigned to take into account both the atomic bomb and the civilian impact of atomic energy. An atomic bomb race between nations means the end of ^{free civilization} ~~humanity~~. When many nations have atomic bombs and some of them are held back only by fear of retaliation, - suspicion and apprehension will eventually amount to a point under the encouragement of the yellow press or the controlled press, which will require only the smallest

spark to set off a world-wide, humanity destroying explosion. Steps should be taken at once to call into being a vital International Organization based on the elimination of all weapons of offensive warfare, the pooling of the constructive aspects of atomic energy and the adoption of the principle of international trusteeship for certain areas of the world.

Second, the fact of atomic energy means that the age of abundance is really here. The civilian application of atomic power must not be held back by the military. If we in the United States do not have the imagination to perceive the possibilities or if we allow vested interests, whether military or civilian, to deceive us, we may anticipate that those backward areas where there is little in the way of vested interests in power, transportation, or industry, will outstrip us as they step into the new age.

conspirators for special privilege

We must not allow vested interests to use the military as a cloak to influence Congress in such a way as to hold back the tide of the civilian application of atomic power. The possibilities of civilian use are infinitely greater than the military has yet admitted. The time has come to get rid of useless secrecy regulations. Science must be unbound again and scientists must be allowed to talk again to their fellow American citizens. The military by continuing the methods used during the war will delay the United States in entering the land of abundance but the rest of the world will go ahead just the same. Relatively simple mechanisms will suffice to furnish cheap power to all the people. In the not distant future it will be possible to distribute power without the then outmoded power lines.

whether armament produces or rather

*Quote
author*

We can enter in the near future into a golden age of abundance. It is as if God were saying to us, - "Enter now into the land of abundance and enjoy all its fruits sharing joyously with one another of the riches which are there for everyone. I shall make it possible for you in five years to learn and apply what otherwise would have taken you 500 years. You are now living in the year 2445 and I expect you to live according to the social rules of abundance of 2445, not according to the social rules of scarcity of 1745. If you do not understand the social rule of abundance, I shall turn this power of light and peace into a power of darkness and war and the final state of man will be ten times as miserable as it ever has been."

Atomic power means, "One world or no world." It must be controlled by the civilian state for the benefit of all the people. The rules must be national and international and they must lead to effective bomb renunciation and rapid civilian application. Armies and navies as we have known them in the past are completely outmoded. And so also is communism because with atomic power appropriately developed we shall have a 20-hour week and no proletariat. All the "isms" lose their old meaning. Undoubtedly the old order will do its best to prevent the new order from being born. But too many nations know the secret. We may lag behind in our civilian development of atomic power by letting certain interested parties deceive us. If so, so much the worse for us.

Today we are ahead of the world. We can stay ahead only if we move boldly and without secrecy into the age of development of atomic power for universal civilian use. We may crucify the Billy Mitchells who tell us what is

ahead but we cannot prevent their visions from coming true. We can gloriously lead the way into the new age or we can at the behest of vested interests vainly try to prevent the new age from being born.

We are not going to give away any bomb secrets because we believe that no bombs should be produced either in the United States or any place else in the world.

With regard to the atomic power commission, the President himself should have the power to appoint the director by and with the consent of the Senate. Any board should serve in a consultative fashion and should represent equally the governmental, the scientific, the industrial, the labor, the agricultural, the military and the consuming public point of view. The Commission with its director should deal primarily with the practical engineering development and civilian use of atomic power under appropriate safeguards. Most of the fundamental scientific work should be carried out by scientists in governmental, university and private laboratories under the encouragement of some such scientific research foundation as that set up under the revised Kilgore-Magnuson bill.

It is time for the military to release the scientists from restraint so that we may have genuinely free public discussion at once. As the world's leading democracy we must make certain that no smart, ambitious military man or clique strategically located and using the atomic bomb as his base can take over the White House, stifle public discussion and dominate the world. Our only safeguard at the present time is the tradition of our history and the character of the men in charge of the Manhattan project. Both democracy and the world require a much stronger safeguard than this.

It is very clear today that the future of the world will depend more than ever before on the development of science. The expenditures destined for the war program should be largely turned over to scientific research. More and more the scientific research of the world will have to be combined, guided and crystallized for the benefit of all mankind because today we are on the threshold of the era of abundance and we must not allow those who hold the key to the barn, for the time being, for one reason or another, to obstruct the way to General Happiness. We do not need social revolutions. We do not need wars. God has given us through this tremendous discovery of atomic energy the unique opportunity to build one single, human community, on the highest spiritual level, accompanied by unlimited material facilities.

The drama in which every human being, but especially every American, now finds himself playing a part is summed up in terms of a dilemma by the great Russian Pavlov writing in 1928:

"Let the mind rise from victory to victory over surrounding nature, let it conquer for human life and activity not only the surface of the earth but all that lies between the depth of the seas and the outer limits of the atmosphere, let it command for its service prodigious energy to flow from one part of the universe to the other, let it annihilate space for the transference of its thoughts- yet the same creature, led by dark powers to wars and revolutions and their horrors, produces for itself incalculable material losses and inexpressible pain and reverts to bestial conditions. Only science, exact science about human nature itself, and the most sincere approach to it by the ?

aid of the omnipotent scientific method, will deliver man from his present gloom, and will purge him from his contemporary shame in the sphere of interhuman relations."

Today we are under compulsion as never before to solve the dilemma which Pavlov faced. We must move with speed, determination and faith. The stakes are the human race. We cannot fail. We cannot delay. The awe-inspiring responsibility is ours for only a short time. If we fail there will be a senseless armament race and chaos.

Gov ✓
Industry ✓
Education

Peace
+ Health

Dignity + Security
of man

STATEMENT OF HENRY A. WALLACE
BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

I appreciate the opportunity you have extended to me to appear before this Committee on S. 375. Obviously I am deeply concerned with any proposal that has for its purpose the stripping of the Department of Commerce of its present lending functions. I would be less than frank if I were to give you the impression that my concern springs solely from the fact that important functions are being carved out from under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce. You know, and I know, that of even greater significance is the fact that my nomination as Secretary of Commerce was the occasion for this particular proposal.

There are some who have suggested - perhaps in an effort to save my feelings or face - that this separation of the lending functions from the Commerce Department is desirable because of my alleged "lack of experience" in such field. Let me say that this talk does not fool either me or the American public. You know and I know that it is not a question of my "lack of experience." Rather it is a case of not liking the experience I have.

Let me be specific: For eight years I was Secretary of Agriculture. During that period the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Farm Security Administration, the Farm

Credit Administration, and the Rural Electrification Administration were under my supervision. During that period these agencies loaned over \$6 billion. We made 11,500,000 separate commodity credit loans and 1,208,000 rural rehabilitation loans. We arranged the financing to permit 20,184 tenant farmers to buy their own farms.

Collateral for these loans included farm real estate, agricultural producing, processing and marketing facilities and a wide range of farm commodities. These loans were not only made on a sound business basis but they were also in the public interest. Farmers benefited, consumers benefited, and the interests of the nation itself were advanced as a result of these loans. I am proud of our financial record on this difficult financing. If there are any present who are interested in the details respecting this record, I will be glad to answer their questions at the end of my prepared statement. But since I do not believe that the real issue relates to my alleged lack of financial experience I would like to proceed to what I conceive to be the real issue.

The real motive underlying these suggestions for stripping the Department of Commerce of its vast financial powers has, of course, nothing to do with my competence to administer these powers. The real issue is whether or not the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its giant subsidiaries are to be used to help big business

maintain its monopoly over our economic life or whether these powers are to be used to help little business and to help carry out the President's commitment of sixty million jobs. In other words the question is really one of whether this Committee, the Congress and the American public want these enormous financial powers utilized and invested in a free America - in a prosperous America.

This is not any petty question of personalities. This is a question of fundamental policy. It is the question of the path which America will follow in the future. So that there can be no doubt in anyone's mind where I stand on these fundamental issues, I would like to take this opportunity to discuss with you the future which I feel is in store for America.

In discussing with you the path which I feel the American people should pursue in the years immediately following this war, I am under no illusions that as Secretary of Commerce I will be able to carry out all of the measures which I will discuss. However, I do want to make it clear now that, to the extent that powers are vested in me by Congress, I will use those powers to the fullest possible extent to further the objectives which I will outline to you.

* * * * *

For the second time in twenty-five years America has proved her capacity to meet the challenge of total war. Twice in twenty-five years we have amazed the whole world -- and ourselves -- with our daring conception of what America could do when forced to war. We have astonished a grateful world by the stupendous number of planes, tanks and guns rolling off our assembly lines; with the bridge of ships we have erected across the oceans; by the overwhelming force with which America has turned the scales of battle.

Thus has America met the challenge of war -- with boldness, courage and determination. Thus has America become the symbol -- the world over -- for the dynamic force of a free people fighting for a free world.

But what of the peace-time problems here at home which will follow the successful conclusion of this war? Is America prepared to meet the challenge of these peace-time problems as it has twice met the challenge of war? Will we approach the problems of peace with the same boldness of conception, the same courage and determination as we have approached the problems of war?

In the answer to these questions lies the future of America. To anyone who has faith in America the answer is clear. The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same inspiring way that they have met the problems of war. The American people are resolved that we shall insure that the youth of this nation will never again

be called upon to fight in another war. And the American people are equally resolved that when our boys return home from this war, they shall come back to the brightest possible, the freest possible, the finest possible place on the face of this earth--to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, shall live in peace, honor and dignity--free from want--and free from fear. To do otherwise would betray the faith of every soldier, every worker, every businessman, every farmer in this country who is giving his best for America.

In determining the course of action we should pursue after the war, it is well for America to pause and take stock of her capacities. For America's capacities should be the measure of America's future.

America's known capacities are not difficult to calculate. We are now producing goods and services to the gigantic total of \$200 billion a year with 52 million workers and 12 million soldiers. In simple language that means that today America is producing nearly twice as much as she had ever produced before the war. But an enormous part of the goods and services we are producing today does not find its way into the American home. No, it represents the ships, the guns, the planes and tanks we are using to fight this war.

But I know, and you know, that, if we can produce a huge flow of ships and guns and planes and tanks, we can also produce an abundance of houses and cars and clothing and provide education and recreation and the other good things of life for all Americans.

And I know, and you know, that when our boys return home from the war and are again able to put their power into the stream of peace-time production, America's capacity to produce will be even greater than it is today. Yes, much greater than today even when we remember that some of our returning soldiers will prefer to resume their education; that some older people will begin a retirement delayed to participate in war work; and that many women will give up their jobs in favor of home-making. Making full allowance for these groups, the fact remains that America will have the capacity after the war for producing houses, cars, clothing, education, recreation and all of the other good things of life on a scale that staggers the imagination. That is what America can and will do if we have the courage and vision to give her the chance.

But to accomplish this task of utilizing our full productive capacity year after year, it is childish to think that this can be accomplished by a small segment of business and finance even though that small segment consists of the giants of industry and the tycoons of American finance.

Nor can this be accomplished by throwing crumbs to twenty thousand business enterprises out of a total of over three million struggling small businesses in the United States. Why an America geared to that limited conception of our capacity will find itself faced with millions of unemployed. The same people who set their sights too low for war are now asking the American people to set their sights too low for prosperity. They do not grasp the strength and the

spirit of America.

Nor do any of us think for a minute that there is any quack remedy or cure-all that can be automatically applied. The sober facts are that genuine progress will be achieved only through concrete plans and a real effort.

In the President's message to Congress last year *Send this year* he set forth eight self-evident economic truths as representing a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed.

America led the world in establishing political democracy. It must lead the world once more in strengthening and extending political democracy by firmly establishing economic democracy. Let us not forget the painful lessons of the rise of Fascism. Let us remember that political democracy is at best insecure and unstable without economic democracy. Fascism thrives on domestic economic insecurity, as well as on lack of or divided resistance to external aggression. Fascism is not only an enemy from without, it is also potentially an enemy from within.

We now must establish an Economic Bill of Rights not only out of common decency, but also to insure the preservation of our political freedoms. We must accord to this Economic Bill of Rights the same dignity -- the same stature -- in our American tradition as that we have accorded to the original Bill of Rights.

Let us therefore affirm this Economic Bill of Rights -- and keep affirming it -- until it is as familiar and real to us as our political Bill of Rights.

The Economic Bill of Rights as embodied in the President's message to Congress last January is:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

But the achievement of this American Economic Bill of Rights will not come of itself. These rights will not come to those who merely sit and wait. Nor will they come through merely pious repetition. Our forefathers had to struggle for our political Bill of Rights; we will have to struggle for our Economic Bill of Rights. If we are going to make these Rights a living reality we must map out a vigorous and concerted course. We must set as our goal the implementation and fulfillment of the 8 self-evident truths which together constitute our Economic Bill of Rights.

The key to making this Economic Bill of Rights a part of the American way of life is as self-evident as are the rights themselves. The key is the wholehearted recognition by all our people of the simple fact that in America the future of the American worker lies in the well-being of American private enterprise; and the future of American private enterprise lies in the well-being of the American worker. The greatest single thing that this war has demonstrated on the home front is that when the American worker and the American businessman and the American farmer work together as one team, there are no limits on what America can accomplish.

But to work together as a team, however, there must be a common goal. In this war that goal has been the defeat of our enemies in the shortest possible period of time. In the peace to come the goal must be the well-being of America -- and that is synonymous with the well-being of every American.

I am now going to outline to you the type of program which I think would make each of these economic rights a part of our way of life. In your consideration of this program you will note this striking fact, namely, that to the extent that private enterprise grows in strength, the Economic Bill of Rights grows in reality -- and to the extent that the Economic Bill of Rights grows in reality, American private enterprise grows in strength. Thus, all the measures which are suggested in this program for the implementation of the Economic Bill of Rights are at the same time designed to make American capitalism and private enterprise work in the same great manner in peace as it has worked in war.

And I also want to emphasize what the implementation of these rights will mean to our service men and women. They have given America the opportunity to work out its destiny as a free nation in a free world. The America to which they return must be a land of economic opportunity in which they will find full opportunities not only for jobs but ^{school} for economic advancement and independent enterprise in industry, commerce, agriculture and the professions. A grateful nation can do no less for her returning service men and women. The G. I. Bill of Rights which became law in June of this ^{last} year, following a series of recommendations which the President made to the Congress, is only designed to fulfill the special needs of our men and women in the service. The Economic Bill of Rights is designed to fulfill the needs which they value most, yes, the needs which they value more than life itself -- the needs of America.

I

The first economic right is "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or farms or mines of the nation."

To assure the full realization of this right to a useful and remunerative job, an adequate program must provide America with 60 million productive jobs. We must have more jobs than workers; not more workers than jobs. Only with more jobs than workers can every man be guaranteed a job with good wages and decent working conditions. This requires private enterprise working at expanded capacity.

This necessary expansion of our peace time productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment.

It will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels. But while private capital should finance this expansion program, the Government should recognize its responsibility for sharing part of any special or abnormal risk of loss attached to such financing.

Therefore I propose that the Government guarantee the lender against the special and abnormal risks which may be involved in achieving our objective. This will provide new and expanding industry with plenty of private credit at reasonable interest rates. Through this program we will merely be extending to the financing of old and new business the principles which have proved so successful in our experience with the V Loans, T Loans and the Federal Housing Administration loans.

A comprehensive investment program dedicated to expanding the peace time productive capacity of America is the very essence of the American way of raising our standard of living. We build the plants for greater production so that all of us may share in their greater output. But greater output is not our only benefit from this plant expansion. In fact, our benefits also include the wages paid to the labor employed in building these plants, in constructing the machinery to be used in the plants and in operating the plants after they

are erected. These payments as wages all contribute to the nation's buying power so that as a nation we will have more money with which to buy the goods produced by these expanded plants.

As a matter of fact a comprehensive investment program of this character could make possible \$20 billion of new private investment each year. Why, just the job of building these plants and the machinery for them would give America 5 million more jobs a year than we had in this work before the war. And this does not include the workers who would be needed to operate these plants after they are built.

In a nutshell, then, if we are going to have remunerative jobs for all, we must have an expanded private industry capable of hiring millions more men. I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed, ^{but} ~~the~~ the Government will share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

* * * * *

But, in providing jobs for everyone, we shall not only have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production here at home; but also abroad. Some parts of our industrial and agricultural production demand a high level of foreign trade to be efficient and prosperous. This is particularly true in our heavy equipment industries where our war

demand will fall sharply but whose output will be needed by other countries for reconstruction and development. The foreign demand for such farm commodities as cotton, tobacco and wheat will also be great if other countries have the opportunity to buy. We therefore must take steps, in cooperation with other countries to see that international trade and investment is resumed promptly on a sound basis.

This Administration has pioneered in the direction of international economic collaboration with its reciprocal trade program and the establishment of the Export-Import Bank. It has again taken the lead in suggesting international monetary stabilization and sound international investment measures -- measures that are a fundamental prerequisite to healthy foreign trade and commerce. It was for the purpose of working out concrete measures of this character that the President convened the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods last summer. At the Bretton Woods Conference, forty-four countries agreed upon plans for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The International Monetary Fund, when approved by Congress, will aid the nations of the world in establishing sound currencies. It will clear the channels of foreign trade of discriminatory restrictions and controls so that there can be a genuine expansion of world trade.

With the help of the International Bank, American capital can play a great constructive role - and a profitable role - in the development of the economies of other countries. It will provide us with enormous post-war foreign markets. For our greatest markets are in prosperous, industrialized countries.

But America will not be merely a seller of goods abroad. A truly prosperous America - an America with jobs for all - will be a tremendous buyer of raw materials and products from abroad. It will be an America constantly enlarging the scope of our reciprocal trade agreements. It will be an America with the time and money to spend on tourist travel abroad as well as at home. It will be an America from which other countries can afford to buy more because they are selling more.

With Congressional approval of this program and with our program of jobs for all in this country - the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war. This increase in our foreign trade should mean 3 million more jobs after the war than we had before the war.

Nor are the benefits of increased foreign trade and investment confined to increasing our prosperity. I want to emphasize that such cooperative measures for expanding international trade and investment are at the same time the economic foundation for a lasting peace. A prosperous world will be a world free of both economic and political aggression.

* * * * *

There is one further phase of this program of providing jobs for all which must be made an integral part of any long range program. That is the task of seeing to it that there

are not just jobs for all next year - or for the year after that. No, we are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.

But it is inevitable, however, that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. Adjustments in employment are an essential part of an expanding free economy. And for these minor fluctuations, we provide unemployment insurance. But we must not allow such fluctuations ever to deteriorate into panic or depression. We cannot again be caught in that vicious downward spiral of unemployment, wage cuts and stagnated business.

Whenever the number of gainfully employed in this country falls below 57 million, our Government should take prompt steps to see that new jobs are made available to keep the total from falling significantly below that figure. This is the floor below which we must not allow employment to fall.

The basic function of your Government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack. This is entirely possible. During the war the federal, state and local governments have found it necessary to put aside the construction of roads, buildings and public facilities to the value of many billions of dollars. We have a need, too, for vast programs of the type exemplified by TVA.

Some of this construction will have to be undertaken immediately after the war. A good deal of it, however, can be postponed so that its construction could be timed with

periods when the volume of employment that industry, commerce and agriculture can offer begins to fall. We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state and local projects ready to be tapped. And when employment falls below this floor of 57 million jobs, this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the slack.

Such useful and essential public works should not produce Government of "relief" jobs, however. No, they should produce private jobs. This is possible if we insist that this construction be done by private firms under contract with the Government; private firms employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions.

This assurance of a reserve of private jobs, through constructive public works when needed to take up the slack, will have a profound effect on the whole direction of our economy. In fact, the knowledge that Government accepts this responsibility of maintaining a floor under jobs will act as an immense stabilizing force on the whole economy.

II

The second economic right is "the right to earn enough to provide food and clothing and recreation."

America must remain pre-eminently the land of high wages and efficient production. Every job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

During the war we have been compelled to hold down wage increases that might have provoked runaway inflation. With all the arms and war materials we were producing, there

was only a limited amount of consumption goods available. Increasing wages without increasing the amount of goods available to the consumer would have been an open invitation to inflation.

However, the end of the war, even the end of the war in Europe, will change this picture. Then there will be more goods available for America to buy and it is only good common sense to see that the working man is paid enough to buy these goods.

The gains made by labor during the war must be retained in full. After the last war, as part of the process of returning to "normalcy," the slogan "labor must be deflated" was adopted. This must not happen again. This time we must make sure that wage rates are not reduced when the wartime demand for labor is diverted into peace time channels. We must make sure that the labor market is not broken by unemployment and wage slashes.

American labor should be assured that there are not going to be any wage cuts after this war. What is even more important - when the worker's hours are cut back to peace time levels a real attempt must be made to adjust wage rates upward.

And wages should be constantly increased as the productivity of industry is increased. An expanding American economy can continue to expand only if the increased productivity is divided equitably between business and the worker. In fact - you know, and I know, that unless the worker does get his share of America's increased production

in the form of increased wages and unless business get its share in the form of increased profits - neither will prosper and all ^{business, wage-earner and farmer} will lose.

But an increase in wages is not the only benefit the American worker should secure from increased productivity. He should also benefit in the form of shorter hours of work, in the form of increased leisure and opportunities for healthful recreation. Thus increased wages and shorter hours go hand in hand in solving prosperity the American way.

There is one further aspect of the wage-earner's problem that I would like to comment on. That is his aspiration for an annual wage or guaranteed annual income from his job. It is a terribly important part of any real attempt to implement America's Economic Bill of Rights. The ^{size} ~~scope~~ of the wage-earner's pay envelope is important - vitally important to American prosperity. But we all know that is is equally important to know how many pay envelopes he gets during a year. I would like to see him get a guaranteed minimum annual wage and I think the time has come for America to begin tackling this most difficult problem.

Now this goal cannot be attained overnight. It cannot be achieved in a manner to harm business. Nor can it be achieved with the same speed in every business.

But we can start on the job of giving labor an annual wage. We can do a lot if we all will only agree that it is a problem business and labor must solve and if we all approach the problem with a genuine desire to succeed. And Government must do its part too. It must aid business in stabilizing its labor needs so that the burden of an annual wage will not

be uneconomical. This in my opinion is the American way to bring about the annual wage and I have confidence in the American way of doing things.

III

The third economic right is "the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a rate which will give him and his family a decent living."

American farmers now have by far the largest farm income in history. This is their due reward for the greatest agricultural production in history. We must assure the farmers that there will always be a market for all their output at good prices. Concretely we should maintain an adequate floor on farm prices and thereby assure the farmer against the dangers of falling prices for his products. Our farm program must be one of expansion rather than curtailment. With jobs for all at good wages and with foreign markets greatly expanded, the farmer will be able to sell at good prices all that he can raise.

But this is not all. The farmer's income must have stability. To that end, there should be established a comprehensive federal crop insurance program which will secure the farmer against the hazards of crop failure. To this must be added concrete steps to raise the standard of living on the farm and in the rural areas. We need a complete program of new and modernized homes and farm buildings. We must press forward with rural electrification and improvement. Only in this way can we bring to the rural communities modern facilities for decent and healthful living.

IV

The fourth economic right is "the right of every business man large and small to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home and abroad."

Our Economic Bill of Rights like our political Bill of Rights is based on freedom of enterprise -- freedom of enterprise not merely and exclusively for the few, but broadly and inclusively for the many. The political Bill of Rights insured the destruction of special prerogatives and privileges. The Economic Bill of Rights will insure the destruction of special economic prerogatives and privileges.

No special class of business deserves to be the spoiled darling of government. The American people have no interest in preserving the vested interests and monopolistic privileges of ^{giant} big business. The interest of the American people lies in using the resources of the country to achieve a prosperous America, prosperous for all business, large and small, and for all the people.

We must break through the barriers of monopoly and international cartels that stand in the way of a healthy expansion of free enterprise.

We must overcome the monopolistic frame of mind which thinks of business in terms of restricted output at high prices per unit. We must pass on to workers and consumers the benefits of technological progress and large scale production. Free enterprise in the American tradition can flourish only by doing a large volume of business at a small profit per unit.

We must protect free enterprise against monopolies and cartels through continued vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws. Private enterprise yields its full advantage to

the consuming public and to other business only when it is genuinely free and competitive. He is a sinister enemy of free enterprise who pays lip-service to competition but also labels every anti-trust prosecution a "persecution."

Our economy has important new expanding sectors in air transport, frequency modulation, television, synthetic rubbers and fibers, plastics, and many other fields. These new expanding areas in particular must be kept free of the constricting hand of monopoly. There must be a place in them -- as everywhere in our economy -- for enterprising small firms. It is from these new and small firms that the great industries of the future will grow. We need new industries, ^{new} new firms to have industrial progress and ^{we must} shall not permit them to be stifled by monopoly.

V

The fifth economic right is "the right of every family to a decent home."

Concretely, we should adopt a housing program looking toward the construction through private enterprise of 2 million housing units a year and ridding this country of its urban and rural slums. We need to build at least 15 million new housing units if we are to eliminate all our slums and sub-standard dwellings. The right to a home is meaningless when that home is a hovel. We cannot afford slums.

A well-housed America must have modern homes - homes with all the latest electrical and mechanical equipment which will eliminate the drudgery of household work. We must be a

To the fullest extent possible

land of homeowners, and to that end we must assure every family an opportunity for home ownership by making certain that there is available private credit on terms which will reduce the down-payment and cut by one-third the monthly cost of buying homes.

New residential construction and the modernization of America's homes alone can provide jobs for 4 million people a year. This is 2 million more than the maximum amount engaged in such work prior to the war.

VI

The sixth economic right is "the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health."

As Selective Service has revealed, too large a proportion of our younger men now fall below reasonable health standards. This is a warning signal to America with respect to the state of health of all segments of our population. This condition calls for immediate and drastic action.

We cannot permit the health of our people to be impaired by poverty or lack of medical and hospital facilities. I say to you that your Federal and State Governments have just as much responsibility for the health of their people as they have for providing them with education and police and fire protection. Health and adequate medical and hospital care are not luxuries. They are basic necessities to which all are entitled.

We must see that medical attention is available to all the people. But this health program must be achieved in the

American way. Every person should have the right to go to the doctor and hospital of their own choosing. The Federal and State Governments should work hand in hand in making health insurance an integral part of our Social Security program just as old age and unemployment benefits are today. And these health insurance benefits must be adequate to provide private medical and hospital care for every person in the United States.

We need more hospitals and doctors. We should make sure that such facilities are available and that we build hospitals in every community, rural and urban, that does not now have such facilities for all of its people.

Never again can we afford the waste of poor health in America because of poverty or inadequate facilities. And I say to you now that this program will prove in the long run to be a saving to America.

We must not be content to provide medical attention for people after they become sick. We must implement and extend our knowledge of ^{maximum health} ~~preventative medicine~~ ^{as well as prevention} ~~To the end that we~~ ^{freshness} shall be ~~much~~ better able to attack diseases and to prevent ~~illness~~, the Government should appropriate needed funds to finance a greatly expanded program of medical research in private and public institutions.

VII

The seventh economic right is "the right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment."

We must assure people who are disabled and temporarily unemployed that they will be taken care of adequately. We

must assure them that they will not be in want because of loss of income during this period of compulsory unemployment. We cannot neglect these groups without incurring serious dangers to the stability of our whole economy.

But we should be wary of those who only pay lip-service to the principle of Social Security but have a sorry reputation when it comes to delivering on their promise. For more than a year, there has languished in Congress a carefully-drawn, comprehensive Bill to extend the coverage and increase the benefits of Social Security. I refer to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. It gives effective universal coverage and provides benefits for old age, unemployment, medical care and disability.

Being introduced in wartime, when we have been concerned about restraining consumers' demand rather than expanding it, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill will need to be revised to suit our postwar world -- revised in both its scope and method of financing.

A broader program will be needed after the war. Old age insurance should be adequate to provide all of our older men and women with the means for decent living. Our present old age benefits are definitely inadequate. [I suggest that we immediately establish the principle of giving a minimum Federal old age pension of \$60 per month to every person who has reached the age of sixty. This minimum \$60 per month pension should be available to every man and woman over the age of 60 who makes application. If both husband and wife are over sixty, this will mean a monthly income of \$120 per month.] It should be

a decent, self-respecting, old-age social security program

deemed to be a right, not a charity, a right springing from the years of service each person delivers to the sum total of a better America.

An adequate
~~This~~ social security program will, of itself, by adding
to the spendable purchasing power available to the people and
by placing a floor on consumption, add ^{more than} from two to three
million jobs a year.

VIII

The eighth economic right is "the right to a good education."

We must have an educated and informed America. Even now most of our rural areas and some of our urban areas are poorly provided with schools. Our teachers are underpaid. Our schools are badly understaffed. We need more schools and at least one-half million more teachers. Through Federal aid to poorer communities for the development of locally controlled educational programs, we ^{should} propose to equalize and extend educational opportunities throughout the land. We ^{should} propose to provide facilities for technical and higher education for all qualified young men and women without regard to their financial means. In this America, the pioneer of free education, the right to technical and higher education should be as universal as the right to a secondary school education.

~~This is the program that will bring to reality our Economic Bill of Rights.~~ ^{kind of what we} ~~It is a program that will~~ ^{This is the kind of} ~~provide jobs, economic security and rising standards of living for all Americans -~~ ^{can}

regardless of race, color or creed. Our democracy can be a living force only if it means the good life for all the people.

The millions of more productive jobs that this program will bring are jobs in ^{private enterprise} ~~industry~~. They are jobs based on the expanded demand for the output of our economy for consumption and investment. And this program need place no real burden on the Federal budget, notwithstanding the reduction in taxes which must come after the war. On the contrary, a program of this character can provide America with a national income of \$200 billion. ^{and says that} ~~With a national income of this magnitude it~~ will be possible to reduce the tax rates still further on personal incomes, on business profits, and on consumption, and still collect enough tax revenues to meet the needs of the Government, including orderly retirement of the national debt.

These should be our immediate goals, once final victory over our enemies has been achieved.

Now there are those who say that these goals are the dream of a "man willing to jeopardize the country's future with untried ideas and idealistic schemes." These people think they are the realists. Actually, these are the persons of limited vision and ^{stunted} ~~blunted~~ imagination. These people are of the same breed as those "sound businessmen" who haggled over pennies in the purchase of strategic stockpiles before the war only to leave the materials for the Japs to use against us. These are the men that haggled over the procurement of quinine stocks and the cost of encouraging quinine production at a time when our boys were dying from malaria at Bataan. These are ^{the} people who will fight against enemies waging total war by pinching pennies. These people think the same as those who said the President was dreaming when he declared in 1940 that the American people would produce 50,000 planes in one year. Do these Monday morning quarterbacks have that great faith in the American people, and in their way of life, which is required in order to understand the meaning of America?

I am confident, however, that the great majority of the American people share the same great faith in America and in the American way of doing things which I have expressed here. We know our way and the road ahead is

straight and broad although there are many hills which we must climb. The program which I have set forth is only the first milestone, for the capacity of the American way of life in the years to come is beyond the vision of man. The American system of free enterprise is the best the world has ever known and through it we can obtain, God willing, the best that this world has to offer.

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It is in this perspective that I appeal to you to consider S. 375. ^{the so-called Gervoy Bill.} I suggest that the Congress appoint a Committee to investigate the past activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to determine whether or not the Congress feels that the powers of the R.F.C. have been administered in such a way as to do the most good for the American people. ^{PP} If the Congress ~~determines that the powers of the R.F.C. should be exercised in the future along the same lines that they have been exercised in the past, namely to help the powerful few as distinguished from the many,~~ ^{clearly not} ~~which I have set forth here~~ ^{in such a way as to carry out the objectives} then I respectfully urge the Congress to take the R.F.C. out from under the control of the Commerce Department. For I can tell you here and now that if the R.F.C. is left in the Commerce Department, I will use its powers in the interests of all the American people.