

The Austin Hotel,
Austin, Texas,
January 16, 1947

Dear H.A.W.:

In going through my mail I find the marked editorial attached.

Evidently this item was sent me prior to our purchase of this newspaper, by William A. Townes, editor and publisher, as of the date of publication.

I thought you might want this item for your files so that you might remember Townes if he ever shows in your picture. He is a true liberal--one of the few editorial liberals who have come out of the old Scripps group in Cleveland which have been influenced by and through the original Tom L. Johnson.

My comment is that men's lives live long after them.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Henry A. Wallace,
The New Republic,
New York City.

AN AMERICAN POLICY

REPRINT OF FINAL EUROPEAN SPEECH OF HENRY A. WALLACE
FROM NEW YORK TIMES.

The Text of Wallace's Speech on Foreign Policy to American Veterans in Paris

PARIS, April 23 (AP)—The text of Henry A. Wallace's address to the American Veterans Committee:

I want to thank the finest group of young Americans that I know of—the American Veterans Committee—for this opportunity to speak tonight.

At the end of my European tour, I want to try to sum up the experiences of this tour. And since I have been praised without reason and criticized without reason I want to restate tonight the fundamental convictions that I stand for.

I came to Europe in search of groups with whom Americans who refuse to admit the inevitability of another war can cooperate for the sake of world unity and peace. I have found these groups in England and in Scandinavia among the leaders of all parties and among the ordinary citizens who know the cost of war.

Repeats Criticism of U. S.

In London I asserted that the present drift away from the United Nations will ultimately lead to war and severely criticized my own Government's actions for this, and I repeat what I said:

[At this point, Mr. Wallace laid aside his manuscript and extemporaneously described his speech in Manchester, in which he vigorously criticized both the Truman Doctrine and Life Magazine's presentation of a review of the book by James Burnham on "The American Empire." Mr. Wallace said that when he used the words "ruthless imperialism"—a phrase that was widely commented upon in the United States—he was not referring to the present American foreign policy, but to "the Henry Luceian policy."

"[If it (the present American policy) continued, I said, it could be ruthless imperialism," Mr. Wallace declared, "it will end by dividing the world against America and dividing America against herself."]

I want Americans to be well clothed, well fed, well housed and free from fear. I believe that democracy and cooperation with

other peoples through the United Nations can secure these conditions.

I believe World War II was made inevitable because the American public failed to learn the full truth in terms of effective action in the decade of the Twenties. Instead, the prejudices of the past were catered to, America became isolationist, tariffs were raised and all of us were caught, first by the depression and finally by the war.

Today we have the problem of ultimate war between the United States and Russia or preparation for peaceful living between a capitalistic United States, a Europe with some socialism, and a Communist Russia. Again the United States has the problem of leading the world in the way a great creditor nation must lead if peace is to be assured.

I believe in the infinite potentialities of the common man and his children everywhere in the world if he gets enough to eat and has a chance to work and progress. I believe it is America's destiny to bring peace and prosperity to the world by first demonstrating maximum productivity in her own land and, second, by showing other lands how it is done. I know that the United States cannot be an island of prosperity by herself.

War Production a Precedent

In a world made one by science, we can never again disregard how our actions affect the rest of the world. I believe in the extraordinary productivity of American competitive enterprise. Its wartime record was amazing. I know that if it can be similarly productive in time of peace without serious depression or loss of essential freedoms, provided it remains flexible in a changing world and cooperates with constructively minded men in government and labor.

I hope that a planned economy is not necessary in the United States, but I know that the only way it can be avoided is by a vast amount of voluntary planning by the leaders of business, labor and agriculture in cooperation with Government.

This policy thinking should have to do with the key spots of fiscal, tariff, public-improvement and natural-resource conservation policy in order that, within the broad framework of such policies, there may be maximum productivity and employment without the need of detailed industry planning except by industry itself.

Such over-all policy determination must be primarily in the public interest.

We cannot export our labor problems nor our agricultural problems to other nations without the certainty that they will bounce back on us.

The United States now represents 35 per cent of the market of the world and 45 per cent of the world's productive capacity, and from henceforth it will be increasingly difficult for us to distinguish between our own interest and the world's interest because the two are so deeply intertwined. All this I knew before I left America.

World Depends on America

I did not understand that how far the use to which American resources are put will determine the future of peace. Europe and Asia have lost so much factory and farm capital in wartime that they cannot undertake an adequate reorganization effort without American aid. They are compelled to wait on American developments in the shaping of their own lives.

If American aid is provided for constructive full support to the United Nations, then these nations can give full support to the United Nations and full attention to the problems of raising living standards. If American aid is provided outside the United Nations and for purposes that are not constructive, then these nations must move away from the United Nations and toward the political actions that the American Government finds desirable.

I am for democracy everywhere. I want to see the growth of all forms of democracy in all lands through the United Nations, regional projects to raise standards of literacy, education, public health and housing.

I am for recognition and en-

forcement of human rights in all countries. I want to see human rights extended in the proper manner; that is, through the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

I believe that peace requires the same positive militant support that peoples give to the cause of victory in wartime. I believe that the concept of the United Nations is a fighting concept and calls for that kind of support. I believe that the United Nations deserves and must have the all-out support of every one of its members. I believe that none of the members of the United Nations has yet given the United Nations its all-out support.

A Conflict of Societies

The basic reason for this lack of support is the contrast between the types of societies which make up the United Nations. The veto, to Russia and America, is partly valued by both as a guarantee that nations have the right to preserve their own kinds of societies while belonging to a world organization. This guarantee would be unimportant if our societies were not in conflict. Once the conflict is seen as irreconcilable, no guarantee is adequate to save the United Nations or peace.

This does not mean that our societies must be rapidly modified. I believe the United States is committed by her history to a democratic civilization of competitive enterprise at a time when most of the rest of the world, afflicted by the misery of war and scarcity, is moving toward socialism or communism.

I believe Russia is committed by her history of centuries of czarist tyranny to the use of repressive measures as an essential element in holding the Soviets together until such time as an abundance of consumers' goods makes possible the freedoms which mean so much to us in the West.

I believe Russia is committed by both Czarist history and geography to push continually for free access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles.

I believe the religion of Russia will continue to be Communism and that, even though there is no Russian-inspired international in the future, local Communists, playing the Moscow line by ear, will have considerable influence in all nations when there is scarcity.

I believe that Communism grows rapidly in significance in all areas where there is scarcity or racial discrimination. I believe that Communism, like early Christianity, will thrive under the martyrdom of persecution.

His Dictum to Communists

To the only two American Communists whom I absolutely knew were Communists, I said: "You believe in materialism as the sole explanation of history. I believe in idealism. You believe American capitalism must inevitably fold up or fight Russia. I believe it can continue its evolution so as to serve the common man in peaceful abundance."

I also said that, just as capitalism in the United States must change with the changing times, so also must communism in Russia. Both communism and capitalism must take more account of the nature of man himself and learn to serve his desires with more goods and more freedom, or neither can survive.

I mention all this because of the tremendous drive in the United States today toward policies which might easily lead to World War III.

I believe that toughness breeds toughness and that both the United States and Russia, by their actions, have already undermined the solemn cause for which their young men died.

I recognize the conflicts that exist between capitalist, Socialist and Communist societies. I assert that they are not irreconcilable. I assert that these conflicts can be resolved without resort to war.

I believe that it is in the interest of America that communism should prosper in Russia. I believe it is in the interest of Russia that free enterprise should prosper in America. I believe it is in the interest of both nations

that socialism should prosper in Europe.

I shall do everything I can to encourage the universal growth of civil liberties and of economic and social planning, in the hope that areas of common agreement may grow larger. But I remain certain that, even today, there must be a wide enough area of common agreement, in the common fear and horror of another war and the common longing for peace and security, to permit a settlement of our outstanding problems if we approach these problems in the spirit, once typified by Roosevelt, of a global effort by a world bent on peace.

I have spoken out in England and Scandinavia on behalf of world unity for peace. I have criticized the present trend toward imperialism and a divided world that is found in the Congress, the Government and the press of the United States. I have criticized actions that accelerate this trend toward eventual war. And I shall criticize those actions whether they are taken by Britain, America, Russia or any nation.

To speak out is not only the right but the duty of any man who recognizes that the United Nations itself commands the personal loyalty of the citizens of all its member nations. And it is not only the right but the duty of a citizen of one of the United Nations to let the citizens of other member nations know how he feels. What else is the meaning of the Charter, which begins, "We, the peoples of the United Nations . . ."

What else is the meaning of the Constitution of UNESCO, which we signed, and which asserts that ignorance of each other's ways is a cause of war? At Fulton, Mo., when President Truman introduced Winston Churchill, he conferred upon Churchill the highest title in the world, the title of world citizen. But the title of world citizenship is not so lightly conferred. It is earned in action.

World citizenship is earned by men who treat other peoples with the same respect that they treat their own people. That means being forthright and frank and

honest and, in times of crises, as today, outspoken in the service of peace.

A Basis for World Citizenship

World citizenship is earned by men who voice the aspirations of all peoples. That means expressing these beliefs:

Belief in the duty of all peoples to owe allegiance to the principles of the world organization—the United Nations.

Belief in the capacity of all peoples, working through the United Nations, to resolve their difference in peace.

For these principles I shall continue to speak out whenever people will listen to me. I know that many peoples are ready to accept these principles today. The willingness of America and Russia to move forward in friendship lies at the heart of peace.

I shall praise my Government whenever I think it is right. I shall criticize Russia when I think Russia is wrong. I will not join in any campaign to isolate Russia, or to create an armed camp against Russia by stirring up bitterness and hatred at a time when bitterness and hatred endanger peace. Nothing can be achieved by hate today.

I shall strive to the utmost to promote understanding between these two great nations at a time when many magazines, consciously or unconsciously, print the news in a way that creates bitterness in both countries.

Many will disagree with me honestly as to the course best designed for peace. I know that most Americans agree with the objectives I am working for. Farmers, business men, veterans, church, civic and professional groups, all have an equal stake in peace. I know that many of them have lost their sons or their sons-in-law in the recent war. I know that many of them understand the perils of atomic and bacteriological warfare. I have seen the splendid idealism which has animated Americans, rich and poor, in serving the peace and welfare of the world. I want to help vindicate the faith and the judgment of those Americans who live with hope for the future.

May 8, 1947

NOTE FOR HAW:

Attached copy of letter to HY explains itself. The following working comments.

1--You began your political life as a farmers' friend. Go swiftly back to that one.

2--Your political height among politicians came when you forecasted in Michigan in concrete detail, the Roosevelt-Truman victory, and from then on to your radio forecast early on election eve. People are convinced that a man who can see the future is a super-leader. You said once, "Roosevelt sees far." You now must take that one in the American domestic scene. But you must never lose your personal character of smiling optimism long range--what people call "faith in God."

3--I would combine one and two to make a working three. On this trip I would say: (in Minneapolis) "Farmers are facing the ^{Nm} ^{Punary economic} ~~most~~ uncertainty. No one knows whether pegged prices can stand the weight of a niggardly export policy and mounting surplus. If prices crash, farm land values crash soon after.

"My friend Anderson, the present Secretary of Agriculture, knows this as well as you. I am sure he is working in a Democratic Cabinet as well as he can. But I would now say to him a, b, c.

"If he will do these things he will cushion the decline so that it will be orderly--so it will not bring the 1930 nine cent a dozen eggs, seventeen cent oats, milk riots in Sioux City, etc. You farmers should unite now for political action, sending your letters of advice to Anderson and your Congressmen. Send me copies of them. Certainly I too need all of your wisdom in the days to come. Send me your personal opinion as to what I, as one citizen, may say or do."

The above is designed to make you the seer of farm futures without being a pessimist. When the farm situation gets messy, people will say, "Wallace told Anderson and Truman what to do and they did not do it. Only Henry knew and KEPT TELLING US."

One speech won't do it. It must be said in every place to fruit growers, to grain growers, to livestock folks, etc, and it must be very definitely simply stated and with some statistics accurate enough to date with their own particular branch of farming. Somebody should keep up the farm letter writers by states and alphabet. That certainly will become a political nucleus for somebody ^{OP} soon as

we must see ahead an agrarian political revolt if the government price support structure fails or is threatened, as it did when Hoover pegged cotton at sixteen cents and did not keep it there.

You should see coal from the consumer view. You should forecast what is to happen when this summer coal strike occurs. The political fact of four hundred thousand miners in five "doubtful" states is something to watch. But if HAW is to come out on January first, 1948, as "the man who saw first for America first," he must forecast accurately the coming industrial and transportation crisis.

As he places Anderson as the boy the farmers should shoot at, he must name John L. Lewis as the man ^{The Coal Mining Public must} shoot at. HAW loves the miners as much as does Rufus Jones, the Quaker head who has built working model mining living centers. HAW should work definitely with a man like Jones, going down into the mines and being photographed as a humanitarian for working conditions worthy of the workers' hazards. But as he puts his arm around the Quaker faith, his peace leadership takes in not only the Quakers but all Protestant denominations on the preacher-educator-humanitarian level. The Quaker is but a symbol.

His concrete work and speech making in mining communities is also but a symbol of HAW's humanity and farsight. And then comes the strike and the midsummer chaos. HAW has seen it first. He has forecasted the operations of the bad man Lewis. But should he make such a speech at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, where one hundred thousand solidly mining people live in Fayette County, he will get a press from Pittsburgh sixty miles north. The publicity will not hurt him in the hard high circles which fight ^{both} ^{and} ^{Wallace} ^{now}. The rights and moderates will join the coal consumers in little and big business to say: "Henry is right on this one," and at the same time the humanitarians will drop a prayer for Henry.

His letter intake should be carefully kept and properly filed as certainly it is at this point that he will either consolidate or fail to consolidate, the eighty million Protestants who make and consume and vote from Harrisburg west to Omaha and south to Birmingham.

These suggestions might serve a purpose during the next two weeks. If later you see these things as they have been written here--as a political work sheet--I believe you should "try them out on the dog" during the next two weeks.

See what applause you get when you outline in one paragraph or two what you think about the farmers, Anderson~~k~~ etc, and what you say about the miners and the industrial danger ahead through mine and rail paralysis.

And when you mention Lewis (and Possibly Krug) as two men to write to as American citizens and consumers of coal and transportation, you will ~~of~~ course, paint the picture of babies freezing next winter as miners strike this summer. You should say:

"Humanity comes first. It is unthinkable that class warfare comes first.

— An economic paralysis next fall through a bitter coal strike this summer should be faced courageously now. No contract-no work should not become an issue ~~by~~ ^{if} wise men working patriotically now. I say this for the miners themselves first. They have lost much in take-home pay in recent years. There is no wealth in idleness. And certainly take-home pay must face the reality that coal is not the only fuel and that coal itself must compete at price levels with oil and gas. So the way for the miner and the American consumer is the same. I believe that ex-Governor Stassen in his recent proposal for a coal TVA has said something which should have very wide reading. Stassen may not have the answer, but he certainly has made a splendid opening for a very necessary discussion of future miners needs and rights. We must have no British mine misery in America."

These "try it on the dog" paragraphs will tell you politically what to do on your next home front drive after you get through your present swing. If they interfere too much with your present speaking dates and plans and can not properly be inserted for platform delivery, you can use them at press conferences. The important thing is to have you be rebuilt very swiftly as the man after Roosevelt and Wilson who "sees far" and "speaks courageously" ON THE ISSUES OF NOW AND NOT FAR AWAY.

June 11, 1947

WALLACE:

1--Should urge Truman to veto because he is going to veto and thus Wallace takes leadership.

2--He should lay off foreign affairs because Russia is moving to Trieste now that the Dardanelles is closed and she has not the sea power to get through. Increasing unpopularity for all things Russian is thus indicated for the next few months.

3--Since Truman will positively veto the Labor Bill all third party conversation should be shelved at this time.

Washington,
Virginia,
July 27, 1947

Dear HAW:

I have seen Lyndon and did not give him your delicate regards.

I am sure we can carry out your specifications regarding the chicken houses.

I am again led to say to you that I believe history will report you as America's foremost agricultural scientist with special fields in corn and chickens.

We have a new farm manager from Blacksburg. I want so very much to see that the mid-Atlantic states get more eggs per layer that I shall send this new Blacksburg boy to New York to get his specific instructions from your top man.

You and I are so concerned for and against the third Party that I think we are not concentrating sufficiently on this chicken business.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Marsh

Mr. Henry A. Wallace,
The New Republic,
40 East 49th Street,
New York City.

**** C O P Y ****

August 4, 1947

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
Washington, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

I appreciated the delicate humor of your first paragraph.

I am happy to know about your deep and abiding interest in chickens and shall be expecting to see your new farm manager at Farvue Farm. I would like to be there myself and would suggest that you come up sometime during August. How would Tuesday, August 12th, be? You can phone at any time at South Salem 523.

Sincerely yours

HAW:GK

**** C O P Y ****

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
September 10, 1947

Dear HAW:

At the Chicago airport Monday I read in the Chicago Sun, a letter from you to a political columnist who apparently had accompanied you on your last speaking tour.

He said in effect, that you were going out again post-Taft and that therefore it probably was not a violation of a personal letter for the columnist to print what you thought about Taft, as you probably would be saying it anyway soon.

Since I have no other knowledge of your plans, I thought I might drop this note for whatever good there was in it. I am leaving after this week end for Falmouth, Massachusetts, telephone 497-M and mail or telegrams care of Frank P. Glass, jr. I probably shall be there until October first, if not in New York intermittently.

The last two weeks were spent on the west coast where I did about twenty-five hundred miles of auto travelling on the level of the people who are not expectantly or gainfully interested in government on any level. The people are rapidly clearing their minds of post war fogs. Under today's sun they don't like anybody for President because all fighting have killed the man who might have emerged.

Under compelled choice, ignoring convention manoeuvring, it would be Eisenhower and Stassen. This under today's sun following the fog.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Henry A. Wallace,
2500 Que Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

New Republic

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

September 24, 1947

Dear Charlie:

I agree with you about Eisenhower and Stassen. The polls won't show it but I am convinced that if Eisenhower and Stassen ran Truman would have a hard time to carry even some of the southern states. He would probably end up with about nine states. Of course the Republicans may not have enough sense to nominate Eisenhower and Stassen.

When you are in New York why don't you give me a ring some time at Plaza 9-1600?

I liked your man at the farm and I ^{assume} ~~have word~~ that he will be coming up for the chicks some time in early October.

Sincerely yours,

H Wallace

Woto for
Williamson
HAW:yls

October 6, 1947

The Wichita Times Publishing Company has an FM radio station now operating in Wichita Falls.

Harte and Hanks have a construction permit in position to be granted for an AM station at Wichita Falls.

Harte and Hanks proposition is to consolidate its AM station on a fifty-fifty basis with the FM station of the Wichita Times Publishing Company on a basis of cost of the two stations to include the cost of the application.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
November 25, 1947

Dear HAW:

I have just called your office in connection with your chicken note:

You are, unfortunately, correct in saying that Williamson, the farm manager, does not know his chickens.

I have found it necessary to put into writing any specific instructions in order to be certain on a recheck, that everything has been attended to.

Might I ask you to have your manager write specific instructions to Williamson, with possibly but not necessarily, a carbon to me so that we try to keep everything on a written basis that I may intelligently cooperate.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P.S. Had a most interesting letter from Roald Dahl yesterday in which your personality was called "noble." His European comments may interest you when we next have the leisure to meet.

Mr. Henry A. Wallace,
Farvue Farm,
South Salem, N.Y.

HENRY A. WALLACE

~~WASHINGTON, D.C.~~

~~WASHINGTON, D.C.~~

South Saelm, N.Y.

one farm

Dear Charles,

I am going around the country now for a couple of weeks and hope to be back about Nov. 24. Could we get together on Nov 24 or thereabouts? I want to talk chickens and call up Mr. Williams at Washington, Va. in your presence so that we understand each other clearly. Apparently neither Williams nor his help know anything about chickens. We have furnished him with 230 pullets which can be used to excellent advantage but it will take some real planning and I do not want to furnish him with roosters until I am satisfied that you and he mean business. The plan I have in mind is a simple one but it does demand a certain amount of intelligent interest. Let me know at your convenience. if we can get together in New York City sometime in late November. My phone number here is South Salem 523. My phone number in New York is Plaza 9-1600.

Yours,

H. Wallace