

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 10, 1947

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)  
For release January 16, 1947

Dear Friends:

The Republicans have organized the Congress and have taken control with a firm hand. The Senate is meeting now on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and reserving Tuesdays and Thursdays primarily for Committee days. And the Republicans have taken over all the patronage and have even gone so far, without precedent, as to change the Chaplain in the Senate - a distinguished Methodist Minister in Washington - and put in their Chaplain.

I had a part, with Senator Taft, in working out the arrangement by which Senator Bilbo, while he is getting his dangerous operation, could continue to draw his salary, his mileage, and allotment for the payment of his office staff.

You may have seen that due to the seniority rule in the Senate I gave way on the Foreign Relations Committee to another Senator; but I was able to obtain Membership on the Senate Agriculture Committee. This is the first time in a long time any Florida Senator has been able to get Membership on the Agricultural Committee. With the great agricultural, horticultural and livestock interests we have in Florida, I feel this assignment gives me a better opportunity than I have ever had to help our State.

One of the things I am trying to get done is to get the Department of Agriculture to announce what parity payments on agriculture products will amount to before the farmer plants, rather than having him wait until just before the harvest to know just what the parity price will be and what he will get for what he has grown.

We have also got to stabilize farm prices for the farmers and growers at a decent level. If we can cover agricultural production with crop insurance and give the grower and the farmer a decent guaranteed minimum price, for what he grows, which he will know before the beginning of the crop, then for the first time we can achieve some measure of stability for the biggest industry this country has - agriculture.

I have just had a meeting with Florida Vegetable Growers Committee and we are working now on a permanent program for agricultural labor, under the Department of Agriculture, for the country. Hearings will begin on an early date on the reciprocal trade treaties, during which we will try to prevent vegetables from other countries coming into this country in a dangerous volume when our vegetables are in heavy supply on the market.

The President's message was well balanced and very moderate on labor legislation. I am generally in accord with him. It was fair and I believe most of the unions will go along with it. But the Republicans have already indicated they are out to strangle labor in the country. That I shall oppose.

The key to the welfare of this country is the welfare of the working man and the farmer. We have got to be fair to both, and of course in all cases we have got to be fair to the public.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

January 10, 1946 No. 90

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.

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 20, 1947

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)  
For release January 23, 1947

Dear Friends:

The Republicans are already backing water on some of their campaign promises. They promised to cut taxes, yet the Republican dominated Ways and Means Committee of the House has already resolved to carry on all of the so-called luxury taxes, a group of sales taxes, imposed during the war. They said they were going to cut personal income taxes, but now there is considerable doubt as to whether they are going to do that or not.

In the Senate, the Republicans are trying to whittle away the Reorganization of Congress Act. They are trying to set up again two big Special Committees which will have expensive investigating staffs and will require a lot of money otherwise, instead of making their investigations through standing committees of the Senate which already have staffs. Many suspect that the real purpose of the Republican effort to set up these two Special Committees is political. If we will stand by the Reorganization Act, which cut down Senate Committees, for example, from thirty-three to fifteen, and gave the Members of Congress better staff help on their committees, in their offices and in the Library of Congress than before, Congress will be the most efficient body it has been since it was established.

With Senator Holland, I had an interview with President Truman last week, in which I complimented the President upon the balance and fairness of his message to Congress. He said, "Yes, and you noticed I have not backed down on any of the progressive measures I have recommended in the past either." I told the President a group of us felt that his recommendations about labor were fair and that we were trying to get a bill drafted which would seek to enact his proposals, at which he was pleased. It would be the aim of such legislation to prevent jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts to enforce jurisdictional strikes. It would also attempt to prevent monopolistic practices on the part of big business which tends to strangle little business, as well as to oppress working men and women. A group of us have already introduced the legislation suggested by the President to set up a joint Committee of Congress, business, labor and public representatives to make a study of the whole subject of strife in industry.

A group of farm leaders are to be here to confer with our delegation about Florida farm problems tomorrow night.

Our Committee on Agriculture has now organized and we are asking the Secretary of Agriculture to come and give us his program to help agriculture in the coming years. We have got to fix it so the farmer will know by the time he plants his crop about what he is going to get for it. He can't afford to gamble with the weather and the market both. We have got to go on with the fight for better health, better housing, more electrification, and adequate telephone service for the farmer too.

Mr. Winston Churchill in London praised General Marshall to me in 1945 as, "the greatest man to emerge from the war." I predict he will make a great Secretary of State.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

January 20, 1947 No. 91

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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 27, 1947

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)  
For release January 30, 1947

Dear Friends:

Senator Holland received outstanding recognition among the new Senators by being appointed to the very important Committee on Rules, of which Senator Andrews was previously a member, and the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Last week I appeared with representatives of the citrus industry of Florida and other citrus growing states, before the Reciprocity Information Committee sitting to get information upon which future trade treaties will be entered into with other countries. We urged that other citrus growing countries not be allowed to send inferior citrus fruit into this country at a low tariff; that our government try to get Canada to lower its tariff on our fruit and Great Britain to take more of our fruit in Britain and trying to get Britain to enable other countries, tied into its money block, to buy from us. I expressed the hope that we could work out some sound trade agreement with other European countries including Russia, which could give us a market for our abundant citrus crop which now is over two hundred million boxes a year in the United States and will increase at ten million boxes a year for the next several years.

Our delegation appeared before a similar committee Friday last, urging fair protection of our fresh vegetable industry in the United States. We pointed out that in Florida we had about 225 thousand acres planted in fresh vegetables and that we shipped every year 75 to 100 thousand cars of such vegetables with an annual gross market value of a quarter billion dollars. I have supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements because the United States must stimulate world trade and commerce. We cannot be prosperous by selling alone. Other people must be able to sell us something they make or grow in order to be able to buy from us. But, we demanded that our Government give fair protection to this great Florida industry and either put the tariff rates on Mexican and Cuban vegetables back where they were under the Tariff Act or that they limit Mexican and Cuban vegetables to a narrow season when we could best stand the competition.

Secretary of Agriculture Anderson appearing last week before our Committee on Agriculture of the Senate, was encouraging about the future for agriculture in the country. Yet he recognized that the wellbeing of agriculture depended upon two factors: first, a high level of employment in the United States and, second, a good foreign trade.

When I have been supporting a high minimum wage and good wages generally for the nation's working men and women, and full employment for our people, I have been working just as hard for Agriculture as for Labor. And, when I have advocated loans to other countries and help to those countries in getting so they could buy again, I have been thinking not about charity but a good business investment for American business and agriculture.

President Truman stopped me in the receiving line at the Women's Press Club Reception last Thursday evening to compliment the fight I made with other Senators against the Republicans violating the spirit of the new Reorganization of Congress Act by setting up two special committees to do what standing committees are already authorized and staffed to do, in the first month of the new Congress.

But, in spite of our fight and four Republicans voting with us, Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel of Texas voting with the Republicans, they beat us and now you can expect some sensational headlines from the War Investigating Committee, you may depend upon it, largely at the expense of Democrats.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

January 27, 1947 No. 92

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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 31, 1947

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)  
For release February 6, 1947

Dear Friends:

Last week the delegations of Florida, Alabama and Georgia met in the Office of Senator George to see what we could do about getting funds with which to carry on our important Rivers and Harbors construction program, authorized by Congress. Among the projects, in which all three states were vitally interested was the project for the improvement of the Flint-Chattoahoochee-Apalachicola Rivers.

We have authorized an eighty million dollar program to build dams in these rivers for the production of power, to control floods and to improve navigation. As it is now, we have an appropriation of a little over a million dollars for this project, about three hundred thousand dollars of which is for planning and the remainder for the beginning of construction on one of the dams. However, the President, by an Executive Order, has held up the beginning of construction on this and all other New River and Harbor projects until after July 1. All of our delegations will probably shortly see the President about the whole subject.

I am trying to amend the GI Bill of Rights to make it give further help to veterans taking training or getting an education. Benefits now permitted under the GI Bill of Rights are not nearly enough to sustain the average veteran attending school. Dormitory and housing rentals have increased and the cost of living has risen so that thousands of our veterans have found it almost impossible to provide decent shelter, food, clothing and other essentials for themselves and their families on the present allowances. Many veterans are trying to work on the side, which interferes with their schooling, and even many find that not enough. The same applies to the veterans taking on the job training.

I am also trying to extend the training period for veterans to make it long enough to permit a veteran to become a doctor, dentist, chemist or other professional man or, if the veteran is a lady, to permit her to become a nurse or to qualify herself for any profession she desires to learn. Moreover, veterans, who do not now take advantage of the GI Bill of Rights because they happen to have a good job or be in some other way prevented from undertaking the training, should have the same chance later if they want to take advantage of it.

Republicans in Congress are now threatening to kill the Rural Electrification Administration. In 1935 when REA was created only fifty-seven hundred farm families or about eight per cent of our farm families in Florida enjoyed the use of electric power. Today, almost half of our farms, over forty-seven per cent, have electricity and more are getting it all the time. The REA has had a large part in bringing this boon to Florida farm families. For REA financed lines now extend into forty-three of Florida's sixty-seven counties. The example of REA has also had a stimulating influence upon private companies extending power into rural regions.

Remember that REA funds are not given, they are lent to co-operatives and, in some cases, to commercial power companies extending electricity to unserved rural people. The farmers who are members of these co-operatives are paying back this money. In fact, of all the money loaned, farmers kept their payments up so much that less than ten thousand dollars was as much as thirty days in arrears. Electricity on the farm has changed farm life both for the farmer and the farm wife, who now finds herself relieved of much of the drudgery which farm life previously demanded.

The rural health program of the Farm Security Administration has been practically cut out. These are just straws in the wind to indicate that step by step, both in domestic and foreign policy, the program of President Roosevelt for the people is being eaten away.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

January 31, 1947 No. 93

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***Where Is the Republican Party's  
Foreign Policy Taking the  
United States?***

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**Speech of  
Hon. Claude Pepper  
of Florida  
in the  
Senate of the United States  
February 5, 1947**

***Not printed  
at Government  
expense***

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SPEECH  
OF  
**HON. CLAUDE PEPPER**

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Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, upon the very eve of the all-important Foreign Ministers' Conference at Moscow, to determine the future of Germany and therefore, in the light of history, the future of war in the world, we have from Mr. John Foster Dulles, famed Republican adviser on foreign policy, speaking to the National Publishers' Association on the 17th day of January past, the latest declaration of Republican policy on Germany and the forces making for peace or war.

I rise to discuss this important pronouncement of Republican foreign policy by Mr. Dulles not in the mechanical terms of a soft peace or a hard peace for Germany. My concern is a just peace, and a lasting peace, a peace that will insure that the next generation of Americans will not have to slog through the muddy fields of another Flanders, as did their grandfathers in 1918, or dive into the same foxholes in Normandy which sheltered their fathers in 1944.

It is then from the standpoint of a just and lasting peace that I must take issue with this new proposal of Mr. Dulles, which so clearly and unmistakably would smash the terms of the Potsdam Agreement and replace it with the dangerous and discredited doctrine of a western bloc and the rebuilding of a powerful Germany.

This statement from Mr. Dulles comes on the heels of a series of declarations by  
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Republican leaders on the political and economic aspects of our foreign policy. The able Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, speaking recently at Cleveland, ignored the announced recommendation of General Marshall and threw his full weight, without qualification or reservation, behind the Chinese faction which General Marshall had found corrupt, incompetent, and, in a large measure, anti-democratic.

In the same Cleveland address the Senator from Michigan would have us lead our sister American Republics into a common hemispheric defense pact with Argentina, in the face of the stern declaration by the then Secretary of State, Hon. James F. Byrnes, that Argentina had not purged itself of its fifth column of Nazis or its Nazi confederates.

Within the past few weeks leading Republican House Members have introduced legislation to suspend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act; and on this floor the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] has denounced the Trade Agreements Act as a gigantic hoax, provoking the New York Times to inquire in a recent editorial, "Which way for Republicans?"

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD at the end of my remarks the editorial referred to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Nebraska said that he spoke for himself,

but at the same time, according to the press, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and other leading Republicans advised the Under Secretary of State, Mr. William L. Clayton—and I quote their words—"not to go too far"; that is, not to exercise his full authority under the Trade Agreements Act.

During the past week, Republican Senators HICKENLOOPER, KNOWLAND, and VANDENBERG insisted, in hearings on the confirmation of the Atomic Energy Commissioners, that the military be allowed to sit in on every session of the Commission in such a way that it would virtually become an integral part of the Commission. "Liberalism suggests the reversal of the decision duly made by the President and the Congress that, true to the traditions of our Government, the civil authority shall always be superior to the military. Such suggestions moved the Washington Post, in a recent editorial, to say:

It is an issue which ought never to have arisen in a free society. The very consideration of it suggests a condition of panic. For the subordination of the military to civil authority is the cornerstone of the concept of government by consent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Post editorial referred to be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. PEPPER. So now, in the short space of a few weeks, in a series of declarations supporting reaction in China and Argentina, trying to reverse our

trade-agreements program for international economic collaboration, and repudiating Potsdam, the Republican Party has emerged from the cloak of a bipartisan foreign policy and is causing more and more concern to people who ask whether it is the same Republican Party with the same policy which undermined the foundations of peace and prosperity after the First World War.

Mr. Dulles, its chief spokesman, speaking on the 25th of January to a Republican women's organization, has served notice on the people of the United States and of the world in unmistakable words that the only bipartisan foreign policy his party will agree to must be their policy. I quote from his address, as reported in the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, January 26, 1947:

A Democratic President and his Secretary of State can propose, but a Republican Congress can dispose. Foreign diplomats know that, and they suspect what we know—that 2 years from now, a Republican will be in the White House. So these foreign governments will not take very seriously American proposals which are backed only by the Democratic Party.

Like many other Americans, I have sensed a steady and growing Republican pressure to force our foreign policy away from the policy of firm international collaboration for peace so carefully built by President Roosevelt. At times I have felt that the administration has been called upon to pay too high a price, under those circumstances, for bipartisanship in our foreign policy.

But now, in his speech of January 17, which goes to the very core of the peace problem, the chief Republican spokesman

on foreign policy, Mr. Dulles, so completely ignores the Potsdam agreement, solemnly entered into by this Government, and all that has been done under it, including territorial changes and the moving of millions of people from or to distant homes, that I wonder if he is meaning to suggest not only that the Republican Party will be decisive in all future agreements entered into by this Government but also that any agreements entered into in the past without Republican representation are not to be regarded by the world as binding. Surely those powers which have been concerned that the United States has already been whittling away at the integrity of the Potsdam agreement, solemnly entered into by our Government, will not have their confidence in the integrity of the Potsdam agreement enhanced by any such declaration on the part of so eminent a Republican spokesman as Mr. Dulles, especially when he presumes to speak with the authority of both the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the titular head of the Republican Party. For in his address Mr. Dulles declared that he had cleared his speech with the Senator from Michigan and Governor Dewey.

In order to understand clearly how far Mr. Dulles and the Republican Party propose to thrust this Nation and the world along a new path in foreign policy by subverting the Potsdam agreement—and lest it be obscured by those cunning interpreters who seek to obliterate great differences by small words—let us examine what Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States sought to accomplish at Potsdam. It was the industrial and

military disarmament of Germany, the sterilization of Germany as a war-making power which they sought at Potsdam. The problem the Allies faced at Potsdam and the importance of the solution were brilliantly formulated by America's distinguished elder statesman, Mr. Bernard Baruch, in his testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee:

No more important question ever will come before you than this one—of how to prevent the revival of Germany's war-making might. It is the heart of the making of the peace; it is the heart of the keeping of the peace. What is done with Germany holds the key to whether Russia, Britain, and the United States can continue to get along. It will affect profoundly the jobs and livelihoods of everyone, everywhere, for none of the economic problems of the peace can be solved except in the light of German reparations policy and the measures taken to demilitarize Germany's traditional war economy.

It was against the Prussian-dominated, conquest-mad, inhumanly savage Germany, which had made criminal war upon France three times and upon Europe and the world twice in 70 years, that the agreement was drawn at Potsdam in the summer of 1945, by the nations that had borne the anguish of Germany's two wars of conquest in a quarter of a century. Churchill, Attlee, Stalin, Roosevelt, Truman, Byrnes, Marshall, Harriman, and many more helped fashion the instrument to remove the claws from this war maker.

The Potsdam agreement, hailed throughout the world not as the savage, but as the solemn, resolve of her victims at long last to stop Germany's war making, strove relentlessly to cut out the very

war-making organs from the German body. It provided for the prosecution of German war criminals of all kinds; for getting the Nazis out of any sphere of leadership in German life; for the eradication of Germany's military machine, including the general staff; for the industrial disarmament of Germany by the removal of the industrial equipment with which Germany prepared for and waged war, and such tight control over the German economy that while it would produce for the German people a standard of living equal to the average of European nations it would provide no margin for war making. Under the agreement, a dual purpose was served in the detachment from Germany of a portion of her eastern territory, namely, the partial compensation of Poland for territory awarded to the Soviet Union in line with the Curzon Commission award, and putting Polish and Soviet power in those areas, notably Prussia, where in the past German offensives have been conceived, mounted, and launched.

Potsdam did not destroy the German Nation or the German people, nor did it condemn the German people to poverty. On the contrary, let me repeat that it allowed the German people a level of living equal to the average living level of their neighbors in Europe. It contemplated that they could and would enjoy the blessings of democratic government and continued unity as a nation and people. But, if carried out, Potsdam did mean that Germany would never again be able to wage war upon the world, and Potsdam did mean that Germany should continue to be the common concern of those nations who had been her major

victims, and not the shameless ally of any of her victims against the others in any future plans or any future war. I declare that nothing has been said by President Truman or Secretary Byrnes or, so far as I know, until Mr. Dulles spoke, by any American representative for foreign affairs which has altered this basic concept of our duty to American dead who lie all over the world today, victims of criminal German wars.

The architects of Potsdam knew the German and the European economies. They knew that Germany's war weapons were forged in the German industrial areas of the Ruhr and the Rhineland, and that in this area lay not only the threat of another war but the cruel mastery of the whole European economic system as well. Rather than rely upon the cooperation of many hands to restrain a new German giant in the future, the men at Potsdam wisely chose to keep Germany from becoming a giant again. In short, they proposed by the removal of industrial equipment from the Ruhr and the Rhineland, along with the alienation of the industrial area of Upper Silesia, to shear the hair of the German industrial Samson and to keep it shorn. German war-making plants were to be removed to countries in western and eastern Europe which had been the victims of the German war, as partial reparations for the devastation wrought.

Now Mr. Dulles, making a major foreign-policy speech dealing with the future of Germany—a speech which he says has the approval of Senator VANDENBERG and Governor Dewey—upon the very eve of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, turns his back upon

the Potsdam agreement. What does Mr. Dulles propose in its place?

First. He proposes that the Rhineland and the Ruhr, with their vast industrial resources, shall not be industrially disarmed, but that instead their power be revived—a power whose only justification in the past was warfare, military and economic.

Second. Mr. Dulles proposes that this revived industrial heart of Europe be integrated in some unspecified fashion into the economy of three western European countries—France, Belgium, and Holland.

Third. He proposes a federal form of government for Germany.

Using the loose analogy of the American form of government, Mr. Dulles says that—

Such precedents suggest that it is not beyond human resourcefulness to find a form of joint control which will make it possible to develop the industrial potential of western Germany in the interest of the economic life of western Europe, including Germany.

I deliberately emphasize the last words, for these are the heart of his proposals.

Mr. Dulles obviously proposes to nullify the spirit and letter of the Potsdam agreement. His proposals would restore to Germany the power to wage war upon the United States and the world and to dominate the economies of western and eastern Europe, all of necessity, of course, with American capital. They would continue the rule of cartels in world trade; they would create a blood clot in the arteries of the United Nations by setting up a western bloc based upon a restored Germany and directed against the assumed threat of eastern Europe.

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Here is a blind repetition of the criminal folly committed after the last war, when Germany was rearmed, allegedly against eastern Europe; but in fact a monster was created, destined to devour tens of millions of men, women, and children of the world, including half a million Americans.

To see more clearly the threat to the peace of the United States and of the world contained in Mr. Dulles' proposal to rearm Germany industrially and to create a western bloc, let us go back to the tragic era between the last two wars. France, bled and battered by two German invasions in 44 years, protested to the limit of her ability against adding strength to a Germany which, though defeated, emerged from World War I potentially the strongest nation in Europe. But the powers did not heed France's entreaty. Ostensibly frightened by the bogey of the new Soviet Union, the powers, step by step, restored and rearmed Germany; yes, they even armed Hitler.

Mr. Dulles himself, in his book, *War, Peace, and Change*, published in 1939, justifies this policy. Said he:

Far from being sacred, it would be iniquitous, even if it were practicable, to put shackles on the dynamic peoples (the new Fascist regimes) and condemn them forever to acceptance of conditions which might become intolerable.

Even as late as 1939, Mr. Dulles could not see a rearmed, Nazi, Hitler-led Germany as any threat to us, for he said:

Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us.

To build her war weapons, with which she nearly conquered the world, Germany had steadily altered and expanded her economy until nearly 50 percent of it was directly devoted to war-making purposes. In building up that economy, she had designedly, but deviously, come to dominate the trade of the nations of Europe. It was this German economy, organized and expanded as it was, which was the real war-making power of Germany. Its coming to fruition was the death sentence, Mr. President, to 50,000,000 men, women, and children, including nearly half a million Americans, in the space of 6 years.

It was the unspeakable crime which this Germany perpetrated upon mankind which moved Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, testifying before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on June 22, 1945, to warn:

Economically, this settlement (referring to the peace settlement) must break once and for all Germany's dominance of Europe. Her war-making potential must be eliminated; many of her plants and factories shifted east and west to friendly countries; all other heavy industry destroyed; the Junkers estates broken up; her exports and imports strictly controlled; German assets and business organizations all over the world routed out.

Those who studied Germany, after the end of the war, discovered that all the damage inflicted upon Germany during the war had not destroyed her war-making power. In December 1945, the Foreign Economic Administration of our Government stated:

Although today Germany is militarily defeated, and its economic life is temporarily at a standstill, the industrial base of its aggression—the base which it built up over the

last 25 years, and which enabled it nearly to conquer the world—is virtually untouched. With industrial capacity, technological and scientific organization, and economic assets owned outside Germany, and an integrated control of a highly centralized economy, Germany is still a potential threat to the safety of the world.

It is known that neither the German people nor the German economy suffered so much in the war as did their victim neighbors in Europe. In fact, it was a calculated part of Hitler's sinister strategy that if Germany should lose the war, it would still win it by emerging stronger than its neighbors whom he, with fiendish design and efficiency, murdered, tortured, diseased, starved, and plundered. Five million Jews alone in Europe he butchered. Generations cannot repair the strength of the peoples of Europe which he sapped, and for decades Europe will suffer from the economic debility and chaos into which he thrust it.

Perhaps the peace of the world would better be served if the newspapers were to publish each day a small box on their front pages, showing the diets and standards of living of the countries of Europe. Let me read you from a New York Times story of Monday last, headed, "World Food Survey Shows Where Aid Still Is Needed. War's Hunger Aftermath Hitting Hardest at China, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia—End of UNRRAa Blow." The story is a round-up from New York Times correspondents all over the world. The story from Belgium is headed "Belgium's status good"—and points out that the basic ration in Belgium provides 1,503 calories. The story from Germany, on the other hand, is headed, "Germans pull in belts"—and

what is the basic ration in Germany? It is higher than the basic ration in Belgium—1,550 daily calory ration—and the authorities are planning to raise it to 1,800 calories. So powerful is the reactionary propaganda today looking to the rebuilding of Germany that the higher rations of the aggressor are bewailed, while the lower rations of the nation she overran are considered good. I had not expected to see international policy based on the maudlin sentiment of those who weep over the sad plight of the convicted criminal while ignoring the victims he maimed or killed.

To realize the full force of Mr. Dulles' proposals to rebuild Germany, let us contrast them for a moment with Mr. Baruch's advice on the eve of Potsdam:

Mr. Baruch says: "Economically, this [German] settlement must break once and for all Germany's domination of Europe." But Mr. Dulles would restore Germany's domination of Europe.

Mr. Baruch warns: "[Germany's] war-making potential must be eliminated." But Mr. Dulles would rebuild that war-making potential.

Mr. Baruch says the method of disarming must be removal—"Many of [Germany's] plants and factories shifted east and west to friendly countries." But Mr. Dulles would halt the transfer of German plants and factories—few would go to the west, and none to the east.

Mr. Baruch says, "All other [German] heavy industry must be destroyed." But Mr. Dulles would keep German heavy industry working at high levels. He would destroy none of the heavy industries that provide the sinews

of war, and would even rebuild those that are destroyed or damaged.

Now this proposal of Mr. Dulles is not basically new, although it wears a new guise. It is the dangerous doctrine of all those who have been seeking for almost 30 years to pit west against east, to use Germany as the industrial and military wedge to split the world in two. It was the doctrine that motivated the loan of billions of dollars for rebuilding Germany after World War I. It is the doctrine which animated Tory appeasement of Germany under Baldwin and Chamberlain. It was the doctrine that brought the closest collaboration of British, French, and American monopolists with their German counterparts. And it was the doctrine of Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech, which the American people generally repudiated. It is a doctrine not of the millions of American voters who supported the Republican Party but rather of a handful of American monopolists, bankers, and banker-generals, who have dominated its policies since the War Between the States.

Mr. Dulles knows that his proposal would nullify the spirit and purpose of the Potsdam agreement. He knows that the restoration of the industrial strength of the Ruhr and the Rhineland under German ownership in alliance with a western bloc will deprive the nations in other parts of Europe of the benefits of German production; will keep the economies of other nations in Europe hobbled in relation to Germany; will keep eastern Europe, which needs industrialization more than any other part of Europe, a continued prey to German domination; will retain Germany's economic



mastery over Europe; will lead, of necessity, to demand for American capital to restore the industrial capacity he envisages; will lead inevitably to new cartel agreements to fit Germany into world trade; and, finally, that it means that Germany is again prepared for war, not only upon eastern Europe, but upon western Europe, the United States, and the world.

Mr. Dulles knows that his plan is designed to ally a reborn Germany with the west of Europe against the east of Europe. He knows the effect of such a proposal is permanently to divide the wartime allies, to give provocation to those forces in east and west who are already disposed to distrust each other.

Mr. Dulles knows that what has moved him in drawing his plan is his hatred for the Soviet Union and that, in the hope that Germany would use it again against eastern Europe and especially the Soviet Union, he has been willing to propose to put in Germany's hands another sword like unto that with which she was armed by the short-sighted such a few years ago and with which she has drawn rivers of blood from suffering mankind not only in the Soviet Union but in America and over the world.

I declare, Mr. President, that Mr. Dulles by proposing to rearm Germany for any reason threatens war to his own country and his own kind. He is opening again the shameless doors of another Munich leading to what will be the world's worst war.

It must be a matter of great concern not only to the powers of eastern Europe and the Balkans, but no less to France,

Belgium, and Holland, as well as the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries, to hear Mr. Dulles' proposal for the restoration of Germany's industrial war-making power. Let me emphasize that France does not propose control of the Rhineland exclusively by the Western powers. Those nations, I believe, have learned from sad experience—which in some cases has brought back to them the harvest of their own tragic errors—a lesson Mr. Dulles appears not to have learned, namely, that Germany, by history written in blood, is public enemy No. 1 among the nations and peoples of the world.

I say such a proposal coming from Mr. Dulles must be of great concern to all the nations of Europe because of Mr. Dulles' known position and his announcement that he speaks with the approval of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the titular head of the Republican Party, dominant in the American Congress.

I will not anticipate what will be the influence of Mr. Dulles' declaration, so authenticated, upon the course of Secretary Marshall at Moscow.

For my part, I can only hope and believe that Secretary Marshall—having personally fought German militarism in two wars, and knowing the price of both victories, having been at Potsdam and being sustained by the President, and by the people of this country who fight and pay the price of wars—will go on in the spirit of Potsdam, and, before God and mankind, solemnly covenant and cooperate with all peace-loving nations to save the world from another war.

I believe and hope:

That we shall speed up the prosecution of war criminals in Germany, whether militarists, industrialists, or officials;

That we shall continue the purge of Nazis from all leadership in German life;

That we shall stamp out all forms of militarism in Germany, and particularly the devilish German staff, which has thrice fomented German war;

That we shall effectively disarm Germany industrially so that she shall not have the power to wage war, removing as reparations for the countries which suffered from German devastation all the German plant capacity not necessary to maintain an average European level of living for the German people.

Mr. President, we may have different opinions in America about the policy of Generalissimo Joseph Stalin, but I believe all Americans generally will agree with one remark he made to me in an interview in Moscow in 1945, when, with the utmost solemnity, he pressed his fist against the table and said, "Never again must Germany and Japan be permitted to become able to wage war upon the world."

Mr. President, further I believe and hope:

That German exports and imports shall be properly controlled;

That neither German militarists nor industrialists shall be allowed to plan another war or to conceal their war-making power in any part of the world including Spain and Argentina;

That German education and German life will be infused with democracy and that only democratic elements, parties, and forces, in Germany will be recog-

nized or assisted by any of the Allied Powers;

That the program shall be administered by an international authority based on the Big Three and the other countries most concerned.

Such a policy, Mr. President, can and will, I submit, lead the world to peace through the United Nations. Such a policy will avoid the road to war through the gates of a cartel internationale to the strains of a hymn of hate.

I shall say no more in criticism of Mr. Dulles' proposal, but since Mr. Dulles, as chairman of an honored church committee, speaks inevitably with the prestige conferred by that high office, I shall leave it to an organ of the Episcopal Church to sum up the case against Mr. Dulles' proposal. In its issue of January 30, the weekly magazine, the Witness, on whose board of editors sit some of the most influential clergymen of that church, we find the following judgment:

It is the obligation of the people of those churches to inquire whether his (Mr. Dulles') proposal moves in the direction of the just and durable peace they have commissioned him to seek, also whether it is in harmony with the principles set forth in what is popularly called the social creed of the churches. \* \* \*

What pagan logic of geopolitics is it that wants "to find a form of joint control which will make it possible to develop the industrial potential of western Germany in the interest of the economic life of western Europe \* \* \*"? Does the sacredness of personality stop at that line? Are the people of eastern Europe to be denied the equal rights to all available opportunities for development, which has been a basic principle in all versions of the church's social creed from the first draft? been a basic principle in all versions of the church's social creed from the first draft? \* \* \*

The road to moral influence is the same as the road to peace. It is the cooperative use of economic power for the development of all the peoples of the earth according to those principles which were set forth by our churches long before they were ever embodied in the Atlantic and United Nations Charters.

Since Mr. Dulles' plan is contrary to these principles, he should be asked to resign as chairman of the commission of a just and durable peace of the Federal Council of Churches and from his positions of leadership in the World Council of Churches.

Mr. President, while Mr. Dulles works to rebuild the industrial mastery enjoyed by western Germany, other Republicans complete the tragic picture by urging the return to eastern Germany of those provinces now occupied by Poland under the Potsdam agreement. I shall not argue the historical and ethnic claims of Poland to that territory, valid as they are. I point now only to the incalculable mischief such a proposal involves—the deepening of distrust and suspicion between East and West, the encouragement of the always dangerous German supernaturalism, the misery, privation, and despair of millions of Poles who are now permanently settled—at least they believe so—in those provinces. A Polish industry has been painfully built up there; Polish farms are now beginning to flourish there; and historic Polish institutions of learning, having been laboriously transplanted from the East to Silesia, hundreds of miles, are now creating a new Polish culture in those very same provinces which once gave birth to that culture.

In the light of the recent Republican declarations with respect to China, Argentina, the reciprocal trade agreements

program, and the military control of atomic energy and now capped by the open repudiation of Potsdam, as many believe, and the proposal to set up a western bloc incorporating an industrially rearmed Germany—I say, Mr. President, in the light of these pronouncements, let us ask the question which the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] once asked about the policy of one of our allies: What is the Republican Party up to?

We cannot tell, after 1 month of Republican domination in the Congress what will be the ultimate destination of the party, but we are beginning to be able to tell at least the direction in which it is going. Enough points put down in sequence will begin to form a line.

If what has been said by Republican leaders is a clear indication of the direction of the Republican Party, it only remains to determine how far the line will reach and with what speed it will be continued. The Republican Party is convicted before history of leading this country in the period between two wars through the gates of alleged collaboration to the treacherous path of isolation in the political and economic affairs of the world. In that period this policy of isolation generally took the negative form. It kept us out of the League of Nations, the World Court, and economic collaboration. But it gave us also in world politics and world economics the strategy of dollar diplomacy. The Government was not used on behalf of the people for peace, but, too often, on behalf of the corporations for profit.

We saw American policy under Republican leadership relieve Germany from

paying her due reparations, and instead, American loans, billions of dollars of them, were given to Germany, making us, knowing or unknowing, collaborators in the policy embraced by some European nations of building up a strong Germany as a buffer state against eastern Europe.

We saw a majority of the Republican Party prior to the war oppose the effort of the Government first to throw its weight against Hitler aggression; second, to rearm this country for its own security; and third, to assist the victims of Hitler's aggression, even with economic aid. We know now how dangerously near the brink of disaster those policies brought America and the rest of the world. I will add with pleasure that with the outbreak of war, and through the war, and in many instances since the war, the Republican Party, acting through the able senior Senator from Michigan, reversed its old policy and rendered a valuable contribution not only in winning the war but in laying the foundations of a stable peace in an orderly world.

But, Mr. President, what many people of America feared when the Republican Party came to power after the last war was whether it would carry through with its promised collaboration. It did not do so last time. Many voters in the election of 1920 considered the Republican Party the best vehicle to achieve United States entry into the League of Nations, and many Republican leaders of great stature, such as Ex-President Taft and Mr. Elihu Root, campaigned upon such a platform, but after his election President Harding declared, "The League is dead."

The question today in the minds of every nation in the world—yes, the ques-

tion in the minds of the ordinary man and woman in America who wants peace through international working together, is, Will America this time move forward upon a high course or will it go back to the tragic road it followed after the last war? It was the Republican Party which gave America direction at the end of the last war and took us down into the abyss that led eventually to depression and war. The Republican Party is again in control of Congress. Again it must assume the responsibility of giving direction to America's course in the world. If the Republican Party fails America it will make America fail the world again.

If these statements of Republican leaders—and they are not all I could name—are any sign, if they are a sign in the political sky, even though no larger than a man's hand, of the direction of the Republican Party, the course it is following is ominous to the future of America and to the future of the world.

That is the reason, Mr. President, I now call attention to it, with the candor and directness which the gravity of the situation warrants. I raise this issue so that this question as to where we are headed can be asked of their party by the rank and file Republicans of this country—by all people who want peace, who want international prosperity, with full employment and well-being at home. It is in the early stages of a disease when care and treatment may prevent long illness or death itself.

If these declarations of responsible Republican leaders are not in the direction that the rank and file of the Republican Party and, indeed, the rank and file of the American people want and so

earnestly pray for, it is time that the leaders reexamine their declarations and their steps and, before it is too late, turn about to the course which will be in accord with the ancient democratic, nonimperialistic traditions of America, which will bring us into cooperation with the truly democratic forces and peoples of the world, which will make American leadership the way, not of war and poverty, but of peace and plenty for mankind.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From the New York Times of January 29, 1947]

#### WHICH WAY FOR REPUBLICANS?

In his attack on the Hull reciprocal trade-agreement program as "a gigantic hoax on the American people," Senator BUTLER, of Nebraska, says that he is speaking for himself alone and not for the new Republican majority in Congress. We hope that on this issue he will continue to speak for himself alone, or at most for a small company of like-minded colleagues, and that this first blast in the new Senate against the Hull program does not forecast a breaking (on economic grounds) of the present bipartisan front on questions of foreign policy and a return by the Senate Republicans to their prewar position of economic isolation.

What is this gigantic hoax about which Mr. BUTLER is aroused? It is a 12-year-old plan, carefully worked out in theory and in practice, to reduce tariff rates moderately and gradually, in return for equivalent reductions by other nations, in order to widen the area within which goods can be profitably exchanged. The plan is strongly supported, on the basis of experience, by many of our most important, and certainly our most far-sighted business, financial, and farm interests. Its advantages are many-sided. It opens markets for American products. It brings foreign products within reach of the

American consumer, who, is precisely the same person as the American producer, and thereby serves as a check on an inflationary rise of prices. It strengthens the economy of those nations which believe with us in the merits of the free-enterprise system. It strengthens the free-enterprise system here at home, because it encourages the expansion of production; and the alternative to an expansion of production, as we have seen from fairly recent experience, is curtailment of crops and industrial output on the Government's initiative (AAA and NRA) and an inevitable increase of that very governmental regimentation which the Republicans themselves profess to abhor. Finally, this Hull program corresponds with the realities of our creditor position as a nation.

Here is the United States, with about \$11,-000,000,000 of its privately owned capital invested abroad and with more billions of public funds outstanding in foreign countries in the form of the lend-lease settlements, the new credit to Britain and constantly increasing loans (for essential and commendable purposes) being made by the Export-Import Bank from day to day. How are interest and principal on this huge public and private investment to be paid? It cannot be paid in gold, for we have already cornered most of the world's monetary gold and we could not put any more gold to good use even if we got it. It cannot be paid in silver, for we have enough silver mines of our own. It cannot be paid in foreign paper money, for we will not accept paper money in such transactions, and the paper would be of no value to us if we did, unless we converted it into foreign goods. Foreign goods, in short—goods we need and can use and will buy if they become available without the penalty of too high tariffs—provide the only medium through which international obligations can be settled. Any proposal to increase the difficulties in the way of such settlement is sheer folly from the point

of view of a creditor nation like the United States.

There is an immensely practical political consideration in all this, as well as the considerations which arise from a sound view of public policy. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Republican Party has benefited greatly, in a political way, from the broad bipartisan agreement which has been achieved on such questions as the United Nations, on Russia, and on the atomic bomb. The existence of this broad agreement on foreign policy has made it possible for the Republican Party to rid itself, in the eyes of the independent voters of the country, of much of the old and unfortunately well-earned charge of prewar isolationism, and enabled it to focus the attention of the voters, and particularly of the independent voters, on the domestic, and more vulnerable, record of the Democratic Party during the long period of its present ascendancy in Washington. This advantage will be lost, and the Republican Party will find itself once more in the position of having to convince the independent voters that it is not the party of isolation, if Senator BUTLER, of Nebraska, is permitted to lead a Republican crusade against the Hull trade program.

#### EXHIBIT 2

[From the Washington Post of January 29, 1947]

#### ATOMIC HEARINGS

The old issue of civilian versus military control of atomic energy, threshed out and seemingly settled in the long debate last summer over establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission, has been raised again in Senate hearings on the confirmation of David E. Lillenthal. It is an issue which ought never to have arisen in a free society. The very consideration of it suggests a condition of panic. For the subordination of the military to civil authority is a cornerstone of the con-

cept of government by consent. It is astounding to find this principle called into question by men of Senator VANDENBERG's or Senator MILLIKIN's caliber.

Senator MILLIKIN asked Mr. Lillenthal on Monday: "Why shouldn't the military liaison board sit in on all Atomic Energy Commission meetings? What would be the difficulty?" It is a testimonial, we think, to Mr. Lillenthal's self-control and tact that he was able to treat this query as a rational one. The answer, of course, is that this would put the Army precisely in the position from which the Senate with so much difficulty ousted it last summer—on the Commission itself. The long contention between the House and Senate, between the May-Johnson bill and the McMahon bill, was whether the military, as such, should have Commission membership. Senator VANDENBERG, out of a regard, we suppose, for the principle of civilian supremacy, was one of the sponsors of a settlement which denied membership to the military while providing for a due recognition of their interest and importance through a military liaison board. It is indeed paradoxical to find him now "underscoring" a proposal that would put the Army back in the saddle.

Still more strange is the fantasy entertained by Senator KNOWLAND that all meetings of the Atomic Energy Commission should be attended by members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. This would amount, patently, to a direct violation of the separation of powers enjoined by the Constitution. It is not the business of the legislature in our political system to engage in the day-to-day details of administration. Senator KNOWLAND's proposal, also "underscored" by Senator VANDENBERG, would leave the development of atomic energy to a committee of Congress instead of to the Atomic Energy Commission created by Congress for this express purpose. Nothing like such an invasion of the executive domain has been suggested since Civil War days when Ben

Wade and some of his congressional colleagues sought to take over from President Lincoln and his Cabinet the management of the war effort. And, in their behalf, it could at least be said that they were trying to prevent, not to promote, military domination.

In the present position of international relations, it cannot be doubted that the military aspects of atomic energy are of prime importance. David Lilienthal understands this as well as any Senator. He can be counted upon to be as zealous as any general for the maintenance of American superiority

in the atomic field. Patriotism is not an attribute peculiar to men in uniform. And nothing, indeed, could be more inimical to the safety of the Nation than the idea, born of hysteria, that only the Army can keep a secret, only the Army can shape policies for our defense. The Army has already demonstrated its incompetence in the development of atomic energy. In peacetime, scientists will not, because they cannot, work under its sterile domination. From the viewpoint of expediency, therefore, military control is self-defeating. From the viewpoint of principle, it is thoroughly abhorrent.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
FEBRUARY 13, 1947

(Column of Senator Claude Pepper)  
For release February 20, 1947

Dear Friends:

Just a week before the disastrous cold wave came which did so much damage in Florida to our fruits and vegetables, I wrote a letter to Secretary of Agriculture telling him that I wanted to introduce legislation providing crop insurance for our citrus fruit. After several years working on it with the Department of Agriculture, I got the Department to assemble a great deal of information on citrus insurance. In fact, we had it to the point where the Department was prepared to recommend to the Congress inclusion of citrus in the Crop Insurance Program. Then the reactionary forces in Congress repealed the whole Crop Insurance Law in 1943 which at that time covered wheat and cotton. In 1945 when the law was revived, wheat, cotton and flax were included on a national basis and in certain counties, corn and tobacco were included on an experimental basis. I am hoping that we can get the Senators and Congressmen from all the citrus states to go in a body to the Crop Insurance Board in the next few days and insist that we provide crop insurance for citrus fruit in 1948. It's enough for the grower to have to gamble with the market. He should be insured against the hazards of weather and disease.

The hoof and mouth disease which is now raging in Mexico threatens a disaster to our livestock industry in Florida and the whole country if it spreads into this country. The infection in Mexico started in Vera Cruz and went up to Mexico City and it has reached certain sections of the northern part of Mexico. We had hearings before our Agriculture Committee which Senator Holland and I attended last week. At that time a representative of the Department of Agriculture came and told us the whole story. Now, Senator Capper, as Chairman of our Committee, has introduced legislation to authorize and to provide funds to the Department of Agriculture to help the Mexican authorities in keeping the disease from spreading into this country and to try to stamp it out in Mexico. The State Department is seriously considering closing the Mexican border against any cattle coming in. We see then that our security in health matters as well as in other matters cannot be assured merely by the protection of our own borders. Just as we tried to defend America in the early days of the war by keeping the Nazi aggression shut up in Europe, we are finding it necessary now to try to stamp out this destructive animal disease in Mexico as the best way to keep it from coming here.



Sometime we will get wise enough to try to stamp out disease in all parts of the world because dangerous disease anywhere is a threat to the health of people everywhere.

And we are finding that the same principle applies to other diseases like poverty. Vast areas of the world impoverished with poverty, hunger and disease are a threat to the security and the safety of people everywhere as well as to the prosperity of other people elsewhere. Our own self interest will lead us in time also to try to wipe out this dire poverty in other parts of the world which threatens our prosperity here and enlightened self interest will lead us to try to help those people to help ourselves.

That is essentially what is involved in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements fight here. Some of the leading Republicans think America can be a prosperous island in an impoverished world and would try to build again the old Smoot-Hawley Tariff wall of the early 1930's around this country which helped push us into a depression which cost us as much as World War II has cost.

The reactionaries in Congress who are opposed to public power as developed in the Tennessee Valley, who don't really believe in democracy and who want to keep out of public office and public places those who do believe in democracy, have now formed a coalition against Mr. David Lilienthal, the President's nominee to be Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The action against Lilienthal shows the point of view of the opposition and what they are willing to do. They even brought up that his parents are foreigners born in Czechoslovakia. They try to make Mr. Lilienthal out either a communist or a sympathizer with communism. They say if they cannot convict him of being a communist at least he is a New Dealer. These little men who damn Lilienthal for being a New Dealer don't realize that without the New Deal Public Power Projects in the great west and in the Tennessee Valley, which David Lilienthal developed and operated, according to Wendell Willkie, we could not have won the war. These little critics of the New Deal don't realize that without the TVA power which Lilienthal administered and without the New Deal vision of Franklin Roosevelt, we would not have had the atomic bomb. And these little men who denounce Lilienthal don't realize that without the ever normal granary farm policies that built up great stocks of cotton and

wheat and other farm commodities, another part of the New Deal vision, we could not have won the war. And they don't realize either that if it had not been for the New Dealer, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who laid the foundations of the United Nations and really got it going, we would not have had the United Nations and we would not have had an International Atomic Energy Commission and we would not have need of a Chairman of it. Never mind. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal, like the memory of Abraham Lincoln, who has his own barking critics, will be living, vital and strong in the lives and in the hearts of men, women and children all over the world when these rock-throwers and word-hurlers and mud-slingers are forgotten.

Very truly yours,

CLAUDE PEPPER

February 13, 1947 No. 95

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.

on route to Alabama,  
May 10, 1947

Dear Miss Robison:

I am sending these notes for Senator Pepper to you personally as Mr. Marsh wished them to reach him promptly, and I know how much mail comes in to his office.

I was sorry to miss you on Saturday when we were in the office and hope you have been well.

Sincerely,

Secretary to Mr. Marsh

Miss Helen Robison,  
Senator Pepper's Office,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

May 10, 1947

CLAUDE:

Newsweek, May 12:

Certainly the honeymoon on the Marshall-Truman Doctrine will be over in two weeks.

The speech should come about that time on whether the military or the civilian shall rule our foreign policy .

Had a nice visit with you. I will be ringing you in about ten days with an invitation to visit me at Little Washington or New York for some work on this speech if you are still for it.

I also shall have the basis of a labor speech based on your vote on the Truman veto of the Taft Labor Bill.

I consider Newsweek extremely well informed (perhaps as well as Krook) on State Department affairs. I believe the top State man is Ernest Lindley, who is also a columnist for Newsweek. He ought to be a friend of yours because he is a pretty good middle-of-the-roader.

CEM

May 10, 1947

NOTE:

Somebody should be reading the papers and magazines and blue-pencilling wherever the Senator should write--this especially in Florida.

I am sure he is doing it after a fashion, but I would like to know that it is being done well and daily and properly.

May 10, 1947

NOTE TO SENATOR PEPPER OR CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:

Attached clipping indicates this letter:

Dear Josh:

Thanks for your reference to me in your new book "How to hold an Audience Without a Rope."

When you and I "fought 'em" in the old days side by side, I always listed you as the best speaker of the lot and I learned much from you.

Sincerely,



c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,  
6 East 92nd Street,  
New York 28, N.Y.  
June 18, 1947

Dear Claude:

I am moving out of here to Washington, Virginia, this week.

If you are rushed I can take you on at Washington, D.C. I personally feel that a relaxed space of time at Washington, Virginia, would do a better job of looking at your position during the next two years.

Specifically I want you to be thinking of these facts:

- 1--You are the liberal Democratic Senatorial leader--a very big job.
- 2--The liberal rank and file of the Democratic Party led by Wallace, is singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" to the tune of Teddy Roosevelt in 1912. Taft got two states. Wilson walked in.
- 3--A third party will pull about seventy per cent from the Democratic Party and put Dewey in walking backward.
- 4--Somewhere in the picture after Wallace and Kansas City do the job, Truman, Hannegan, and company, will need to talk with someone who knows Wallace. That someone will not succeed with Wallace, but the fact he tried will be important. And that someone having a record of being open and courageous on both sides of the Party may obviously be a leader of the platform fight and the outstanding "Henry Clay" of '48-'52.

Remember Truman became President because he held a basket at Chicago and ate frankfurters under a klieg light. If you are very busy in the Senate and in Florida during the next six months, I suggest you also take at least one month out doing the picture west of the Rockies and wind up with ten days on the inland water trip to Alaska. Your health will need from four to six weeks and you know your way around the west. If any of the Rocky Mountain Senators or Governors are en route, see them if Democratic or liberal Republican.

The third Party battle-ground will be determined from California to the Mississippi. Kenny can't do it. I doubt if even the California Delegation would do a Third Party. The chances are there is a lot more noise in the labor liberal Wallace meetings than there are delegates. At least it is time for you to confine yourself to Washington, Florida, and a vacation westward until the Irish stew simmers and condenses into political power and action out of the noise.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper,  
Washington, D.C.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,  
6 East 92nd Street,  
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Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper,  
Washington, D.C.



c/o General Newspapers,  
6 East 92nd Street,  
New York 28, N.Y.  
August 22, 1947

Dear Claude:

Mrs. Victor J. Morgan of Clearwater, Florida, has sold to John Marsh her newspaper.

In making the negotiation John purchased the stock--or assets. He will purchase the stock if she can clear her back tax income records before December 15th.

Will you advise me what the intelligent procedure is at Jacksonville, Florida, to get this woman prompt and efficient action. The matter is complicated because her husband, for several years, suffered from cancer and ran his newspaper without due protection of the monies due the government.

Both Victor Morgan and his wife are very old friends of mine. She belongs to the top-flight of womanhood. I told her after her sale to John, that I would survey her tax problem. She is anxious to clear up the matter as the widow of Victor Morgan.

Time is the essence of this one. All I really need is the proper person at Jacksonville to communicate with. You are at liberty to send this letter on to this man and any correspondence which you receive back from I would appreciate.

As soon as I get a letter from you or from the proper gentleman in Jacksonville, I shall act promptly.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper,  
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Senator Claude Pepper,  
The Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.  
6 East 92nd Street,  
New York 28, N.Y.  
August 23, 1947

Dear Claude:

As I wake up this morning and work out my next thirty days, I again say that there may be some advantage in you and I relaxing at Cape Cod.

I was up there two or three days ago and find the place in excellent condition for strain-rest. It is no place for me to rest at work on intellectual detail and I am sure it is no place for you on that basis.

It is merely a place to walk and talk and swim and dream of the future. Detailists and details simply would muddy up the waters.

I have cut down the picture as follows. There is a special room for work and rest for you—a bedroom and sitting-room overlooking the ocean with an outside porch. Domestic quietness will prevail without other guests. I shall be there in a house adjoining. Mrs. Haines will be there for any minimum work and as my telephone contact with absolutely necessary business.

Any thoughts that may occur in the way of ideas or speeches may be put down by her for later use. It is possible that there might be considerable of this develop pertaining to your future activities—even specific speech outlines. But if I am to do this as an incidental part of my September vacation, I am going to limit the picture to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Glass who run the larger place and thus eliminate domestic worries, yourself who are 100% welcome, and Mrs. Haines and myself. I am eliminating servants and service and guests so that real quiet will supplant the usual mob.

It is on that basis that I invite you.

Many people like to come up there and find one reason or another for creating the necessity. Believing this morning that the maximum good for yourself or for me or for future work must come out of leisure and rest and non-interference, I am writing this rather specifically so that you may have time to adjust and plan this most ideal of vacations and projections of your mind. I suggest you write me your reactions to the above address as soon as possible so that we may be specific as to dates.

Schimmel, who has been trying to work out something for Kraemer with me the last day or two, told me last night that he thought that he

-2-

and Kraemer would be with you this September. I believe their work should be done where reference books are available and should be air-mailed to you as the servant set-up and my own desires for quiet for both of us does not justify setting up a work shop for them on the Cape.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper



c/o General Newspapers, Inc.  
5 East 92nd Street,  
New York 28, N.Y.  
August 23, 1947

Dear Claude:

As I wake up this morning and work out my next thirty days, I again say that there may be some advantage in you and I relaxing at Cape Cod.

I was up there two or three days ago and find the place in excellent condition for strain-rest. It is no place for me to rest at work on intellectual detail and I am sure it is no place for you on that basis.

It is merely a place to walk and talk and swim and dream of the future. Detailists and details simply would muddify the waters.

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

(07)

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1947 SEP 5 PM 3 09

N118 PD=TAMPA FLO 5 237P

HON CHARLES MARSH, CARE GENERAL NEWSPAPERS=

6 EAST 92 ST=

CHARLES I APOLOGIZE FOR TARDINESS RESPONDING YOUR GENEROUS  
LETTER, UNTIL ABOUT THE NINTH I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO KNOW  
WHEN I CAN GET AWAY. WILL CALL YOU THE NINTH FROM TALLAHASSEE  
THROUGH YOUR NEW YORK ADDRESS. REGARDS=

=CLAUDE PEPPER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



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CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.

JAMES M. KENDALL, CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

October 9, 1947

Mr. Charles E. Marsh  
General Newspapers Inc.  
6 East 92nd Street  
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

I just wanted you to know that I contacted Dr. Buchband  
and have made an appointment for the Senator to see him  
on Tuesday, October 14th at 11 AM.

Sincerely,



Personal Secretary.



The Stephen F. Austin,  
Austin, Texas,  
October 22, 1947

Dear Claude:

You and I have talked over the contents of the attached letter many times. I thought you would like to know that the Senatorial picture out here is ~~ex~~-Governor Stevenson first, with Lyndon Johnson and O'Daniel trailing, but that Lyndon Johnson is the best of a mediocre field.

You might be interested in a direct Lyndon quote: "If I can get into the Senate I will not be as good a speaker as Pepper ever. But I believe I can help in that I will be effective in organization and in the activity of getting folks together because that is what I have done pretty well in the House."

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

The Stephen F. Austin,  
Austin, Texas,  
October 22, 1947

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Senator Claude Pepper,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH V.  
PRESIDENT

1901

SYMBOLS

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Ship Radiogram

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N45 PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 23 1056A

MRS HAYNES, SECY TO CHARLES E MARSH

1947 OCT 23 AM 11 31

CARE GENERAL NEWSPAPERS INC=6 EAST 92 ST=

COULD YOU ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT FOR ME TO SEE PHYSICIAN,  
DR. MARTIN BUCHBAND AND DENTIST DR. EUGENE SCHORR SATURDAY  
MORNING IN NEW YORK. I WOULD SUGGEST TEN OCLOCK FOR  
APPOINTMENT WITH THE PHYSICIAN AND ELEVEN OCLOCK WITH  
THE DENTIST. PLEASE ADVISE BY WIRE YOUR EARLIEST  
CONVENIENCE. REGARDS=

CLAUDE PEPPER US.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COPY OF WIRE  
SENT TO  
SENATOR PEPPER

Oct. 23. 1947.

HAVE ARRANGED APPOINTMENT WITH  
PHYSICIAN FOR TEN O'CLOCK AND  
WITH DENTIST FOR ELEVEN IN AC-  
CORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE.

M. STOCKEL



*The Barclay*

PHILADELPHIA

ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS., CHAIRMAN  
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.  
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JAMES P. KEM, MO.  
EDWARD J. THYE, MINN.  
ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.  
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.  
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.  
TOM STEWART, TENN.  
CLYDE R. HOEY, N. C.  
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
JAMES M. KENDALL, CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

December 4, 1947

Mrs. C. E. Haines  
General Newspapers, Inc.  
Six East 92nd Street  
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Haines:

Mr. Marsh requested the Senator to send the attached bill to him for the facsimile stamp and I am sorry to be tardy in getting this off to you. I have just returned from a vacation in Florida and it has taken a little time to get caught up on the odds and ends.

You will note the rubber stamp was purchased through our Senate Stationery Room and they have made it a temporary charge.

My best wishes to you and Mr. Marsh for a Happy Holiday Season.

Sincerely yours,



Personal Secretary.



# UNITED STATES SENATE STATIONERY ROOM

Date 10-7, 1947

Account Pepper

Delivered to W. F. Johnson #253

1	#3 1/2 Self-inking	
1	Stamp with Rec-t	
1	Simple Sig.	5.00
1	Clear-Print Padlock	50
1	new engraving	5.50
	Temp. Change	200
		<u>17.50</u>

DUPLICATE

No 8414

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-8862

Thoughts about Claude Pepper -- immediate.

1. The book as soon as possible, the work being done by Red Head. The book is of principal value to Claude Pepper not as money nor as fame, but as a process of mental clarity for himself.

2. The immediate political maneuvers. Wallace is the public leader and pulling power of Left Democracy to which Pepper belongs in sincerity and by public knowledge. So he cannot escape or change this personal and public character any more than a frightened person would throw away his clothes and run screaming into the chilly night. But there is no practical reason why a muffler should not be added to his equipment, if the fire has gone out and he has work to do. It is stupid to catch cold. The American frigidity to Russia will increase during the five years. It is not important to this note to discuss blame or praise. It is facts we need to make the course.

This is to be considered as a five-mile marathon of Pepper to maximum power at the age of 52 and there is no compromise in this marathon for many are running and on the way.

Starting specifically: Pepper asked the question: "Is it 'all' right" (meaning is it correct for me and the world) for me to aspire to a '52 presidency". The answer is certainly "yes" -- positively.

The question is asked "What are the chances?" The answer is "relatively very slim". The question is then asked "How best may I improve chances?" The answer: Improve every day and stay on the track of America 52 with no diversion except for strength and knowledge which may improve the chances by the simple total of people thinking and saying "Pepper is a noble man, the best we've got in this country."

One does not become noble over night. He has a flash of nobility. The seed is there. The ground is not fertile, but might be fertilized, because the desire of the husbandman truly is to improve his physical, mental and spiritual acres. He has a bit of God in him translated into personal humanitarianism in the political field.

This is a sketchy character analysis because we have work to do today and tomorrow, but it is purposefully tied into the five year Pepper plan.

Boston means a constructive attention not to extend Pepper's work into book hours, but to stop every move in this direction, as the book is essentially a diversion from the main marathon, as its basic is to bring clarity to Pepper himself. Otherwise it pays for Red Head's bread. So let him do the work with incidental supervision now that the outline of Pepper is attained. Pepper, the architect, need not take up the drafting rule. Let Red Head take the bumps and the book binder and money but not Pepper who has gone places and has no time to read his own book after its printing, for Pepper is really when he's not kicked in the butt. He loves the good things of life, but also loves to bask in the emotional position of achievement and the compliments of little people. The continuity of which this is a fragment stops here. It will be continued should the customer so desire. But train time prevents abstractions, generalizations, philosophy and character reading.

Pepper #2

P. demands concrete detail on a 24 hour base:

1. Boston tonight as per above direction. Learn to promise with niggardly conservation of time hours and time minutes in the bank of the future. Five years is too short. You cannot give any time away.

2/ W. Sunday after noon among the chicks. Hold everything except your smile. W. will promise nothing, but indicate more waiting for you to promise. Say 'your leadership and courage has inspired me this year' (pure compliment with no promise). Next "What would you suggest to our course which is 'people first, property second' when in conflict -- the ultimate, world peace?"

When he tells you what to do, we will know what HE PLANS to do. He must tell because he is the leader.

I may be in New York and may be seeing W. before you. Please do not mention my movements except to say I have seen you.