

1711 -22nd- Street, N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.
January 24, 1946

Dear Claude:

You are following Henry Wallace into the vale of the forgotten men. I don't think that Wallace or you, either one, have made any serious errors of commission. Your errors have been of omission.

One year ago on February first, you were a great shining light before the American people. Today I hear neither your name or Wallace's one-tenth as much as I used to.

Both of you get much more peace here in WASHINGTON than you did a year ago. But running back and forth over the country, I am fearful that within another year people will rightly say, "Who is this Pepper? Is he from Georgia or Alabama?" Stay in out of the wet and don't let those bullying bastards from New York tie you up with their trade mark as an advocate of ten per cent of the American voters. Ten per cent won't do it. Obviously you've got to have the ten per cent and then you've got to have thirty per cent of square shooters not particularly interested in Washington, but who have no axes to grind and are for the best bet for the moment when they vote.

And then you've got to have a trading political gang of about fifteen per cent. These people are bought and sold on special privilege trade-outs. This means that you do a job on Arnall of Georgia and Hill of Alabama and Mayor Kelly of Chicago and the bum Hague. But the fact is that you are entering the vale of the forgotten man very fast. You have allowed the Senator from Arkansas to grab one ball and run 80 yards. You have allowed a Senator from West Virginia to catch a forward pass for 40 yards. Where in the hell have you been? Probably telling folks what you did in Arabia. Manoeuvring around for petty position as a middle aged senator seeking security.

You have talked about a liberal bloc of Republican and Democrats in the Senate making a people's party. You talked about this six months ago. But I have a strong suspicion that the man who helped get together 14 Senators six months ago in the embryo of a liberal womb, had a miscarriage.

If you want to be a Vice Presidential candidate after having been

a favorite son candidate from Florida in '48 and if you expect to get complimentary votes from Florida, Alabama, Oregon, and Massachusetts, you must eat of something more serious than papaya.

I am going to suggest that we phone once a morning after having read the papers. I will certainly tell you when there is a technical chance for safe liberal reputation which can make the headlines.

You can't win by playing safety.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh.

P.S. Don't let the Beany Baldwins or the big babies who say they love you but who stink of Wall Street--the Tommy Corcorans or the Sidney Hillmans--run the show. If so you will find yourself in 1952 as the guy who thought he ran and who is looking for a law partnership for the purpose of buying mink coats. And then Tommy will oblige you as he did D. Worth Clark.

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WESTERN UNION

1213

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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

To Miss Helen Robeson mail \$ 19 46

Street and No. Sent to Senator Charles Pepper

Place Senate Office Bldg Wash D.C.

**FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY**

Tried to reach the Senator last
night and this morning from Austin
Hotel, Austin, Texas. He may reach me
there' room 1502 after 7pm
your time today. Regards.

Charles E. Evans

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1946

VERY TRULY YOURS

By Senator Claude Pepper

By the time you read this, the Minimum Wage Bill which I sponsored will be before the Senate for a vote. The bill is limited in its coverage to industrial workers but farmers will derive great benefit from the bill. Contrary to what some of its opponents say, the Minimum Wage Bill which I reported to the Senate does not cover farm labor. The bill's opponents neglect to say that about 40 percent of the increased wages which the bill will provide, if it becomes law, will eventually find their way into the pockets of the farmers of the country. As you know, the ordinary workman spends about 50 percent of his total income for food and clothing produced by the farmers of the Nation.

You have to take with a grain of salt what some of the critics of Russia are saying. Currently Senator Vandenberg, for example, came back from London and made a speech in the Senate in which he asked the question, "What is Russia up to?" Merely hearing him speak you would not remember that Senator Vandenberg was one of the Senators who voted to make it illegal for Russia to get Lend Lease in 1941. And that was before Russia did any of the things he and the other critics are now attacking her for. Russia has done many things of which I do not approve, but so have other countries. When I hear the British complain so bitterly about Russian troops being in Iran I remember that I saw British troops in every country between Cairo and Iran--in Egypt, Palestine, in Lebanon, in Syria, in Iraq and Iran, not to speak of the British troops which are presently fighting in India and in the Netherland East Indies.

When they tell you about other nations whose troops are occupying foreign soil, they do not tell you about the number of people killed, and maimed by British troops. Nearly every day in the countries the British occupy, people are shot down trying to get British troops out of their country. They don't tell you about the countries the French occupy with their troops. They don't tell you about the Parliament House in Syria which I saw, which was demolished by French troops, or that the Syrian President and his family were held by the French for 8 days, because the Syrian people wanted to get the French troops out of their country and to be an independent nation.

I am not approving what the Russians have done. They would, however, be less disposed to do many of the things if other nations refrained doing them, presently and in the past. If it's bad for one nation to occupy the territory of another, it's bad for all nations to do it. If it's bad for one nation to play power politics, it's bad for all nations to do it. What we

2 - VERY TRULY YOURS

buffer between them and Russia. In other words, have us pull chestnuts out of their fires. I am convinced that there are some nations that are trying to use us to take a stand against the Russians in order to protect their own interests and not ours.

What I think we should do in the United States is to lay down policies which are of universal application. Lay down principles which should be observed by all countries, then we should adhere to them ourselves and expect all countries to do likewise. It's a shocking thing to hear all the talk about war among the United Nations who have just emerged victorious from this most terrible of all wars. What we need to do is get the world thinking about peace, and that can only come from all the peoples of the world insisting that there be a new spiritual attitude on the part of all nations and all peoples.

The failure of the House of Representatives to approve the Housing program recommended by Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt, is going to mean that no substantial number of new houses for veterans or for the civilian population are going to be built in the near future. Unless you get materials you can't build a house and if you do not provide governmental aid to increase the supply of materials you will get one of the two results: either the houses built will be so excessive in price that the ordinary family cannot afford to buy or there will just not be enough materials to produce the number needed. We have voted subsidies during the war for other production programs. I do not see why we can't vote subsidies which will get materials flowing again so that this badly needed housing program can get under way immediately.

We have just completed hearings on my bill for training doctors who can deal effectively with mental disorders and diseases and for providing the facilities with which they may treat such unfortunate patients. We have only about 3,000 doctors in the whole country who know how to treat mental diseases. Among our veterans alone from 40 to 50 percent of all them receive pensions for some kind of mental disease. About 60% of all veterans in governmental hospitals are suffering from mental diseases. Each World War I veteran who has been hospitalized because of some mental disorder has so far cost the government an average of \$40,000. If we could train enough doctors and provide them with enough facilities to treat these unfortunate patients at an early stage, it would not only save vast sums for the government, but would avoid tragedy in many a life and many a home. Mental diseases today are more numerous than any other diseases we have including heart failures and cancers.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: "VERY TRULY YOURS" is intended to give you first-hand insight into Florida affairs at Washington. You may find this helpful in a number of ways--for your own information, background for editorials, news stories, or perhaps as a news column.

New York - for Steve Mahoney

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 8, 1946

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

Honorable Charles Marsh
1711 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

The following letter from William Preston Lane, Jr. is the result of your kind and thoughtful suggestion for me to wire him:

"Dear Claude:

Thank you for your telegram of congratulations.

It was a long, hard campaign, but I am happy with the result, and I deeply appreciate your good wishes for the November election.

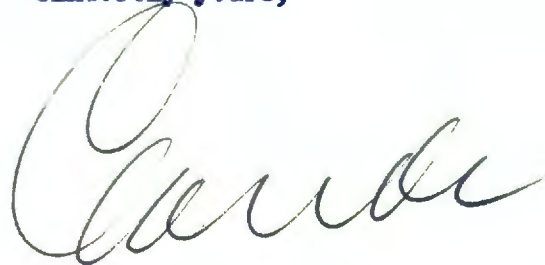
With thanks and kindest regards,
I am

Sincerely

(Signed)
William Preston Lane, Jr."

Always my best regards to you.

Sincerely yours,



CP:hr

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

August 1, 1946

Honorable Charles Marsh
c/o Miss Thelma Weidlein, Secretary
2404 Scenic Drive
Austin 21, Texas

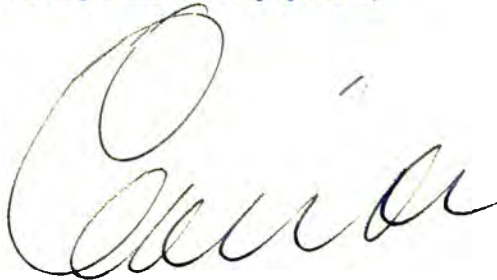
Dear Charlie:

Here is a copy of a note I have just written to Ellis Arnall, which I wanted you to see. I wired him and Drew Pearson warmly commending both of them for their part in the anti-Klan broadcast and got back a very gracious letter from Drew about it. I have also sent him and Henry Wallace a copy of this letter.

I hope to get to see you soon.

Always sincerely yours,

Enclosure
CP:KW



TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
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ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

August 1, 1946

Honorable Ellis Arnall
Governor
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ellis:

I had meant earlier to write a word to you about the recent debacle in Georgia. You know that all of your liberal and admiring friends were thinking about you and deeply anxious about the whole thing. It certainly was no fault of yours that it terminated as it did. In the long run that and what happened in Mississippi may do more good than harm because it will probably be the last thing of that sort which will happen in the South in a long time. I suspect both victories were a last gasping protest against the new — a last desperate clutching to remain the old order. Surely the people in what they did vindicated you and the contrast between you and your successor, just as between you and your predecessor, is so pronounced that the shock of it cannot be missed. Your people may slip back but they will never stay back.

I don't intend these words to try to buck up your spirit because I know it has never drooped but just to say you have done great things and I know you will keep on doing great things for we all know how many big things are to be done.

I hope you will give me a chance to see you when you next come to Washington.

All good wishes, and

Always sincerely yours,

CP:KW

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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
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TIME FILED

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

Received Monday morning
August 5, 1946

Charles E. Marsh
Care Thelma Weidlein
2404 Scenic Drive
Austin, Texas

Charles, I have tried yesterday and today to get New York party.
Have failed. Will reach him as soon as possible and let you know.
Regards.

Glaude Pepper

WESTERN UNION MESSENGERS ARE AVAILABLE FOR THE DELIVERY OF NOTES AND PACKAGES.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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WESTERN UNION

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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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August 5, 1946

Senator Claude Pepper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Marsh en route to Washington.

Thelma Weidlein

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

September 1, 1946

PEPPER SPEECH:

Minorities shall not oppress majorities. One criticises wholeheartedly Britains pressure on Greece to restore a repudiated and worn out king.

Jews-Palestine.

Organized labor versus working man.

Communists versus Russian people.

British-American bloc diplomats versus the world view.

You can't make a whole world--a sane world--out of diseased parts and petty views. The Parliament of Man must be a moving and a vital thing of the spirit. The bricks and stones of Geneva may be succeeded by the marble and mahogany of a United Nations site. So what? Where is the spirit to make it work? And now to Paris. And now to New York, and now to London, and now to Chunking. Tempo of CBS talking from the different cities. Let's add up what is really going on now. Pick up letters to Harlon. We must have the force to enforce. Otherwise why the talk and another League of Nations and World Court of the Hague. Let them hold out. At least a half of this world is for this plan and a half can go forward.

September 4, 1946

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN (CP):

I speak tonight of the future of America--our own country--our own flag--leadership through our own democratic process and Party. I shall make this a grass roots speech.

The whole is the sum total of its parts, but if the parts are lazy or rotten, the whole world may be rotten--rotten ripe for the atom bomb.

But if the parts are sound, we shall have no fear. So I shall construct the parts of America as I see them. Then we shall go forward into the aims and limitations which beset this world.

What are real people thinking about now? Obviously, war and peace. How do real people think about war and peace? Obviously all people in health and sanity want peace world-wide. How shall progressive and liberal and sane people achieve peace? Obviously by working always, fanatically and militantly for world peace. Obviously not through fear of war and suspicion of people.

Here in America we have certain instruments of expression. The greatest instrument is what vaguely is called public opinion. The second is the press and radio. The third consists of expressions of the Democratic and Republican Parties and their so-called leaders. I take these three great potential instruments for world peace up in order of importance.

The people in the Precincts can, and I believe shall, rule the future of America. Wherever I have gone and the many swings I have made across this country, I have always returned to my Senate seat refreshed with faith renewed, that people are wiser than their political leaders and their press men believe. The people today are wiser than they have ever been. The plain people today are on their toes--militantly and insistently for world peace. This great public drive has in it the dignity of patience. It is

amazing how patient the people are. They are watching Paris. They are watching Washington. Yes, they are watching Wall Street, and they are watching with patience the actions of leaders of labor. But above all, I have found the reason for an optimism which tonight I give to you. The people know the score. They are wiser than in the days of Wilson and Versailles. They are wiser to Wall Street than they were during the awful gambling and collapse of 1929. They are wiser to the ways of propaganda press and propaganda radio. And thank God, the people are getting up on their toes in this fight for peace. And in their wisdom, my friends, the people tonight are questioning leadership everywhere. If present leaders do not give them what they want--a world-wide and a just peace--they will sweep their leaders into the permanent discard of oblivion. They, the people, won't be monkeyed with for long.

In the short time we have together I may only outline the problem, the performance to this date, the need for united haste of peoples everywhere, and the American machinery for leadership world-wide.

The problem: How can democratic America through government, lead militantly, a troubled world to permanent peace? Public opinion is unanimous. People are patient as they watch Paris. They do not wish to upset the apple cart by failing to support the boys on the job. But people everywhere throughout America are now demanding peace progress from their leadership. They are very, very tired of the bickering of petty men over petty objects. They are more than tired of name calling. They are sick to death of procedure and protocol. They are listening for the noble words of a Wilson. They are hopeful still of the practical leadership of a Roosevelt. If I have heard it once I have heard it a hundred times,

"If Roosevelt were here now, he and Joe would have this thing fixed up."

But I declare to you that the people still remain optimistic. In their great wisdom they know that times make men. They know that these times call for great men, and in their hearts they know that great men and great thoughts are in the making. Their will to peace shall not be denied. So at the heart of America we find a soundness and a health and a strength. That is the message of cheer for us here tonight.

We, of the Democratic Party, must give more than lip service to this insistent will for world peace. It is not enough to remember the One World of Wilkie, the great statesman of modern times--our Democratic leader, Roosevelt. I trust it will be enough that our Democratic leadership in Washington and Paris will know how to get tough with intelligence for the peace. Only thus shall we have it. The present toughness of Paris won't do it. No one wants a man with an umbrella at Munich. The problems of the world, of course, are practical whether at Trieste or Jerusalem, Hong Kong or Bombay. But these questions all shall be settled if the spirit of man everywhere remains unafraid and intelligent for world peace. Their voice and their spirit shall reach Moscow, shall reach London, shall be insistently present at Washington.

So I say this Democratic Party in the campaigns and elections ahead, must make world peace the paramount issue. In every speech, in every political rally, in every declaration of the Party policy, we Democrats must become concrete and intelligent in leadership.

The doubting Thomases--whether at Albany or elsewhere; the trembling Tafts--whether at Washington or elsewhere; yes, even our ageing and quarrelsome representatives at Paris--shall not lead nor

shall they conquer the optimism and faith of the 140 million people that make up our land.

How many times have you heard, "Well, we've got the atom for Moscow. Those Commies can't bluff us." What kind of talk is this? It is the talk of school boys hopefully looking for a fight. The same sort of leadership at Paris--whether English or American or Russian--is getting us nowhere fast. We in leadership in America can not depend alone on four men trained in the parliamentary cleverness of the United States Senate, whose average age is approaching seventy. Such men look backward. The American people are looking forward. And the Russian people can not depend on a clever Communism which apes the tactics of a Hitler in whipping public opinion to alternate frenzies of pride and fear. There is a better day. There is surely a better way. And the English diplomacy which seeks to shove us first towards the Russian Bear, shall not pass muster whether in Palestine at the Bosphorus, in the Adriatic, or along the Chinese war front. Churchill may still say he did not become Prime Minister to liquidate the British Empire. But I say the American people will not fight a third World War to preserve the colonial system which made the British Empire the world-wide master of backward peoples and the British the financial masters of the raw materials of this earth. The diamond and gold cartels, the rubber control, the world tin monopoly, the interlocking patents upon which wealth and capital values and price fixing have been artificially constructed at the expense of people's necessity--all these things shall go before we fight for Britain.

Yes, we shall fight for the British people should they be threatened with annihilation. Yes, we shall fight for world peace with guns should the necessity arise. But I tell you now that the American people that I have talked to from California to Maine and

from my own Florida to Tacoma, tell me that they never again shall fight for special privilege whether named capitalism or communism or any other ism--that they were through with such stuff. They remember Wilson. They remember Wilkie. They remember Roosevelt. They, the common people, know what they want and where they are going.

We have just had a so-called election in Greece. Also one in Poland. Both were called democratic elections. Shame on them. The so-called democratic election in Poland merely consolidated and extended the communist line. The so-called democratic election in Greece merely put a worn-out and discredited King George on the throne again whom the great Greek statesman Venizelos had brushed aside.

I declare the peoples of this world know the score. They know that force of arms falsely ruled these elections in the interests of foreign powers under the travesty of democracy. The leaders, whether in Moscow or in London, who worked so falsely under a cloak of democracy, have not fooled the liberty-loving peoples of this world and the great American public has certainly not been fooled.

So without drawing you a diagram of dates and places I bring you tonight the simple statement that the people are getting ready to act throughout America if there is much more delay at Paris or anywhere else. I hear it in the churches, in the schools, in the colleges, in the luncheon clubs, in women's forums--wherever men and women meet I hear the march for peace and justice. I do not hear the suspicion and the shrill hysteria of the circulation-conscious press of the large cities. The people are turning to the comics as they leave the front page in disgust.

Certainly some of the confidence of the American people is based upon our supremacy in the atomic field. But, my friends, our present supremacy as a war power has not made our people a people seeking war. That is the mistake of petty men who have not been around much.

And the American people know the difference between a communist leader and the Russian people. Common sense will tell you here tonight that the Russian people do not want any more fighting. The Russian people have fought three internal revolutions and two World Wars within one Russian lifetime. Do you suppose they like it? Do you suppose they want it? Do you suppose a few Balkan Mountains are worth the price to any Russian? So I believe the spirit of the common people of Russia is exactly the spirit of the common people of America. I believe the Russians and the Americans can and will settle for world peace before these noisy conferences can shove us over the abyss into war. But the price of peace as the price of liberty, is eternal vigilance.

I want the Democratic Party, of which I am a member, to lead the way inside of America now and at once. I do not want any minority of military men or financial men or frightened men to shove us along the path to death and another dark age of a thousand years.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, I realize I am neither old enough or wise enough, under seniority rules, to be properly at Paris. But were I there tonight, I would be saying and doing things which have not yet been said or done. If I could not find cooperation among the fearful and clever British leaders, I would be working through my waking hours with Australia and Canada, yes, and India and Java and China, and all the nations of South America, in binding together the steel

strands of the will to peace. I would not be satisfied with any three power quarrel. I would not grab the Russian Bear by the nose and pat the Lion's head. I would not wear an atom bomb on my watch fob. I would go forward in the spirit of the Prince of Peace, knowing full well that the strong arm of American military might was ever present, on call.

And since all Russia knows this, I believe the fair and frank will to peace can reach a frightened Moscow. I don't believe that the two million communist party members who rule a Russia of two hundred million, can sell war throughout Eurasia to those now living.

Of course, we can go into war through default if we are petty, if we are ruled by veto, if we can find no way in or out of the Dardanelles. We certainly are able to fight and perish by the sword. But I say that the party of the plowshares shall win this time only and just as soon as world peoples start doing a little pushing around themselves--pushing their leaders into sane and sensible peace progress.

How much time have we got? Not much. We shall go through this fall's campaign stressing peace through strength and reason. We shall thus inform the people's of this world that we are more than merely an opponent of Russian aggression--more than the holder of an atom bomb, more than a keeper of world peace through battleship and air bases.

The Paris conference still will be going on--or another and still another--as the people's small representatives grope along through their procedures and protocols and personal vanity.

We shall get to the British with our message. We shall get to the Russian people with our message of peace and good will with a world at permanent and stable peace as the goal.

We shall declare with Wilkie and Roosevelt for an international police sufficient to enforce peace. We shall insist on world wide control of such forces. The practical Big Three shall not by one veto the will of two billion people. If I were at this time to put any member of the so-called Big Three into the back seat, I would take the British diplomacy from the wheel and tell him to rest a bit and sleep it off. I would plainly and frankly tell Russia that I was doing so because I believed that the great road block for our peace automobile is opposing and quarrelsome beliefs of the British Tory and the professional communist. On my recent trip to Eurasia I saw neither in Russia nor in England any sign of quarrels between the Russian and English people. The only danger ahead is the quarrelling between Russian policy makers and British policy makers. It is just here that America must step in. Let's make this simple. Suppose any of you people had a quarrel in your family and you were trying to bring about peace on a permanent basis. Let's say that father and mother said they would not speak to each other again and they were headed next day for the divorce court. Would you get behind mother and take a poke at father--that is if you wanted the family to stick together--or would you take mother by the shoulders and rush her screaming from the room? That probably would not get you anywhere. What you would do--and this is what America must do--is not to take sides with either of the active agents in the impending collapse. Another example. Suppose there was a business conference going on about land and crops and you owned them. Suppose there were three people in on the deal. Suppose two of them pulled guns or started to run out for police help. Would you bring about peace through force by joining one or other of the battlers? I think not.

But suppose the will toward peace in the quarrelling family

or the business dispute, failed to win. Certainly civilized leadership would provide a hearing before peaceful men and not before gunmen. There is where American leadership must insist upon court tribunals between quarrelling nations with the power of enforcement. Without the power to enforce what would our own Supreme Court amount to? But the very fact of the power to enforce makes the calling out of the militia or the federal troops an almost unheard of occurrence. We have gotten into the habit without the United States of respecting the rule of law. When the Capones or the Lucianos or the Dutch Schultzes try to take over, we have always known what to do. I say that no international brigands shall stop world peace.

I know that there are those here who will say that I dream. I know that there are those in Paris who will say that our fellow Senator Pepper is popping off as usual. But I believe in folks. I believe in the responsible leadership which won this war. I believe that leadership truly wants peace.

But to carry the argument to the doubting Thomases and the trembling Tafts and the bi-partisan bumble boys who beat the bushes for communists as they attend English garden parties, I will try to get on a pair of old shoes and smoke a pipe with you--I hope the pipe of permanent peace.

If the frightened Russians and the Frightened British get to fighting pushing around the Greeks, the Yugoslavs, the Poles and the Chinese, the Javanese, and the great masses of India, I believe that there is still strength enough among peaceful peoples world-wide to keep the Russians from pushing us over the brink as they snarl along a ten thousand mile front from Hamburg on the Baltic to Harben on the Japan Sea. I believe world sentiment will forge a stronger and stronger United Nations, eventually supreme to the Big Three and the

Veto or Anglo-Saxon protective coalition. I believe that Australia, Canada, The United States, South America, and the great peoples of the Pacific will refuse to be the cat's paw or the victim of such an unthinkable world horror.

If there were a Wilson or a Roosevelt facing a Russia and a Britain in active combat, I believe the days of Theodore Roosevelt would be repeated. You remember that it was the elder Roosevelt who brought peace between the Japs and the Russians. I believe had he lived, that the second Roosevelt would now have advanced very far toward world peace. I believe had he found himself in our present strained world situation, that Roosevelt would now be appealing not for an Anglo-American anti-Russian set-up. I believe Roosevelt would be talking to the world peoples. I believe his diplomatic agents would be assembling all nations and all diplomats with the will to peace. I believe that--the Wilson and the Roosevelt--way is the true road, the true path, the correct diplomacy. Ten per cent of the two billion peoples of this world can not lead ninety per cent into war. Central Russia and Great Britain constitute only ten per cent. A minority can't push around a majority. The will to permanent peace is when over one half of the people of the world have a will to peace.

So the Big Three method with Russia using the veto, and the British and the United States drawing closer together daily with the atom bomb in the pocket, is certainly not going to give two billion people a permanent world peace. There is no Sermon on the Mount in this.

I think the true way is the simple way. The leadership of the United States must be expressed outside of Russia and outside of Britain. After all, Great Britain and Russia proper contain

less than one tenth of the people of this world. It is unthinkable that ten per cent of this world should be the tail that wags the dog. An America in true leadership can and should represent ninety per cent of world peoples who have nothing to gain by any British-Russian fight. It is all very well for Britain to say that she must hold on to India and her Chinese ports, her South African diamond and gold monopoly, her Congo copper cartel with the Belgians, but I say a world permanent peace will do more for the British than any colonial status quo that Britain may seek or seek to suck us in to protect. I say also that Russia has a job to do within her own borders which will take her twenty-five years to accomplish. Certainly Russia has as much right to free outlets to the sea as has England. The United States should and can guarantee the true freedom of the seas instead of the fake freedom of the seas of the days of Kipling and Queen Victoria. The British Navy no longer is needed to guarantee any freedom of the seas nor shall the British use our atomic bombs for such a special privilege under the cloak of freedom. A world of permanent peace needs no British protectorate of the seas whether at the Dardanelles, at Cairo, or at Singapore. The international police force under a strong United Nations is the answer to all this rot.

Of course, British foreign policy as perfected through centuries of dominance can not be changed over night. The British Tory is a stubborn person. He even has his social and financial representatives in a labor government. Downing Street and the British Secret Service has outlasted fifteen Prime Ministers and a dozen Kings and Queens. But I say to you that the British Foreign policy bureaucrats coupled with the financial and Secret Service forces of Great Britain shall no longer boss any considerable part of this

world in the interest of London and London only.

And I have faith that Stalin is smarter and wiser and a better world citizen than much of the British and American press have given him credit for. Remember the hatred of Roosevelt that centered here in New York from 1932 until his death. Roosevelt could do no good. Roosevelt was ruining the country. Roosevelt was insane. Roosevelt was turning the country over to the communists. The same press, the same people live on in hate and fear. The present whipping boy is Joe Stalin now that Roosevelt has gone into the great beyond. But I seem to see Roosevelt as he looks down upon this audience. Were he here he would say:

"Go slow, my friends. Be reasonable. We have had enough bickering and quarrelling. That sixty million jobs I told you about are here in America. We are proving the benefits of peace. I am sorry that after I went away, some of our people at Washington did not extend a helping hand to Russia about the same time they did to England. We gave the British the money they asked and we turned down the Russians for a loan.

"I am sorry that some of our State Department people and some of the men who rule the oil business with the British, got too excited in going to Persia to tie up sixty per cent of world oil reserves without declaring Russia in for her needs as well as theirs. I am sorry that Joe Stalin got irritated. I believe that if I had been around we could have fixed it up or perhaps this private grab would not have been OK'd by our government. I suppose if Cuba had sixty per cent of all of the oil reserves and Joe Stalin had made a deal with the Cuban government for all this oil right under our nose, that I might have vetoed phoned Joe about it and told him hands off until we could talk it over. But, my friends, we can't cure mistakes

by making more mistakes. We must curb our greedy capitalists and their fellow travellers in their diplomatic and military set-up. We must get busy at once and make up for lost time. I am phoning the British tonight that I don't like that statement in the London Observer the other day that the United States Navy had taken over the job of ruling the Mediterranean protecting the Suez road to India and blocking the Russians at Constantinople. I think I will tell the British that it is neither our business nor theirs to block anybody who seeks merely world peace and full free trade between nations. And then I will phone Moscow and tell the boys over there that I want to talk constructively about the future of the world trade across the Pacific. I want this Chinese war settled and Joe and I can make both sides behave."

So I have had the temerity here tonight to speak as often I have heard Roosevelt speak. But if we are to win this peace it must be in the spirit of Roosevelt as translated to Roosevelt from the spirit of Wilson. Our common people have the tradition and the spirit for peace which came to these great Americans because of their experience in war. The great George Washington had the same reaction. Are we to believe that Marshall Stalin wants more war? He is representing his people, of course. He is a great nationalist. I believe he has never been out of Eurasia. He has never seen America. He has never seen England. He only has reports to go by. He only has acts through which to judge. I believe that Stalin as truly wishes for peace with a growing Russian prosperity as does Attlee and Truman. It is the little people underneath them that I am afraid of--the whisperers and the fixers and the shouters and the table pounders. And of course, I certainly am not afraid of the will to peace of the great millions of world peoples who know war

so well. I am for the majority. I am against any minority which seeks to suppress or oppress a majority. I believe that all majorities should protect all minorities along the path to peace and opportunity. This is not a novel view. It is as old as the thirteen colonies. It is as old as the teachings of Christ, of Buddha, of Mohammed, of Confucius. The words that are permanent spell, "Peace on earth, good will to men."

September 5, 1946

NEW LEAD--PEPPER, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN:

We are here to open the New York state campaign.

I had intended here tonight, to discuss relatively narrow political issues. I can not do so.

I have read the proceedings of the Democratic Convention which nominated two very great New York statesmen for Governor and Senator. These great Democrats who have lived lives with a small d and a big D, shall win. (Applause) Anything else would be unthinkable. Think of a Dewey and an Ives representing fifteen million people (twelve?) while the world of war and peace is now, tonight, in the balance.

Cynically I hear, "Let's drop a bomb on Moscow and get it over." Cynically I hear, "We are at war. Just between the halves. The score is now in our favor and let's keep it that way." That kind of talk is destruction talk, is the kind of talk that will bring Hitler's 1000 years backward to us all--1000 years of dark ages, of people crawling perhaps out of caves back toward the light.

The destiny of the human race is of course assured under God and the imagination of two billion people. I am not going to pause here to say that right makes might, or that right always makes sea-wins. This is a real world. The atom is always here. But if I were here tonight as a citizen, as a Senator, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of this country, or even as one who has just gone through 17 nations,--from any point and from every point of my personality--I must tonight say what should be said and must be said by someone.

The Democratic Convention did what it set out to do. So far so good. The Republican Convention was a hodgepodge of folks apeing humanitarianism to the tinkle of dollars. They wrote themselves a Roosevelt with a Lamont at the typewriter. (laughter).

So we look with confidence in the immediate days ahead, to a decisive victory for small d Democrats--not only in New York but in the return to Congress of a Democratic majority. Otherwise Wall Street will hold the purse at Albany and at Washington. But in the larger sense, there can be only one issue in this campaign. Are we anxious to fight another World War or are we militantly determined for a just peace?

September 26, 1946

NOTE:

Attached explains itself.

I believe News Week has a closer Paris tie-up than Time, and that this article is basically correct. Byrnes hopes to break this as documentary proof of his Paris position when he returns to the United States and hits the radio. It should be discounted before Byrnes' return by some simple statement of forecast such as:

"Any foreign office of any government is able to back up any policy of the moment by opening up its files and picking out from a thousand documents the few which are needed to prove a policy. This happened last year in the American-Argentine controversy, but did not accomplish anything as far as Argentina was concerned except irritate. Now the 'soft' policy of sweet reason with Peron is in fashion.

"Should the United States open its Russian or British or German captured files, it can prove anything.

"If the way to peace is sought in irritation or through the throwing open of specially prepared and carefully selected part truths, I can not but agree with Eden of England that a 'new approach' to permanent peace should be adopted by the American people.

"There is no doubt in anyone's mind that Russia for two years played neutral when western Europe and England were fighting for their lives. There is no doubt that Russia only entered into an alliance with England and the United States after Hitler threw his armies on Russian soil. So what? Later facts which can be found in thousands of documents of the foreign offices of both Britain and the United States, show that Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt fought a common and a successful war against Hitler.

"The way to peace is in the now and in the future. Ill nature will not do it. Combing of confidential files of foreign offices

2

will not do it. Only may we be saved should a genuine and sincere spirit of tolerance and friendship constitute a 'new approach.'"

September 27, 1946

Dear Claude:

Because we may only have a short "talking time" I thought it best to write this train letter.

1--You will have to handle "Pepper for President" and "To hell with Truman" and "stuff." You should be very clear in what you say, otherwise the Tribune Sunday morning, will say, "Reds endorse Pepper for a third party Stalin candidate in 1948."

You should say, "American democracy is a two party system. I believe the Democratic Party is the Party of human rights. I believe that American leadership under the Democratic party, is the world's best hope for permanent peace. I shall campaign between now and November fourth with all my strength for the victory of liberal Democrats.

"Let us not be too severe on Republicrats--now so numerous in both Parties. After all they may be sincere, just as progressives of yesteryear were sincere in attempting to control the machinery of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. The important thing is to fight them where the fighting is good--within the Democratic Party.

"There is another reason why a third party movement is not to be advised. Within the time which has passed since the Bull Moose revolt of 1912, party managers on the state level, have modified the Primary laws so that as a practical political fact, it has become almost impossible for any group of voters successfully to establish a third party. Liberals must win within one of the two parties. My party being the Democratic, I fight for liberalism inside. I accept no purge.

"I shall be frank whenever I speak. I said before the excitement of Madison Square Garden that I believe Henry Wallace would make a more acceptable nominee in 1948 than President Truman. I still think so. I point out that liberalism is gaining within the party on the voter

level--the really important spot November fourth and looking forward to 1948.

"I predict every forthright liberal who at the beginning of the campaign had any chance at all, will come out victorious November fourth. Certainly I shall be in there every minute. I join hands with Laguardia of New York in stating: "Henry Wallace was just a humble little man who has lived the Sermon on the Mount--bigger than any man in his Party."

"I am pleased to have a frank expression from Senator Bilbo on this question: 'The next step should be to put a muffler on Claude Pepper.' I also wish to quote that other Mississippi statesman, Rankin: 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.' And of course we must not forget Republican Chairman Reece, who promises 'there shall be no Wallace in the Republican Party when we take over and run foreign affairs.'

"My friends, there is no short cut to a liberal victory. Work is the answer. The Republicrats have the money to hire most excellent organization experts. It is a pure-hearted group such as this which can beat mercenary brains. Organize down to the Precinets. Fight for every vote. Ours is the stake.

"Anything else is unthinkable when all of us know that this November fourth election may make the difference between world peace and an atomic war."

2--Prepare for your press conference Sunday by pencilling for yourself in your own way, a statement which puts you at the head of the food consumer fight.

Politically remember that you have been accused of being a front man for leftists.

Wallace has moved toward the center through his year as Secretary of Commerce. He is now left center and you are left. I believe

your position should be to take leadership on the legislative level now that Wallace is out and may talk only as a private citizen. As a matter of fact, Claude, you are all that is left in Washington of what Roosevelt once was. So what you say must be very carefully analyzed so that your leadership may not remain narrow. You must not abandon the left center or even the middle just for the applesauce or applause of the left. Never forget that the left has to go through the middle to get at the right, and that the right has to go through the middle to smash the left. The great middle is the consumer-voter. This person represents 80 million of the 140 million American folks. This middle is relatively conservative as against the left and relatively liberal as against the right.

You have reached this level in your concern for health and education. But you have at this moment a very fine chance to "shoot the moon" on meat and sugar. On this you have everybody with you except Truman. The right wants to kick out OPA and the left wants to enforce OPA. But everybody wants action--that is wants meat and sugar.

MEAT FACTS: Cattle producers are on strike. They have had good weather and a fine grass season. They have made so much money that they prefer to hold as long as possible on the range. The winter feeders also have made money and no one wants to make any more money this year as they have to give it to the government in income taxes. There is, of course, some hoarding by the big packers who justify themselves on the ground "we must stay in business." You are certain to hit a political two bagger if you say:

"Present meat and sugar famines need an emergency Congressional session now. Sugar is being hoarded. In a few days this bottle-neck may be opened by OPA increasing slightly the price structure.

"The meat situation seems hopeless unless action is taken by

the Congress. The Republocrats under the Taft banner, are directly responsible for the meat famine. Time, as President Truman says, is working with the meat hungry millions as fall grass dies and forces cattle to the market. But we don't want to wait until Thanksgiving. We need a stringent law against meat hoarding by packers and wholesalers. There is enough hidden meat to see us through until nature forces in new supplies.

"I believe legislation is immediately necessary to see that manual workers and pregnant mothers get meat priorities in times of scarcity.

"I see by the papers that the army has commandeered one-sixth of the available meat supply for soldiers in peace time. I believe miners and mill workers are as important in peace time as soldiers. If the army can commandeer meat why can't Congress commandeer meat out of the miser hoardings of the greedy? I have not always agreed with John L. Lewis, but I do agree that 400,000 miners preparing our coal supply must have meat for best work. etc."

NOTE: Claude, there is not going to be any special session but you note that the Democratic leaders are very sensitive about the danger of losing the November fourth election because of meat and sugar bungling. You have got to put this on Taft. This is actually more serious than the Truman-Wallace mess. As a vote influence the meat-sugar business had better clear up before October 15th or there is hell to pay at the ballot box. So a firm stand by you as to what SHOULD be done, will clear you personally and will be remembered by the meatless and sugarless folks when your record comes up later in 1948. You must always be first for the folks. I hope from now it is the consumer level rather than on the PAC level.

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

October 7, 1946

ROBERT V. SHIRLEY, CLERK

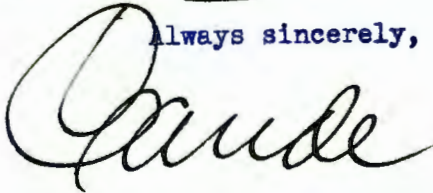
Hon. Charles Marsh
1711 - 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I wanted you to have a copy of
this Chicago speech.

Best wishes to you, and

Always sincerely,



CP:mvd

Enclosure

SPEECH OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER - CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVES

Hotel Continental, Chicago, Illinois

September 28, 1946

We have won the greatest military victory of all time: against the most evil and sinister forces ever arrayed against God and man. But we have not yet won that oldest of wars, that struggle in which man has been engaged since he first broke upon the stage of history -- political and economic democracy and peace. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this fight to gain for all people the four freedoms declared by Franklin D. Roosevelt -- freedom of religion, freedom of speech and expression, freedom from fear and freedom from want. What man has gained in this struggle has been paid for in blood, in treasure, in spent lives, in sacrifice of happiness and comfort by countless millions of men and women such as are gathered here this evening--men and women, the very passion of whose lives has been the progress of people to richer, safer, happier lives. Such people, truly believing in progress, are rightly called progressives -- and history like your scars honors you and your kind.

Yet progressives do not rest upon their arms or their laurels. They are enlisted for the duration, and the duration for them means the war for the four freedoms and the Economic Bill of Rights of their leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt. And the duration means until that true peace, the kind of peace Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his life for, shall prevail, and there shall truly be goodwill among all men.

Knowing the bitter opposition to these aims, we are here today to tighten our own lines and to lay a pattern and plan which will make those of us who are here a more dangerous foe of Fascism and monopoly and exploitation and intolerance, more formidable friends of Americanism, Democracy, prosperity and peace. We are also here to lay the pattern and plan which will unite all others of like mind and spirit, all who have a kindred purpose with us, into a single, great invincible army, fighting for the well-being and the peace of our people.

We know that in place of depression and unemployment and war, we can keep good times, and yes, we can make them better. We can have the sixty million employed for which Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace pleaded. We can have higher wages for workers, and not only higher wages, but an annual guaranteed salary for the worker as well as for the corporation president. We can have more collective bargaining for labor. We can have a doctor, a hospital, a dentist, a nurse in hospital or home for every ill man, woman or child. We can have security for all those who reach sixty, men and women, without the humiliating means test. We can have security for the disabled, of whom there are a million and a half always in our land. We can have good markets for all manufacturers,

for the products of farmers and growers and livestock producers. We can have good business for the merchants, the bankers, for all business men, little or big. And we can have a prosperous trade for the Nation, and indeed for the world. We can have peace.

The job of progressives is to get those things for the people of this country -- and to organize the fight against those who would destroy them.

How are we going to get them? How are we going to carry on this fight?

The task immediately ahead of us is the election of a Congress that will work to get those things.

I was born and I shall die a Democrat. But I do not preach the infallibility of the Democratic Party or of Democrats. But a few reactionary principles and a few reactionary people in the Democratic Party do not blind me to the fact that the record of the Democratic Party is a surer road to humanitarian progress in the United States, than any other now before us, and that today the only hope of more democracy, and what you and I would call progressivism in the United States, is through the election in November of a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House.

The election of a Republican Senate and House in the first general election after World War II would mean, in my considered judgment, a return of this country to the same old road of depression and war to which the election of a Republican House in 1918, at the end of World War I, led us.

It must be the first and principal concern of every one who believes in a decent life and peace for the people of this country to see that that does not happen again.

The best way to keep what happened after the last war from happening again after this war is for the liberal progressive people of this country to do just exactly what we are doing this day in this conference -- to get together to declare our objectives and to formulate the best way to gain our high aims.

There are many who are disappointed with the things we haven't been able to do in the Democratic Party. They have seen many of the old faithfuls, some of you here this evening, whom they recognized as their kind of people and their spokesmen in the Democratic Party, leave office. They have seen, with hurt hearts, the recent gallant sacrifice of office for principle in Henry Wallace. Yet liberals everywhere must remember that every single one of those lieutenants of Roosevelt and knights of Democracy have left office only more resolutely resolved to keep alive the memory and spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Democratic Party as well as in the Nation. And we will find encouragement, not despair, even in these things, for as Jesus says, "Except

a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

We all deplore these things. Yet, do the Republicans offer anything better, or even half as good? Could progressives find their reputable and influential spokesmen in the discredited hierarchy in the ivory towers of the Old Guard, or at the Olympian heights of Wall Street - now, apparently not quite so high -- or in the top of the Tribune Building in Chicago where Zeus McCormick sits and reigns? Or have we among the Democratic leaders anybody with as rusty and antiquated an economic philosophy as Taft? Would putting Vandenberg in charge make the Peace Conference any better, or peace any more assured?

We know that every uncertainty there is about the peace in the Nation and the world today is largely attributable to the influence upon our foreign policy of those who believe in the exploitation of the resources, the labor and the living standards of the American people and who, of course, believe even more in the exploitation of the resources, the labor and the living standards of other people in other parts of the world. And we know that there are countless more of these people in the Republican Party than in the Democratic Party. And we know that if the Republicans gain control of the government of this country, instead of such spirit and such purpose being a minority in the councils of our country and in the framing of our policy, they would be a dictatorial and dominating majority. In short, we know what the foreign policy of America would be if it were dominated by the international cartelists John Foster Dulles, the indescribable Colonel Robert R. McCormick, and the other pillars of Republicanism, venerated or unvenerated in their continuing isolationism and rampant and bitter nationalism. You know that those who talk about our appeasement of Nations have overlooked the most costly appeasement price we have had to pay, that is the appeasement of the Republican Party in order to carry on any kind of foreign policy.

We have seen the Republican high command purge such liberals as Charles LaFollette, Bob LaFollette, and Joseph Clark Baldwin, for no other offense than they dared to vote many times with the Democrats and for the people. So the Republicans are allergic to Liberalism. They just can't stand it -- they break into a violent rash and see red when it appears, whether inside their ranks or out.

I ask progressives not at present in the Democratic Party to come into the Democratic Party because they can fight better and do more for Democracy with a little "d". I ask them to come into the Democratic Party so that they can take

part in Democratic primaries, in Democratic conventions, in the selection of progressive Democratic candidates; local, state and national, so they can help us liberal Democrats make the Democratic Party the true representative of the people of America, the real party of Jefferson and Jackson and Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

That is the reason that I advocated some time ago a national liberal democratic council, the substance of which I see here this evening, so that all of us in the Democratic Party who really believe in the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt and are fighting to put them into effect -- and that is the overwhelming majority of the Democrats of this country -- can work and fight together, keep in close touch with one another, plan together, burying our lesser differences in the common good and the common danger.

For today the battle goes against the things we believe in, in many areas. There is no hope of our winning this fight for progressive Democratic principles unless all the liberal progressive forces of this country work together. Labor will be subjected, when the Congress meets again, to another assault, even worse than it had to meet in the last Congress. The first steps and the propaganda for this assault have already begun. Labor must stand together. The masses of American farmers must stand together. The women of this country, must stand together. Small business must stand together to escape the juggernaut of increasing monopoly. The veterans must stand together. And all of these groups must stand together, and through their leaders, work and plan with each other, if we are to have a government that will truly serve the welfare of the masses of the people of this country in every walk of life.

The election of a Republican Senate and House majority would mean not only a majority of reactionary members in both houses of Congress, but both Houses organized by Republicans. The best Republicans would help put some of the worst Republicans in as Chairmen of the most important Committees. It would, in a time of crisis, paralyze the government in the midst of a political civil war in Washington.

I therefore urge the liberal and progressive people of the Nation, first to unite among themselves, then to come into the Democratic Party with their great undivided strength and spirit and finally, to a new resolve to fight on in this age old battle for the rights of man and the health and happiness of all. Our cause is just, our forces are strong. Let the command be, Forward to the unconquerable army of democracy.

For A. M. Release
Tuesday, October 8.

Department of Justice

Attorney General Tom C. Clark today announced the resignation of Joseph Borkin, chief economic adviser and attorney in the Antitrust Division.

Mr. Borkin entered the Antitrust Division in April, 1938, as chief of the patent unit. In this position he initiated and took charge of the investigation of patent abuses and cartels. Mr. Clark, in a letter accepting Mr. Borkin's resignation, said:

"It is with regret that I accept your resignation. I fully realize the necessity that causes you to leave government service. I recall with satisfaction the number of years we have worked together, both during the time that I was head of the Antitrust Division and as Attorney General. I deeply appreciate the service you have rendered your government and the Department of Justice. I recall the high praise bestowed upon you by President Roosevelt in May, 1959, when he said in a letter to you, 'a large part of the credit for the success of the glass patents and beryllium (cartel) hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee is due to the enthusiasm and energy of a group of really young men working under your direction.'"

When the Truman Committee was created Mr. Borkin acted as liaison to Senator Truman and organized and took charge of the presentation of the international cartel evidence before that committee.

During the past year he has acted in the dual role of chief economist and attorney in charge of the Scophony television case and headed Assistant Attorney General Borge's Policy Committee.

In his letter of resignation to Attorney General Clark, Mr. Borkin stated:

"After eight and one-half years of pleasant and instructive experience in the Department of Justice I now find that it is necessary, in the interest

PRESERVATION COPY

of the needs of a growing family, to submit my resignation as of October 15, 1940. I am aware that many people whose abilities far surpass my own have had to leave the government for the same reason. It is becoming more apparent that a government salary falls far below the levels of income of comparable position in private life. It is with reluctance that I sever my connection with government service to enter economic consultation work in Washington.

"My association with you, Thurman Arnold, Wendell Berge and many others will always be a source of stimulating and pleasant memories."

Mr. Borkin is a graduate of and holds a master's degree in economics from New York University and is a member of the Virginia Bar.

Wendell Berge

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
Washington

October 3, 1946

Dear Joe:

It is with the deepest regret that I have learned of your resignation from the staff of the Antitrust Division. I can appreciate the considerations arising out of the needs of your family which make necessary your decision to leave. I can only say that I consider it most unfortunate for the Antitrust Division that this decision is necessary and I want to tell you that we will miss you very much.

I also want to tell you how much I have appreciated the signal contribution you have made to the work of the Department, and your loyalty and devotion to the cause for which we have been fighting. Your vast background of knowledge and experience both in the economic and legal aspects of antitrust enforcement has made your work most important in the accomplishments of the Antitrust Division in recent years. I shall always especially recall your unusually able analysis of the relationships between patents, cartels and the antitrust laws. The initial studies which you made in this field some years back form the basis of much of our work, and your conclusions have been strongly supported by the court decisions in this field in recent cases.

I am sure that your experience and ability will guarantee your success in whatever field you choose to work. I wish you the greatest success and happiness in your future activities.

Cordially,

(Sgd.) WENDELL BERGE

Joseph Berkin, Esquire
Antitrust Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

PRESERVATION COPY

SENATOR PEPPER

SCHEDULE Oct. 16th ... Nov. 5th, 1946

COPY

Oct. 16 Lv Wash Capital Ltd (B&O) 5:30 PM

Oct. 17 Ar Chicago 8:15 AM

Spend day of Oct 17, in Chicago

Oct. 18 Lv Chicago 11:15 PM 10/17 (C.M.& St.P.RR)
Ar Minneapolis 9:20 AM 10/18

Oct 18 IN MINNEAPOLIS AND DULUTH

Luncheon meeting under auspices Independent Voters
J. M. Youngdale in charge

Evening meeting in Duluth

(Have asked John Jacobsen to make arrangements to
have you driven to Duluth for evening meeting under
auspices Democratic State Central Comm., and drive you
back to Minneapolis where you will spend the night
of Oct. 18th. He will make hotel reservations)

Oct. 19 Lv Minneapolis 9:10 AM (No. Pacific)
Ar Bismarck, ND, 7:02 PM

Meeting in Auditorium probably sponsored by Am. Vets Comm. 7 PM
Statewide radio hookup 9 to 9:15 PM
Don Hatcher will meet you and have hotel reservations.

Oct 20 Lv. Bismarck 12:05 Noon (No. Pacific)
Ar Minneapolis 9:27 PM
Lv Minneapolis 10:55 PM (C.M.& St. P.) same station
Oct 21 Ar Milwaukee 6 AM (can stay in car)

(If weather conditions permit you may be able to change
the railroad reservations and fly. The best plane
schedules are as follows:

Northwestern Airlines Lv. Minn 11:10 AM Ar Bismarck 1:50 PM
Lv. Bismarck 8:55 AM Ar Minn 11:50 AM
Lv. Minn 1 PM Ar Milwaukee 3:15 PM)

COPY

Oct 21 Ar Milwaukee 3:15 PM Evening meeting

Oct 22 Will arrange to have you driven from Milwaukee to the Racine-Kenosha (one meeting) ^{evening} and back to Chicago, where you will spend the night

Oct 23 Lv Chicago American Airlines 8 AM
Ar LaGuardia NY 12:20 PM
of KINGS COUNTY
American Labor Party Dinner at 7 PM. They want you for Reception at 6 PM
Reservation and Dinner at St. George Hotel, 51 Clark St. Bklyn

Radio WJCA about 10:04 PM to speak about the American Labor Party for six minutes. Your speech would be about 20 minutes, which evidently will precede the broadcast as they say they would be happy to have you speak longer after the broadcast. Will get further details. Johannes Steele will introduce you.

They would like advance copy of radio talk and text of speech or press release as soon as possible.

Mr. Lee J. Londer, Chairman, American Labor Party
26 Court Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Oct 23 Lv NY 11:35 PM (NYC)
Oct 24 Ar Detroit 1:15 PM 10/24

Evening meeting sponsored ~~BY~~ Dem Comm.
Gyril Bevin Nat. Committeeman in charge 2066 Penobscot Bldg, Detroit

Oct 25 Lv Detroit 12:50 PM (noon) (NYC)
Ar Chicago 5 PM 10/25
No details Chicago meeting NC PAC

Oct 26 Lv Chicago 9:30 AM (NYC)
Ar Detroit 3:35 PM 10/26
Gyril Bevin again in charge

COPY

~~Out:26~~ ~~Ar:Indianapolis:6:40 AM~~
~~Evening meeting~~

Oct 26 Lv Detroit 11:30 PM (NYC)
 Ar Indianapolis 6:40 AM 10/27

Oct 27 Evening Meeting 10/27 CIO Indianapolis

Oct 28 Evening Meeting Demo Comm (Pless Greenlee) Bedford, Ind.

Oct 29 Lv Indianapolis 2:05 PM (NYC)
 Ar Cincinnati 5:30 PM 10/29

Oct 29 CIO PAC evening meeting Cincinnati

Oct 29 Lv Cincinnati 12:10 Midnight 10/29-30 (B&O)
 Ar St. Louis 7:45 AM 11/30

Oct 30 Lv St. Louis 8:50 AM (Missouri & Pacific)
 Ar Kansas City 2:10 PM 10/30

OCT 30 KANSAS CITY NCPAC Evening meeting

Oct 31 Lv. KC 12:45 AM (Midnight 10/30)
 Ar St. Louis 6:20 AM 10/31
 Lv St. L. 10:15 AM
 Ar Cincinnati 6:05 PM 10/31
 Lv Cincinnati 6:30 PM
 Ar Huntington W. Va. 9:45 PM 10/31

Nov 1-2 In West Virginia

Nov 2 Lv Charleston at 10:15 PM or (same train)
 Huntington 11:59 PM
 Ar Pittsburgh 8:45 PM 11/3

Nov 3 Pittsburg meeting sponsored by ICC AND PAC

COPY

Nov 3. Lv Pgh 11 PM
Ar N.Y. 8 AM

Nov 4 NEW YORK LUNCHEON MC PAC

Nov 4 Lv Newark 6 PM EAL
Ar Jax 12:14 AM
Lv Jax HAL 7:15 AM
Nov 5 Ar Talla 8:25 AM

October 18, 1946

CP:

Since no one else has mentioned it to me, I am sure only you and I know your initials are the same as in "common people."

The common people will put in a Republican lower house. The reason is not that the common people have turned conservative. The true reason is that skipper Roosevelt tired and then died leaving a bungler at the steering wheel.

The people have no faith in a skipper Taft or a skipper Vandenberg; nor have they any faith in a skipper Byrd or a skipper Byrnes. If any of these four names were put up for President along side of yours and Henry Wallace on a free open American ballot without Party machinery, there would be no question at this moment that Henry Wallace would top and that you would not be the last one on the list. This is both a great gain for Henry and a great gain for yourself when measured purely in terms of common people.

This merely means that Truman is the deciding factor in the defeat ahead of us November fourth and probably our Democratic Party defeat in 1948.

There is only one possibility of working our way out between November fifth, 1946, and the eighteen months from that date. The Democratic Party must ditch Truman within its own organization. The Democratic Party state leaders must be positive. These leaders must stay within the Democratic Party because there is no organizational way to win what the people want in 1948.

This calls for most skillful as well as most positive restatement of the old issue "Human rights versus property rights"--in foreign and domestic black-board simplicity.

You remember your one man drive throughout the country against Vandenberg and Wheeler and Lindbergh. You also know that you can't beat somebody with nobody. You also know that Truman has committed political suicide.

The Party need not necessarily die with Truman. I envisage a coalition of practical Democratic state and city leaders with the Wallace-Pepper national leadership. Democratic job-holders and machine leaders do not want to commit suicide with Truman. This was shown when the Truman gang would have closed up

this campaign to Wallace and Pepper and were reversed by party strategists headed by Hannegan. Naturally the Byrnes-Baruch-Byrd wing would have muzzled Wallace and Pepper even if it meant certain Democratic defeat November fourth. The reason is that such men are truly bi-partisan leaders of a plunderbund.

LATER:

This is purposely left incomplete because I now believe Pepper should do a McAdoo.

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VERY TRULY YOURS

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper.)
For Release November 7, 1946

Dear Friends:

In my recent campaign tour, speaking for Democratic nominees, I also had a chance in every speech to put in something about Florida. All over the country there is a great interest in our state of Florida. Wherever I spoke I had somebody come up to me and tell me about having recently visited Florida or about intending to come down soon or about having relatives somewhere in the state. Those who haven't been to Florida look forward to the day when they can come either for a visit or to live. Away down in the mountains of southern West Virginia I was being driven to famous Mingo County by the sheriff. Imagine my surprise when he told me that he had considerable property in St. Petersburg and that he was looking forward to the day when he could move there and live permanently.

That is the reason I am looking forward to Florida having magic growth in the years ahead. The fact that our tax laws are fair and generous and that a homestead to the extent of \$5,000 is free of taxes will attract more and more people to come to spend their retirement in Florida.

Skilled workers I found also are anxious to know whether there is industry in Florida, whether they might go and work and at the same time live in a delightful atmosphere and climate. That suggests that someday Florida will be a great industrial state as they get better freight rates and water rates and airplane freight service. Industry is now largely getting machines and men together somewhere. Where could they be brought together under happier circumstances than in Florida? Of course, a lot of people still think of Florida as being just a tourist state, a place to come to play in the sunshine and that all we have to sell is golden citrus fruit and wonderful winter vegetables. They are astonished when I tell them that wages and salaries have increased in Florida during the war by 145 percent and that Florida has the highest per capita income of any southern state. They seem hardly able to believe it when I tell them that Florida is a great cattle state and that we have some ranches, such as the Lykes Ranch, the Brunson Ranch, and others that compare with the big ranches in Texas, Wyoming and Montana and that we are growing by leaps and bounds as a great cattle and livestock state. I am thinking of what L. B. McLeod of Orlando and others have done to build up Florida's cattle and livestock, lumber and naval stores industries, that the best sponges in the world are produced on the West Coast of Florida where we

have the most Hellenic city in the United States at Tarpon Springs, where so many of my good Greek friends live.

A lot of people know what President Roosevelt once told me that off the coast of Florida is the best sports fishing in the world, but they don't know that we also have a great commercial fishing industry in Florida, both on the East Coast and the Gulf Coast. They learn with interest that we have many mineral resources and other raw materials yet to be developed.

So while to most Americans Florida is still a land of sunshine, a sort of paradise where one can take it easy amid the delights of nature, it is more and more recognized as a land of opportunity where people who come in from the outside will be hospitably and warmly received if they show themselves worthy of confidence and interested in building a greater Florida. So many young veterans have told me that they served in Florida and that they are going back there because they regard it as a state of opportunity for young men and women. So if we can be a land of hope for the vigorous young and a land of comfort for the aged and a challenging opportunity for all we can be assured that our magic growth has only just begun.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

November 4, 1946, No. 83

EDITOR'S NOTE: "VERY TRULY YOURS" is intended to give you first-hand insight in Florida affairs at Washington. You may find this helpful in a number of ways—for your own information, background for editorials, news stories, or perhaps as a news column.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Marsh:

Will send you Senator Pepper's itinerary as soon as completed.

Here are the earliest ones:

Oct 9: Boston PAC

Oct 10: New Haven PAC

Oct 11: Undecided

Oct. 12: Pittsburgh Dem Nat Comm

Oct 13: Columbus PAC

Oct 14: Atlanta Georgia Citizens
Council.

More later.

Helen Robeson

SPEECH OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER - CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVES

Hotel Continental, Chicago, Illinois

September 28, 1946

We have won the greatest military victory of all time: against the most evil and sinister forces ever arrayed against God and man. But we have not yet won that oldest of wars, that struggle in which man has been engaged since he first broke upon the stage of history -- political and economic democracy and peace. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this fight to gain for all people the four freedoms declared by Franklin D. Roosevelt -- freedom of religion, freedom of speech and expression, freedom from fear and freedom from want. What man has gained in this struggle has been paid for in blood, in treasure, in spent lives, in sacrifice of happiness and comfort by countless millions of men and women such as are gathered here this evening--men and women, the very passion of whose lives has been the progress of people to richer, safer, happier lives. Such people, truly believing in progress, are rightly called progressives -- and history like your scars honors you and your kind.

Yet progressives do not rest upon their arms or their laurels. They are enlisted for the duration, and the duration for them means the war for the four freedoms and the Economic Bill of Rights of their leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt. And the duration means until that true peace, the kind of peace Franklin D. Roosevelt gave his life for, shall prevail, and there shall truly be goodwill among all men.

Knowing the bitter opposition to these aims, we are here today to tighten our own lines and to lay a pattern and plan which will make those of us who are here a more dangerous foe of Fascism and monopoly and exploitation and intolerance, more formidable friends of Americanism, Democracy, prosperity and peace. We are also here to lay the pattern and plan which will unite all others of like mind and spirit, all who have a kindred purpose with us, into a single, great invincible army, fighting for the well-being and the peace of our people.

We know that in place of depression and unemployment and war, we can keep good times, and yes, we can make them better. We can have the sixty million employed for which Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace pleaded. We can have higher wages for workers, and not only higher wages, but an annual guaranteed salary for the worker as well as for the corporation president. We can have more collective bargaining for labor. We can have a doctor, a hospital, a dentist, a nurse in hospital or home for every ill man, woman or child. We can have security for all those who reach sixty, men and women, without the humiliating means test. We can have security for the disabled, of whom there are a million and a half always in our land. We can have good markets for all manufacturers,

for the products of farmers and growers and livestock producers. We can have good business for the merchants, the bankers, for all business men, little or big. And we can have a prosperous trade for the Nation, and indeed for the world. We can have peace.

The job of progressives is to get those things for the people of this country -- and to organize the fight against those who would destroy them.

How are we going to get them? How are we going to carry on this fight?

The task immediately ahead of us is the election of a Congress that will work to get those things.

I was born and I shall die a Democrat. But I do not preach the infallibility of the Democratic Party or of Democrats. But a few reactionary principles and a few reactionary people in the Democratic Party do not blind me to the fact that the record of the Democratic Party is a surer road to humanitarian progress in the United States, than any other now before us, and that today the only hope of more democracy, and what you and I would call progressivism in the United States, is through the election in November of a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House.

The election of a Republican Senate and House in the first general election after World War II would mean, in my considered judgment, a return of this country to the same old road of depression and war to which the election of a Republican House in 1918, at the end of World War I, led us.

It must be the first and principal concern of every one who believes in a decent life and peace for the people of this country to see that that does not happen again.

The best way to keep what happened after the last war from happening again after this war is for the liberal progressive people of this country to do just exactly what we are doing this day in this conference -- to get together to declare our objectives and to formulate the best way to gain our high aims.

There are many who are disappointed with the things we haven't been able to do in the Democratic Party. They have seen many of the old faithfuls, some of you here this evening, whom they recognized as their kind of people and their spokesmen in the Democratic Party, leave office. They have seen, with hurt hearts, the recent gallant sacrifice of office for principle in Henry Wallace. Yet liberals everywhere must remember that every single one of those lieutenants of Roosevelt and knights of Democracy have left office only more resolutely resolved to keep alive the memory and spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Democratic Party as well as in the Nation. And we will find encouragement, not despair, even in these things, for as Jesus says, "Except

a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

We all deplore these things. Yet, do the Republicans offer anything better, or even half as good? Could progressives find their reputable and influential spokesmen in the discredited hierarchy in the ivory towers of the Old Guard, or at the Olympian heights of Wall Street - now, apparently not quite so high -- or in the top of the Tribune Building in Chicago where Zeus McCormick sits and reigns? Or have we among the Democratic leaders anybody with as rusty and antiquated an economic philosophy as Taft? Would putting Vandenberg in charge make the Peace Conference any better, or peace any more assured?

We know that every uncertainty there is about the peace in the Nation and the world today is largely attributable to the influence upon our foreign policy of those who believe in the exploitation of the resources, the labor and the living standards of the American people and who, of course, believe even more in the exploitation of the resources, the labor and the living standards of other people in other parts of the world. And we know that there are countless more of these people in the Republican Party than in the Democratic Party. And we know that if the Republicans gain control of the government of this country, instead of such spirit and such purpose being a minority in the councils of our country and in the framing of our policy, they would be a dictatorial and dominating majority. In short, we know what the foreign policy of America would be if it were dominated by the international cartelists John Foster Dulles, the indescribable Colonel Robert R. McCormick, and the other pillars of Republicanism, venerated or unvenerated in their continuing isolationism and rampant and bitter nationalism. You know that those who talk about our appeasement of Nations have overlooked the most costly appeasement price we have had to pay, that is the appeasement of the Republican Party in order to carry on any kind of foreign policy.

We have seen the Republican high command purge such liberals as Charles LaFollette, Bob LaFollette, and Joseph Clark Baldwin, for no other offense than they dared to vote many times with the Democrats and for the people. So the Republicans are allergic to Liberalism. They just can't stand it -- they break into a violent rash and see red when it appears, whether inside their ranks or out.

I ask progressives not at present in the Democratic Party to come into the Democratic Party because they can fight better and do more for Democracy with a little "d". I ask them to come into the Democratic Party so that they can take

part in Democratic primaries, in Democratic conventions, in the selection of progressive Democratic candidates; local, state and national, so they can help us liberal Democrats make the Democratic Party the true representative of the people of America, the real party of Jefferson and Jackson and Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

That is the reason that I advocated some time ago a national liberal democratic council, the substance of which I see here this evening, so that all of us in the Democratic Party who really believe in the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt and are fighting to put them into effect -- and that is the overwhelming majority of the Democrats of this country -- can work and fight together, keep in close touch with one another, plan together, burying our lesser differences in the common good and the common danger.

For today the battle goes against the things we believe in, in many areas. There is no hope of our winning this fight for progressive Democratic principles unless all the liberal progressive forces of this country work together. Labor will be subjected, when the Congress meets again, to another assault, even worse than it had to meet in the last Congress. The first steps and the propaganda for this assault have already begun. Labor must stand together. The masses of American farmers must stand together. The women of this country, must stand together. Small business must stand together to escape the juggernaut of increasing monopoly. The veterans must stand together. And all of these groups must stand together, and through their leaders, work and plan with each other, if we are to have a government that will truly serve the welfare of the masses of the people of this country in every walk of life.

The election of a Republican Senate and House majority would mean not only a majority of reactionary members in both houses of Congress, but both Houses organized by Republicans. The best Republicans would help put some of the worst Republicans in as Chairmen of the most important Committees. It would, in a time of crisis, paralyze the government in the midst of a political civil war in Washington.

I therefore urge the liberal and progressive people of the Nation, first to unite among themselves, then to come into the Democratic Party with their great undivided strength and spirit and finally, to a new resolve to fight on in this age old battle for the rights of man and the health and happiness of all. Our cause is just, our forces are strong. Let the command be, Forward to the unconquerable army of democracy.

TAMPA, FLORIDA
December 13, 1946

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)
For Release December 19, 1946

Dear Friends:

On the 9th and 10th, I spent two most interesting days visiting in West Palm Beach conferring with public officials and private citizens about matters of interest to them. On the 10th, I had the privilege of addressing a large meeting of the West Palm Beach Rotary Club, where I discussed my efforts to bring about a better understanding between the United States and Russia and all other countries, in order that we might look upon a future of peace and not have to go through the agonies and anguish of another war.

I stated that it would be my policy in the new Congress to regard all legislation strictly on merit. When the Republicans propose good legislation, I would support it, and if they offer legislation detrimental to the peace and security and well-being of the people, oppose it. I also voiced my hope that the Republicans would not allow this country to drop into the abyss of another depression, but if a depression began to appear upon the horizon, would set in motion, through the government, forces that would tend to prevent it or to soften its blow.

The afternoon of the 10th, I attended, with some 2,000 citizens along the East Coast, a public hearing before the Army Engineers in behalf of the opening of the San Sebastian Inlet. This Inlet certainly should be opened.

The 11th and 12th, I spent in Jacksonville. There I met with the City Commission, with the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors and saw many delegations of citizens. Among the delegations calling on me was a large delegation representing the veterans. I told them that I would try to prevent handicapped veterans from being let out of work, in case employees had to be laid off, that I was going to demand an investigation of the whole veterans' housing program when Congress convenes and that I did not favor at the present time the removal of all controls on rent. I did state publicly, however, that there were cases where rent adjustments could fairly be made in favor of the landlord and I wanted the local rent authorities, aided by local citizens' committees, to have authority to make such adjustments.

The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce wanted to know whether I favored removal of federal controls on business. I stated I did favor removal of all wartime controls on business and I wanted to see our economy become free again to the fullest possible extent. I said, however,

that I did not feel that we could remove controls on commercial construction until the home building program, particularly for veterans, got further along. I told the Board, however, that I did feel it proper for home construction of any sort to be permitted, that is, if a veteran could either himself build or get somebody else to build for him, other than the government, a home costing more than \$10,000, he should be permitted to do so.

I advised the Chamber that I was against Communistic infiltration in the government, that I favor, as far as possible, the balancing of the federal budget and also the reduction of income taxes, but I added that we have a big national debt and we must begin to reduce that and I do not want the national defense or other necessary governmental services to be impaired. Moreover, if income taxes are to be reduced, I wanted the poor to get the first benefit of the reduction and I do not just favor reducing taxes on those of high income without giving consideration to the burden of the people who need the most help.

I informed the Chamber also that I believe in local self government in all cases where local government can adequately deal with problems presented, but that certain problems were national in character like the national defense and many other matters that would have to be dealt with by the national government. I informed the Chamber also that I believe in the principle of incentive taxation for business, that is, rewarding business which carries on valuable research which gives employment when employment is short and which provides welfare funds for its workers, and in many other cases.

The Board asked me whether I would favor repeal of the Wagner Act and I stated that I would not, because the Wagner Act affords necessary and just protection to labor and to the working people generally, who are the backbone of the nation. I stated, however, that if there were amendments offered to this Act, which were just and fair, or if any other legislation affecting labor were just and fair, I would give it honest and open-minded consideration. Of course, I believe in both labor and management keeping its contracts. I don't want to see either group impose on the other and I want to see, as do all of us, high production and prosperity for both business and labor and the general public.

This is written from Tampa where I shall be today and tomorrow.

I wish, the next time you take a vacation, you would consider spending that vacation traveling over our Great State of Florida. It is a wonderful trip for you and I hope you will take it soon if you have not had it.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

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EDITORS NOTE: "VERY TRULY YOURS" is intended to give you first-hand insight in Florida affairs at Washington. You may find this helpful in a number of ways—for your own information, background for editorials, news stories, or perhaps as a news column.